S. J. FREEDBERG

ANDREA DEL SARTO

Text and Illustrations

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To Nicky Mariano

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PREFACE

It does not do justice to the purpose and effort that have gone into the making of this book when I describe it as a byproduct of my *Painting of the High Renaissance in Rome and Florence*; yet that is in effect how it came into being. In the *Painting of the High Renaissance*, the research done on the artists I discussed at length was, of necessity, close to that required for a monograph on each. Years ago, when Mr. Berenson discovered this, he urged me actually to complete my research on Andrea del Sarto into the scale and form of a publishable monograph. He was kind enough to think I could in some way amplify one of the most brilliant essays in philological and aesthetic criticism in his *Drawings of the Florentine Painters*. In 1954 I decided to accept Mr. Berenson's advice, with the full awareness that what I could do on Sarto would be less than what he had done in all respects but quantity. My completion of research on Sarto went along concurrently with my finishing the writing of the *High Renaissance*; and when that book was done this one was then written in its final form. The text describing the first decade of Andrea's art was printed as part of the larger scheme of the *High Renaissance* book, and that text, with amplifications, and with corrections that have since seemed necessary to me, is incorporated in this present work. In this volume the reader will find an account of Andrea's whole career as a painter, together with illustrations of all his authentic paintings and a selection of his drawings. A brief biographical note and a selected bibliography are included also. In a companion volume, titled *Andrea del Sarto: Catalogue Raisonné*, I have gathered the material that is of interest mainly to those who will have a specialized interest in the subject: a complete critical catalogue of the paintings and drawings attributed to Andrea, documents for his biography and commentary on them, and a full bibliography. The companion volume contains illustrations meant to supplement the reproductions in this one, and in particular completes the illustration of all drawings I think authentic.

In part, this book is meant to serve a wider purpose than that of a history of Sarto's own career. It is hoped that it will help adjust the notion, to which generalized studies of the last years — including perhaps my own to some extent — have contributed, that the "Triumph of Mannerism" in Florence after 1520 was sudden and complete. If my view of Andrea's art in the third decade is correct, it may contribute to a more balanced picture of that time.

Because these Sarto volumes are an outgrowth of my *High Renaissance* I must confess my obligation, once again, to most of the same persons who assisted me in that. Some of them must be renamed for help in this specific project so conspicuous that it cannot go without citation: Mlle. Rosaline Bacou, Miss E. Louise Lucas, Mr. Philip Pouncey, Mr.

Michael Rinehart, Dott.ssa Maria Fossi Todorow di San Giorgio, Miss Mary Ward. Again, The Harvard Foundation for Advanced Study and Research has assisted toward the final preparation of my manuscript, and Miss Dorothy Dean has accomplished the translation of my material into a typed script. Miss Ann Orlov has edited the manuscript with rare skill, intelligence, and tact. Beyond these, I have new obligations for the kindnesses of Dott.ssa Luisa Becherucci, Prof. Raffaele Causa, Dott.ssa Sandra Galligani, Prof. James Holderbaum, Dr. Janet Cox Rearick, Mr. W. R. Rearick, Prof. Curtis Shell, Prof. Lionetto Tintori, and Mr. Thomas Wragg. Mr. Edward Sanchez has given me the most generous help I can imagine in problems I encountered with the Sarto documents, and the work Dott. Gino Corti has done for me in the Florentine archives has resulted in contributions of great value to this book.

With Dr. John Shearman of the Courtauld Institute, who will also publish a monograph on Sarto, I have enjoyed a relationship that should be a model for other scholars who find themselves in our situation. We have exchanged photographs, information, and ideas, and the exchange has always been, for me, fruitful and deeply appreciated. Our common interest has made, in our case, cordial and cooperative friends.

Miss Nicky Mariano has had thanks from me before in prefaces; this time I offer her a token of my love and gratitude in the dedication of this book.

This book was completed, in the form originally submitted to the Press, in August 1961. However, I have attempted to take account of new material published up to the date this preface bears, and I have made some revisions both in this text and in the catalogue raisonné in the light of these.

December 1962

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ILLUSTRATIONS

ABBREVIATIONS

Al — Alinari
An — Anderson
AP — Archives Photographiques, Paris
CD — Cabinet des Dessins, Musée du Louvre, Paris
GFN — Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Rome
Mus — Museum
SF — Soprintendenza, Florence

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228. Study for St. John the Baptist in the *St. Agnes Altar*. Florence, Uffizi no. 320F. Photo Al

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230. ST. SEBASTIAN (copy). Formerly Richmond, Cook Collection. Photo An

231. Study for the *Assunta di Poppi*. Florence, Uffizi no. 293Fr. Photo Al

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237. MADONNA DELLE GRAZIE. Pisa, Cathedral. Photo An

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ANDREA DEL SARTO

Text and Illustrations

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I

1506–1514

BORN in 1486, Andrea del Sarto grew up in an artistic environment in Florence rich with invention and the promise of important change. As Andrea neared the end of his apprenticeship, toward the middle of the first decade of the new century, Leonardo and Michelangelo had both achieved a new style of art. Their creation was too revolutionary to be quickly comprehended by their Florentine contemporaries; their geniuses spoke a language the essential meaning of which was, as yet, virtually private. By 1505 Leonardo had already reached a culminating point in his development of the principles of a classical style within the painting of the Renaissance. Michelangelo — partly learning from Leonardo, partly in rivalry with him — had achieved a style similar in principle, and seemingly more revolutionary in kind. But only one painter of the younger generation in Florence had begun to penetrate the real intentions of Leonardo's style: Raphael of Urbino, newly arrived in the city. Among the native Florentines, Fra Bartolommeo had acquired the basic elements of a Cinquecento classicism, in part under Leonardo's influence, and had carried his partner Albertinelli with him in the new direction. The Frate's style was quantitatively far from and qualitatively far below Leonardo's example; but it may have been on this very account that he and Albertinelli were more fully understood than Leonardo by their artistic colleagues in Florence. In the guise in which Fra Bartolommeo and Albertinelli offered it, the measure of classical meaning that was in their style was more accessible. Other painters in Florence could not but recognize the absolute merit of Leonardo's and Michelangelo's creation and acknowledge its absolute preeminence, but their acknowledgment did not entail understanding. Masters who had been brought up in one of the diverse traditions of the late Quattrocento still adhered essentially to their older styles, at most touched in part and only superficially by the new exemplars. These masters dominated the practice of art in Florence. Their busy production countered the sparse and difficult attainment of the inventive geniuses; and their studios were the schools of art.

Andrea del Sarto's training, since about the turn of the century, had been with one of these masters — though the most individual and the most inquiring among them — Piero di Cosimo. When Andrea came to Piero the new style of art was as yet no more than a symptom. Andrea's early education was, both within Piero's studio and in what he saw outside it, a grounding in late Quattrocento style. In the first eventful years of the new decade, as the demonstrations of a new style increased, Piero had been more willing than any of his contemporaries to respond, making creative changes in his art, particularly in the direction pointed out by Leonardo. But despite his willingness to change, Piero was too singular a personality, and was too far formed within an older mode, to conform in any profound measure to a new one. His strivings may well have encouraged his pupil's interest in new directions and perhaps even while Andrea still remained with Piero, he sought models other than those of his master. Piero's art was always too personal and, in these years especially, too variable to command a pupil's exact following or give him a vocabulary of consistent kind.

What may be the earliest identifiable work by Andrea, a small *modello* (Paris, Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins no. 231; Figs. 1, 2) for a painting of a *Madonna and Child with Four Saints* is datable 1506–1507, when Andrea may still have been in Piero's studio but, as this design for a complete small picture shows, in at least a quasi-independent status. It is more likely that by this time Andrea had already left his teacher. The modello shows no specifiable dependence on the style of Piero; in it Andrea has already moved toward the example of the more "modern" style. His deviation from tradition is, however, cautious, more so than Piero's probings toward Leonardo. Andrea inclines toward the vocabulary of the most conservative of the new Cinquecentists, that of Mariotto Albertinelli, deduced in turn from the inventions of Fra Bartolommeo. In Andrea's composition there is a rationale, simple and obvious, that belongs as much to the classical tradition of the old century as to that of the new. However, there is a symptom of alliance with the new in the grace with which each figure, just slightly yielding, responds in posture to the next. They communicate a state of spirit that is more explicit in their faces: a deep and tender, and compelling, sentiment. This is not to be found in Albertinelli, nor in contemporary models by the Frate; it is like Piero in its intensity, but utterly unlike him in its gentleness. There is no evidence of Raphael's influence in the modello, yet the quality of feeling — the way form, still only incipiently, takes up the overtone of feeling — is like the native débuts of the Umbrian.

One of the most important examples of the new artistic style in Florence at this time was Michelangelo's Cartoon for the *Battle of Cascina*, and — as Vasari reports of all the rising young men of his generation — Andrea dutifully went to draw from it. According to Vasari (V, 7–8) Andrea undertook this exercise while he was still Piero's pupil. In the Louvre modello there is no trace of Michelangelo's example; as the modello is itself enough to demonstrate, the young Andrea and Michelangelo were temperamentally poles apart. It was only years later that the Cartoon, restudied more maturely, had any significant effect upon Andrea's art. However, a small painting of a mythology, an *Icarus* (Florence, Palazzo Davanzati; c. 1507; Fig. 3) — perhaps the oldest painting by Andrea that survives — may indicate, in its anatomies, a reflection of Andrea's study of the Cartoon, and of the Master's *David* also. No other source in contemporary Florence would have been so likely to suggest the posture of the legs, and the musculature, of the nude Icarus, or the awkward emphases in Daedalus' form. These borrowed accents seem, here, like an intrusion, counter to the gentleness of mood and yielding shape with which, more basically, the picture has been conceived. The composition is as simple as that of the modello, and almost as literal in its symmetry; but it reveals an appreciably different level of articulateness, and a new, self-conscious will to an effect of unity. The slight responsive inclinations among forms in the modello have developed here toward a cursive patterning that links the single forms, still awkward, into an ornamental whole. In the handling there is the implication of a unifying atmosphere, and in the color a delicate concordance of soft hues, that further the intention of a unity. The picture is juvenile, unassured, and as yet unaccomplished in detail, but it is quite clearly the work of a willing student of the recently formulated principles of the Cinquecento classical style. But a Quattrocento cast still exists in the picture beside its aspect of "modernity," and it is not only an effect of awkwardness of form, or proportion, or incidents of detail that still seem to pertain to an older style. The picture does not have any specifiable connection with Piero, but more than the earlier modello it suggests an affinity with Piero's recent art. There are elements in the *Icarus* — the placing of the central figure, the types, the posture of the female figure at the right, and even the expression — that seem like mutations from Piero's *Immaculata* (Florence, Uffizi; c. 1505–1506). The way in which Andrea feels his mythological subject — so unpondered, and naturally direct to the point of naïveté — is not that toward which the classicism of the Cinquecento was already tending. It corresponds, again in a mutation personal to Andrea, to the vein in which Piero had described his antique subject matter. The literary world of classicism was not a world Andrea was equipped to understand. He was, from the beginning, bound to contemporary Florence.

In the main, however, the *Icarus* makes an impression of affiliation with the Cinquecento style. It is not the touch of Michelangelo in it that makes this effect, but the result of Andrea's observation of other models, much less radical, in Fra Bartolommeo and — as we have seen even earlier — in Albertinelli. And there was still another influence, more direct and probably more decisive, that moved Andrea in the direction of whatever modernity may exist within this painting. Vasari tells us that it was in front of the Michelangelo Cartoon that Andrea made friends with Francesco Franciabigio, only a few years older, but already an established painter. They agreed to take quarters together, setting up a common atelier in the Piazza del Grano, where each worked independently, but also, on occasion, might perhaps collaborate (though only one actual collaboration is recorded). We do not know exactly when this joint shop began; it is certainly attested only in 1508. It lasted for about two years, or a little longer. During these years there was a constant interchange of influence between the young men, of which it is not always possible, or fruitful, to assess the precise course or direction. Of the two, Franciabigio was markedly the less gifted, and by the end of their association he was more recipient than giver. At the beginning, however, it was certainly the older Franciabigio who led the way, with the surprisingly rich fund of his half decade of experience as an independent painter. His intellectual curiosity was much greater than his talent. From beginnings of a purely Quattrocento kind, he had moved toward Andrea's own master, Piero, and toward the example in particular of the maturing Albertinelli. About 1507 he chose to adapt his art to the model, newly come to prominence in Florence, of Raphael.

The friendship of Andrea and Franciabigio antedates their setting up their common shop, and the influence of Francesco's current concerns may be evident already in the *Icarus*. The types of the painting show an impress from those Francesco had evolved toward 1507, as in his tondo *Holy Family with St. John* (Florence, Uffizi), which we may date at that time. The nude Icarus may, also, owe something to the inspiration of a slightly earlier Franciabigio, the *Temple of Hercules* (Florence, Palazzo Davanzati) of about 1505. More important than this influence in types, Franciabigio passed on to Andrea his own Raphaelesque inclination of the moment. The insistence in the *Icarus* on fluid ornamental shape and continuity of pattern, and the intention of a grace in it, are more like Raphael than any other models of the current school. Andrea sees these elements of Raphaelesque style in part directly, but more through the intervening image of Francesco's Raphaelism. Like Raphael Andrea has a willing and a receptive sensibility, responding in this youthful moment to an assortment of exemplars.

Only slightly later than the *Icarus,* a predella with a *Pietà and Four Saints* (Rome, Galleria Borghese no. 375; c. 1507–1509; Figs. 4–6) reveals a simultaneous heightening of Andrea's individuality and skill, and a further seeking for example in the art of others. The individuality, now, is patent. It is evident, first of all, in an affirmation — and a development — of the emotional attitude we noticed in the Louvre modello. No other personality of the new generation, or among the painters we have counted so far as Andrea's models, feels quite like this, so tenderly, but with a soft intensity that gives the sense of a vibration. Andrea's poignance of emotion is like Piero's, but it is of a less virile gender, almost sentimental; and there is nothing in it of Piero's constantly eccentric shift of accent. The nearest analogue to Andrea's mode of psychological sensation is, more than in Raphael, in the art of Leonardo.

Andrea had long had a filtered image of Leonardo's art through each of the other models he had so far used. Leonardo's reflection, dimmed to the level of comfortable contemplation, had been in Bartolommeo and Albertinelli, in Raphael and in Franciabigio. In Piero's painting Andrea found a reflected experience, paradoxically at once distorted and deeply searching, of Leonardo's extraordinary emotional, and also visual, susceptibility. Andrea shared with Piero, as Piero did with Leonardo, an uncommon native sensibility in both respects. It is in a temper resembling Piero's, though no longer only with his means, that Andrea sees finely, and records in this predella with such subtlety, the vibration of light and air in landscape and on figure surfaces. Except for Leonardo, no other painter in Florence could have given Andrea so pregnant an example in this respect. However, it is more according to the teaching of Piero than of Leonardo that this kind of seeing is experienced in color, not alone in light. Andrea suspends hues of rose and blue — as in the *Icarus* — and gray against the hazed and melded tones of landscape. The sensation of this color, light-infused, is a primary factor in the predella. Even in this small scale it is a more meaningful part of its aesthetic texture than in any other painting of the school of Florence of this time. This quality of color, and the tenor of emotion it helps to illustrate, are to be enduring personal elements of Andrea's art. With these, apart from all considerations of historical style, he will say at the end of his career essentially what he says here at its beginning.

In emotion and in vision Andrea's individuality is already affirmed in the predella, but he is still searching in it for a vocabulary of forms. The composition of the *Pietà* is evidently derived from Perugino's famous altarpiece of c. 1493, but it may be studied also from a reworking by Piero di Cosimo (Perugia, Galleria Nazionale) of Perugino's picture. In its particular forms, however, Andrea's *Pietà* depends neither on Perugino nor on Piero, but on Bartolommeo's and Albertinelli's repertory, and on Raphael — perceived, still, less directly than through Franciabigio's eyes. Andrea shows the breadth of silhouette and full contour that are in Bartolommeo's style from about 1505; certain elements, such as the billowing loops of drapery in the saints of the *Pietà*, seem demonstrably after the Frate's example. Then, the image of Raphael's recent *Belle Jardinière* seems to have obtruded itself into Andrea's ideas for his Magdalen. The predella is altogether a singular compound, not only of experience assimilated from the art of others, but in a deeper sense. It conjoins an aspect, not yet wholly absorbed, of the new generalizing classicism with a very individual intimacy of visual and psychological sensation. The compound is unstable, made so by the very way in which sensation is expressed, with such febrility. This is already a symptom, within Andrea's beginnings, of his history to come.

An increasing Raphaelesque inclination might have been expected of any younger Florentine of this moment, but to a junior associate of Franciabigio it would have been inescapable. As Franciabigio affirmed his imitation of the works the Umbrian had left behind in Florence, Andrea followed him, tending still to read the original in the light of his associate's translation. In a small *Madonna* by Andrea (Rome, Galleria Nazionale no. 570; c. 1508; Fig. 7) the Child appears to reflect the type and motive of Raphael's larger *Madonna Cowper* of that year. But the style of Andrea's picture should not be compared to such a contemporary work of Raphael's, but at best to Raphael's work of a significantly different moment, at the beginning of his Florentine period. Even then, the simplicity of Andrea's forms, bland as in Franciabigio's Raphaelesque pictures (but nothing like so hard), makes an effect of naïveté in shape and structure exceeding that in Raphael's paintings of 1504–1505. And the type of Andrea's composition, in which the Madonna stands beside the seated Child, is less like any Raphael than like a still Peruginesque Albertinelli, a *Holy Family* (formerly Rome, private collection) of about 1500. Indeed, in his approach to the new classicism Andrea's accent is of one who has, as yet, only imperfectly made the distinction between the style of Perugino and that of Raphael.

At this date Andrea is farther from the mode of Raphael than his partner and — for the moment — guide. Andrea's conception of form is not so broad or so plastically full as Franciabigio's, nor has Andrea more than begun to comprehend the role that movement may play in composition, even when the composition is of limited extent. In every obvious way Franciabigio's *Madonna del Pozzo* reflects more aspects of a developed, contemporary, Raphaelesque classicism than does Andrea's *Madonna*. In Franciabigio, however, these aspects do not constitute a classical integer, while Andrea's work, for all its relative naïveté, contains an essential element of the Raphaelesque style. Andrea's picture demonstrates a response to the sensations of vision and of feeling that are not unlike in kind, and not so far in quality, from the earlier Raphael. Andrea's sensibility, pervasive and gently vibrant, gives to the whole of Andrea's painting a kind of harmony like that which was a first factor in the making of Raphael's classical style.

We possess the shadow, but hardly more, of two juvenile frescoes that document Andrea's early response to Franciabigio. One of these, the small *Translation of St. Mary Magdalen* (Florence, Or San Michele; c. 1508–1509; Figs. 9, 10) with its accompanying *putti*, may be, we think, the only surviving case of their collaboration: the field with the two putti seems Francesco's. The whole work is of minimal importance; and Francesco's part in it seems not much more than journeyman's decoration. Andrea's portion, the more legible of the two, is of interest (in its present state, at least) in that it shows he has adopted something of Francesco's interest in movement. In the second ruin, of a larger fresco of the same time, an *Annunciation* (Florence, S. Marco; Fig. 11), this interest stimulated by Franciabigio is still more visible, in the Annunciate Angel: and so is the likeness, in the Mary, to Franciabigio's variant of Raphael's mode. The setting for the two figures is, however, an overt concession to the precedents of the Ghirlandaiesque Quattrocento. In this earliest example we have of a work by Andrea that approaches monumental scale he is, more evidently than in his small pictures, still uncertain of his aesthetic means and still lacking the will or sense to make a working conjunction of the old and new.

The *Baptism of Christ* of the Chiostro dello Scalzo (1509–1510; Figs. 12, 13), the initial one of Andrea's long series of grisaille frescoes there, is the first work in which Andrea operates with some confidence on larger scale. We feel in it the emergence of a dimension both of form and of personality not evident before: it is the first index of a maturing art. In this fresco the vocabulary of form draws upon the resources Andrea had acquired in the last few years, but there is now no identifiable Raphaelism in it. The shapes are full and smooth, and incline toward suavity though they do not realize it. Rather than an effect of exposure to the style of Raphael, this could as well be a further acceptance of local authority, in Fra Bartolommeo. It is in the compositional type that local manes are most obviously propitiated: in the adaptation from Ghirlandaio's fresco of the same theme in S. M. Novella, and in the evident reference to Ghirlandaio's own source in Verrocchio's famous altar. The style of the fresco, however, is in contrast to these compositional antecedents. It is identifiably in a sixteenth-century, High Renaissance mode, even if only unsurely so. Otherwise than in his precedents, Andrea's figures tend to curving and even to ponderous form, and they are distributed in a tentatively slow, lateral sequence against their setting of landscape.

Andrea's purpose is still not clear: he has not yet resolved the question of priority between rhythmic revision of form and its precise representation, or between the role of line and the role of chiaroscuro. On this account the accent of style remains old-fashioned, though its substance is no longer so. This quattrocentism in accent is less unexpected than the unselfconsciousness with which Andrea confesses his dependence in composition and motives on the Quattrocento. Andrea seems to be concerned, less than his partner Franciabigio, and less even than his former master, Piero, that a point of aesthetic principle may be involved in the difference between the "modern" style and that of the masters of the preceding century. Andrea's disposition and his generation predetermined that his allegiance should fall beyond question to the "modern" style, but in no other painter of his approximate age, of the first or even of the second rank, is there so strong a sense of continuity between the old tradition and the new domain of style.

Since 1500 no fresco painting had actually been executed by any major representative of the new style in Florence. It was therefore reasonable that when Andrea was assigned the first wall decoration of any consequence in the city (since the grand joint fiasco of Leonardo and Michelangelo in the Palazzo Vecchio), in the atrium of SS. Annunziata, his work should further attest, initially, a dependence on the older tradition. The earlier frescoes to be executed (not, as has been universally assumed, in the order of their narrative) of the five scenes of the *Life of S. Filippo Benizzi* in SS. Annunziata (1510; Figs. 14–20) at once imply a relation to the models of Domenico Ghirlandaio. The relation is precise only in the *Funeral* *of St. Philip,* which refers to Ghirlandaio's analogue in S. Trinita, while the other two of the first three frescoes, the *Healing of the Obsessed Girl* and the dated *Healing by St. Philip's Relics,* recall the S. M. Novella frescoes more generally. Rather as in those paintings Andrea has arranged an awkwardly active population before an architecture that is not quite coherently connected with them.

The most Ghirlandaiesque, in this sense, of Andrea's scenes is the *Healing of the Obsessed Girl* (Fig. 14), in which the architecture is no more than a screen, intended to be monumental, erected behind the figures. In this structure, in addition, the perspective of the figure-stage seems excessively abrupt. The figure composition, like the architecture, attempts too much; it is quantitatively the most ambitious and at the same time the least well-articulated among all these scenes. The evidence that this is the most primitive of the Benizzi frescoes is supported by the style of the figures. Clumsily proportioned, with an excess of drapery and substance toward their lower parts — but for all this gravitationally insecure — they are of marionettelike woodenness in action, and for the most part conventional in type and expression of face. Singly, these figures resemble closely the Christ and St. John of the Scalzo *Baptism,* but when multiplied as they are here their insufficiencies are more apparent. The two girls at the left of this fresco, on the other hand, suggest a happier comparison within the *Baptism,* to the more graceful forms of the attendant angels there.

It is likely that the *Funeral of St. Philip* (Fig. 15) was the second to be executed of these frescoes. We have observed that it is the most literal in its dependence on a Ghirlandaio precedent, as if, by closer imitation, Andrea were determined to learn the lesson offered by his model more successfully than he had at first. The architecture here intends and achieves a more monumental role: it is denser and heavier, and effectively related to the figures. These, like the architecture, are more substantial and, now, better anchored to the ground. They are less mobile but, despite this, more anatomically articulate than their counterparts in the *Obsessed.* Conspicuously, they are more assured in drawing and in the command displayed in them of the fresco technique. The *Funeral* demonstrates Andrea's quick recognition of the defects in his conception and his execution of the *Obsessed*; in turn the dated *Healing by St. Philip's Relics* (Fig. 16) seems a critique of them both. The inadequacies that Andrea remarked himself in his first frescoes are less noteworthy than his swift redeeming of them. The Benizzi frescoes were, after all, a proving ground for painting by an artist, not yet mature, on monumental scale, from whom, hitherto, no such range of resource had been asked. What is remarkable is Andrea's quick development of these resources, at a pace almost comparable to that with which Raphael, on his very different plateau of style, moved at this same time.

In the *Relics* the command of space is different from that in either the *Funeral* or the *Obsessed.* The role of architecture is neither so merely incidental as in one nor so obtrusive as in the other: this is a freely habitable, and inhabited, space. As the figures are distributed in depth within this space their compositional order — basically similar to that in the first fresco — has been made far more distinct. It has been syllabified, as it were, so as to be much more precisely read. More than in either preceding fresco the figures are trenchantly described and convincingly articulated in proportions and in movement. Where the shapes and accents of their predecessors are in one case awkward and in the other turgid, these are at least incipiently touched with both vitality and grace. And, instead of the insufficient differentiation of types and expressions in the first two frescoes, the faces here have a sharper individuality, to the point of portraiture in some instances, as Vasari assures us was in fact the case.

In part the difference of this fresco depends upon a more precise command of naturalism than in the former ones. In this descriptive sense the *Relics* reaffirms the relation of Andrea to Ghirlandaio and the Quattrocento. However, the acquiring of mastery over nature is, regardless of any Quattrocento reference, also a necessity for the artist in his course of maturation toward a classical style; and Andrea's mode of more specified description is now recognizably not Ghirlandaiesque. Atmospheric chiaroscuro — already present, but not in company with this degree of naturalism, in Andrea's earliest style — tends, in Cinquecento fashion, to soften highly characterized details of form and to unify them. This newly learned mode, by which optical facts are more articulately described, not disparately but as if within a governing unity, is the symptom of more than a change of ways of seeing and of habits of the hand. It is the visible revelation of a new state of artistic mind. Further, it is a concern distinctly to articulate a unity that dictates, beneath the record of appearance, the order in which appearances are arranged. This is the first instance in Andrea's art in which a whole composition is arranged into an order that is, at once, both clear and complex. The figures in this scheme are distributed before and through their setting of architecture in a pattern that follows and affirms the chief loci of this architecture in plan and elevation. The result is a structure of design essentially cinquecentesque and classical in basic form despite the many evidences in it of persistences of older tradition.

In one very important aspect of this fresco the tradition is particularly evident: its tonality of content. It is true that the mood in the telling of the story is recognizable as the gentle, harmonious liveness that is frequent in the earlier phases of development of the classical style. Yet, as Andrea presents it, this mood has in it sensibly less than is usual in the classical style of the quality of ideal distance. The harmony we perceive in this fresco is the attribute not of an ideally superior humanity but of an average-seeming, almost commonplace world: a natural disposition of the unrhetorical Florentine bourgeoisie.

When in the two remaining frescoes of the Benizzi series architectural backgrounds are replaced by landscape, Andrea composes in them by a different rationale, less instantly apparent as such but not less intellectually determined. His order in these frescoes accords with the nature he describes, working with nature's variety and asymmetry of landscape forms, and arbitrarily manipulating them to effect balance. The figure composition in these frescoes is an adjunct to the order evoked from these landscape forms: precisely deliberate, but also seemingly casual. This is no relaxation of Andrea's new intent of classicizing order, but the expression of his wish to find a mode of harmony less stringent and less formal than that either of *détente* classicism (as in Ghirlandaio and Perugino) or of the newer classicism. His search is for a harmony of which the mobility and apparent naturalness should convey a more immediately plausible conviction of life. The direction initiated in these two landscape frescoes leads, in remarkable swift fruition, to the easy harmony of asymmetrical design in the *Adoration of the Kings* of 1511.

The forms of landscape in the *Punishment of the Gamblers* (Fig. 17) and in the *Clothing of the Leper* (Fig. 18) are still much attached to the quattrocentesque example of Piero di Cosimo; the *Perseus* of the Uffizi is a suggestive point of reference. But these forms have separately been given a more decisive and more collective clarity of shape; and their combination is into a more instantly apparent order. In the *Clothing* a single turning and rising movement, with some sense in it of a spiral, rounds the shapes and space of landscape in a unity; in the *Gamblers* an asymmetrical but balancing chiasma molds the superficial and the spatial extent of design. The thinking in design is, still more evidently than in the architecturally determined *Relics*, of its spatial substance: the manipulation into order is simultaneous in all of its dimensions. The figures move, within this space, in accord with its spatial order, and cohere into an integer of pattern. Despite the reminiscences in detail that still persist from the traditions of the Quattrocento, the relation between figures and environment is essentially not that of the older time: they have not been thought in separate episodes but as functions of a unity — obviously, as yet, imperfect.

In the course of these latter frescoes of the Benizzi series Andrea's conception of the figure itself acquired a further measure of classicizing character, in its greater density of form and in its mode of movement. The figures begin, in these paintings, to act with the symptoms of that heavy grace, almost excessively deliberate, that will more explicitly appear in the works of the succeeding year. It is a conception of movement close to or still within the time of the Benizzi frescoes, and a like conception of form, that appear in Andrea's *Noli Me Tangere* (Florence, Uffizi no. 516; c. 1510; Figs. 21, 22). The figures here similarly tend toward full proportion; and in feeling, in their quality of motion, and in the temper of design in which they are contained there is a deliberateness greater than in any of the frescoes. Whether it is a result of chronological evolution or only of the more limited problem of the easel painting, Andrea reveals, in the *Noli Me Tangere*, a new distinctness of classicism in his style. Andrea's picture is dependent in some measure on Fra Bartolommeo's painting of some four or five years before (Paris, Louvre), in the motive of its composition and, more generally, in its rich chiaroscuro that in the frescoes he obviously could not use. A comparison of the two versions indicates Andrea's evolution to a stage of classical development that the Frate, in his earlier painting, had not then reached. In Andrea's picture the harmony in movement of the figures is more articulated: it is a grace of credible anatomies rather than the rhythmed posing, aesthetically but not humanly convincing, of the Frate's mannekins. In the older composition, there is still the sense of a confrontation between the two actors, but in Andrea's design they are synthetically joined: the moving of the Magdalen is turned and stilled with eloquent slow suavity in the figure of the Christ. In Bartolommeo's work the landscape only stiffly balances the necessary asymmetry of composition: in Andrea's the setting altogether compensates for, and is indivisible from, the figure design.

It must be remembered that this comparison is with a painting of Bartolommeo's of a half decade before. Andrea's reference in his *Noli Me Tangere* is to an early aspect of the Frate's work, not to Bartolommeo's work at this moment, but it is the symptom of a new regard in general for his example. The *Noli Me Tangere* initiates a brief but important phase in Andrea's early evolution in which he, together with the rest of the Florentine school, much more largely admits the authority of Bartolommeo's matured style, only recently affirmed. However, this admission, in Andrea's case, is not only of the Frate's new accomplishment; it also involves Andrea's closer and more understanding study of the Frate's own sources in Leonardo and in Raphael. The sense of slow, grave measure and the purity of shape in the *Noli Me Tangere* are the result of a deeper absorption of Raphael's example, and the modulation of the light, more than it reflects Fra Bartolommeo, refers to Leonardo's art. To a greater degree than in any of Andrea's preceding paintings, the countenance of Christ is identifiably Leonardesque in form and in expression.

A mode of painting like the Frate's, and a vocabulary of forms still more evidently based on his, are part of the first impression given by the earliest portrait by Andrea that survives, the *Young Man* in the collection at Alnwick Castle (c. 1511; Fig. 23). At the same time, however, the picture is a compendium of what had been said in Florence by Leonardo and Raphael about the problem of the portrait in Cinquecento style to date. The *Mona Lisa* is a first point of Andrea's reference, and Raphael's *Angelo Doni,* itself dependent on the Leonardo, a more explicit second. Between the Doni portrait and Andrea's painting, however, a translation by Franciabigio has once more intervened: the *Young Man* (Paris, Louvre), a product of Francesco's most Raphaelesque moment (like that of *Madonna del Pozzo*) c. 1509. From the chronology, Andrea's dependence on Franciabigio's precedent, rather than on Raphael's directly, is implied. The likeness in the posture of the head and torso, in the use of silhouette, and in the role of landscape, and even the particular form of tablelike support, make it clear that this is the case. Yet what the Alnwick portrait demonstrates much more is Andrea's essentially personal transformation in it from Francesco's model. Andrea far transcends the limited expressive range of Franciabigio, and immeasurably exceeds him, now, in flexibility and in fineness of technique. In the portrait, we are made more aware than in the *Noli Me Tangere* of the resources of chiaroscuro that Andrea had developed. Spurred by the example of Bartolommeo but more visually responsive, Andrea experiences light with a vibrance of sensation that harks back to the origin of the *sfumato* style in Leonardo. The quality we remarked, as early as Andrea's predella in the Borghese, of a kinship with Leonardo in optical sensibility was linked there to a similar sensibility, also Leonardo-like, of emotional response. The mood of this portrait, created by its light, its subdued depth of color, and its soft-textured form, is made also by its warmth and gentleness of psychological description. The portrait affirms the perpetuation in Andrea, more than in any preceding picture of his own or of any other Florentine, of Leonardo's values. We are constantly to be reminded, even as Andrea increasingly assumes his own mature identity, that he is Leonardo's closest Florentine heir.

Andrea's concern with the example of Leonardo is no less striking in the *Tobias Altar* (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum no. 650; 1511; Fig. 24). The heads are almost parodies on the Leonardesque ideal: ineffable in expression and described in a powder-puff exaggeration of sfumato, conveyed in the thinnest transparency of paint. Again, as in the Alnwick portrait, Andrea's study of Leonardo is combined with that of Raphael. It was almost inescapable by now in Florence that Leonardo's models be read in conjunction with Raphael's transcriptions and alterations of them. Andrea's distortions of Leonardo's precedent resemble those of Raphael in his most Leonardesque phase, in his last year or so in Florence, as in the *Holy Family* of the Casa Canigiani (Munich), or still more, the (then unfinished) *Madonna del Baldacchino.* It would appear, indeed, that this altarpiece of Raphael's was a primary object of study for Andrea when he created the *Tobias,* and that this study accounts in great part for the qualities of style that distinguish it from Andrea's earlier *Noli Me Tangere.* Andrea's borrowings of motive are almost never explicitly identifiable, but the

Tobias altar seems to confess, in several places, his consultation of the Raphael. But these are important only as an indication of the object of Andrea's study. What is significant is his absorption from this object of the basic principles of Raphael's developed classicizing style. Much more clearly than in the *Noli Me Tangere*, the *Tobias* altar indicates Andrea's emergence as an artist who commands the conventions of the modern style.

Raphael's example, in this case more than Fra Bartolommeo's, would seem to be the most important stimulus to this achievement. And unlike earlier instances where Andrea had studied Raphael, in this one it was no longer through a filter of Franciabigio's interpretations. Perhaps late in 1510, at latest within 1511, the association of the two men had ceased. Andrea found other friendships more interesting than that of the "gray" Franciabigio, and more rewarding artistically. Young Jacopo Sansovino, Andrea's most gifted contemporary in sculpture, became his particular companion. Just returned from a Roman sojourn in 1511, Jacopo must have had stimulus to give of another order altogether than Andrea had had from Franciabigio. Sansovino's accounts of recent happenings in Rome, and perhaps drawings of portions of the Sistine Ceiling and the Stanza della Segnatura, and his own *modelli* may have helped Andrea to a new understanding of the principles of the classical style. In default of a direct experience of recent Rome, Andrea may have turned a closer and more comprehending scrutiny to the local models of classical achievement and to the sole — though unfinished — monumental Raphael in Florence, the *Baldacchino* altar, in particular. In the very moment that marked a *détente* in the development of his former associate, Franciabigio, Andrea, approaching his personal maturity, began to explore a new dimension of the modern manner.

The results of this new exploration in the *Tobias* altar make an evident contrast with the preceding *Noli Me Tangere*. In the *Tobias*, the figures show a greater breadth of form and a ponderation that is at once heavier and more deliberate in its effect of a slow grace. Silhouette and posture are manipulated with a conspicuous effect — new in this measure in Andrea — of suavity. At the same time, contours of form and patterns of drapery are more variously differentiated than in the preceding altarpiece: there is not only a new fullness, but a new richness in Andrea's vocabulary. And for the first time in Andrea's art, he sees his figures as components of a close-knit unity — a single structure woven of suave forms and rhythms. The type of the *Tobias* altar descends from an iconography that, in its Quattrocento versions, had been indeed iconic in effect, but in this altar Andrea has shaped his figures in a scheme that is at once monumental and mobile: it is dense but deliberately scanned, massive but instinct with a musical effect of grace. As in the Alnwick portrait, there is a mode of drawing with the brush and a tendency in describing light that are akin to Fra Bartolommeo, but the basis of Andrea's new accomplishment in the *Tobias* altar is in Raphael. The sophisticated classicizing management of human form in this picture — as in the Gabriel in particular — has no counterpart in Fra Bartolommeo, nor does his work, of this date or later, have the same fluid, interwoven unity among the figures that Andrea makes.

In its figure style and in its ordering of form the *Tobias* altar marks a distinct stage in Andrea's apprehension of the ideas of the classical style. The color of the *Tobias* is even more an affirmation of a distinct step in the development of Andrea's art, but its effect is different, in relation to the conventions of a classicism, from that of the substantial form.

Rich green, rose, violet, blues, oranges, and browns are assembled in the altar. In an artistic climate that was used to the coloristic reticence of Fra Bartolommeo, or the discretion of Raphael, the glowing richness of color in Andrea's picture must have seemed sensational. Leonardo-like in so much else, in this respect of color Andrea is aggressively unfilial. The *Tobias* altar seems a *fronde* within the new tradition. But this is not a protest; it is an affirmation, the assertion of a disposition in Andrea that could not have remained concealed. Its symptoms can be found in the sensibility to color already evident in Andrea's earliest panels, though there it was only tentatively and tenderly expressed. The colorism of the *Tobias* altar is an assertion of what will become a major factor of Andrea's maturer classicism, but it is also the result of his roots in the Quattrocento, and his affinity for elements of Quattrocento taste. This near-kaleidoscope of hues revives the coloristic brilliance of a more archaic mode than Leonardo's, of the kind most evident in Ghirlandaio's school.

There is an element of recall in this, but Andrea's particular mode of handling his color belongs entirely to the new time. More than in any preceding painting by Andrea, in this one color is fused with an atmospheric chiaroscuro. It gives the sense of depth and of a textured richness, remarkably a counterpart to what Venice only shortly earlier had achieved. The color glows, not with the hard lucidity of Ghirlandaiesque hue, but with a soft intensity. In a more urgent tenor than the form, the color makes an effect much, but not exactly, like the form in its warmth and richness. The difference is that in this picture Andrea concedes to color a degree, and an accent, of expressive liberty he does not give the form, for which he entertains a more strictly classicizing ambition. The shaping of the figures strives more surely and more exactly than in any of Andrea's works before for a mode like that of a mature classicism, but the color seeks effects that are not so disciplined. Though far finer and more surely articulated, the mode of color suggests a kinship with that which Albertinelli used in the neighborhood of 1510, and it may come at least in part from his example — not the first time that it has been evident in Andrea's art.

In the *Tobias* altar the transparency of color is too deep, compromising the sense of substance, and its luminosity is too commanding. The color is strong, but it is also precious, and it has an associative overtone that suggests the quality of sentimentality. These last qualities are the equivalent, in the abstract language of coloristic sensation, of the personality Andrea has given to his actors, feminine and treacle-sweet except for the sensitive, but contrastingly vital, portrait of the donor.

The *Tobias* altar marks Andrea's development in two not necessarily convergent senses. On one hand, it reveals his rising mastery of the classical repertory of form, and a deeper penetration of an aspect of its atmosphere of content. On the other hand, there has been an emergence, almost as strong, of a private disposition that is not classicizing. Andrea gives the content of classical example an intonation of extreme emotional sensibility, too yielding, that extends the gender of the feeling we had found in his initial works. He has had the courage to assert, too insistently, his innate sensibility to the aesthetic and expressive resource that he, so far alone among the younger Florentines, finds in color. These developments of Andrea's individuality do not wholly accord with the canon to which, with no less conviction, he is trying to adapt his art.

The *Tobias* altar is a somewhat exceptional event in Andrea's early history, not only for its experimental assertiveness of color. Almost excessively independent in this respect, it is at the same time unusually dependent in its formal vocabulary upon Raphael, as well as upon Leonardo. In Andrea's first decoration at S. Salvi, undertaken in mid-1511 (of the underside of the arch that frames his much later masterwork, the *Last Supper*) Raphael's *Baldacchino* altar is again a source, but in no such pervasive way as for the *Tobias*. In the five fresco *tondi* at S. Salvi (four of seated saints and one of a triune head) that constitute the figural portion of this decoration (Figs. 26–30), Raphael's saints are in some degree the models for Andrea's types; and the too-vaporous Leonardesque painting of the heads in the *Tobias* picture has been abandoned. Drapery patterns are more complicated than in the *Tobias*, but in this respect it becomes apparent that Raphael is no longer Andrea's major model. The more strictly local example of Fra Bartolommeo has reclaimed Andrea's attention, more visibly than it had before. The drapery shows a mode of handling, tending to angular planes, that reflects the Frate's style rather than the suavity of Raphael. The manner of recording light is less smooth than Raphael's, and more accented, as is the Frate's; and there is a tendency like that in the recent works of the Frate to heaviness of shape. It may be the influence of Bartolommeo that has caused Andrea to moderate the coloristic singularity of his *Tobias* altar, though the *gamme* is much the same, but the technical circumstance of working here in fresco may be the more decisive factor. Andrea's renewed admission of Bartolommeo's authority, and its result in the figure style at S. Salvi, is like that in the contemporary Franciabigio, but this is a direction that Andrea now quite independently pursues.

The evidence in the S. Salvi tondi, in mid-1511, of a more precise consideration of Fra Bartolommeo's art helps to explain in part the style of Andrea's fresco *Adoration of the Magi* (Figs. 32, 33) painted in the forecourt of the Annunziata late in that same year. The tondi may be taken as a middle term between the *Tobias* altar and the *Adoration*, but despite the presence of a middle term, the development of Andrea's powers in this fresco of late 1511 is remarkable. In a single, almost dramatic creative act he takes on the stature that, from now on, will be his. The *Adoration* reveals a new measure of its painter's personality, large and boldly confident; there is no more than the slightest trace of persistence from the tradition of the Quattrocento. In the *Adoration* Andrea comes abreast of — and in some ways overtakes — the development of Bartolommeo, and attains a style comparable not only to that of the contemporary Frate but even, in essential characteristics, to that of Raphael in a moment just before in Rome.

What Raphael left behind in Florence is not sufficient precedent to explain this fresco, as it had been to help explain the style of the *Tobias* altar; and Leonardo's and Michelangelo's Cartoons are evidently not relevant. It is conceivable, as we have suggested, that Andrea may have been exposed to some ideas of Roman style by his friend Jacopo Sansovino (who stands portrayed beside Andrea in the right corner of this fresco); but it is also possible that Andrea had, between the completion of the S. Salvi tondi and the beginning of the *Adoration*, some brief opportunity to see the Roman works themselves of which his friend had spoken. By mid-1511, Raphael's work in the Stanza della Segnatura had probably proceeded as far as the completion of the *School of Athens*. We have observed that Andrea never makes an easy confession of his borrowings, and if there are borrowings from the Stanza in the *Adoration*, no one of them is sufficiently explicit to enable us to prove direct knowledge by

Andrea of the Roman Raphael. Andrea's young King, in the center of his fresco, suggests the youth toward the left in Raphael's *Disputà*, and the portrait group in the *Adoration*, and the amply draped figure toward the left front also, suggest the group at the lower right of the *School of Athens*. Some gestures and attitudes are distant kin. However, there is no sufficient index of relation to make proof of it; this situation will recur. Perhaps the most important evidences of likeness to the Stanza are not in motives, but in the larger factors of design in Andrea's fresco — in the new mobility and monumentality, like Raphael's, that it displays — but again there is no way to certify that these are consequences of a Roman experience. It would seem that the new dimension of Andrea's art, and the new resources it displays in the *Adoration* must have been stimulated by some outside source, but that this was the Roman Raphael must remain a supposition. It may, however, be the best supposition we can offer for the much disputed time of a journey by Andrea to Rome.

Despite his new kind and new measure of attainment in it, Andrea still speaks the accent of Florence in the *Adoration*; and it may be that Fra Bartolommeo's model, as he had demonstrated it in Florence so far, accounts sufficiently for what in the fresco is not the result of Andrea's own prior experience and his maturing powers of invention. Unlike the Roman Raphael, the Frate's model was provably accessible, and its influence in the style of the *Adoration* is evident. One of the major elements in the new aspect of Andrea's fresco is his canon of a broadly massive, as well as a heavily ponderated, human form. This, and Andrea's conception of stance and attitude, resemble Bartolommeo's; and Andrea gives these qualities an even stronger emphasis than the Frate. Also like the Frate's is Andrea's accented chiaroscuro, which he uses here for the first time as a major agency for harmonizing form and color in a fresco. The dominantly angular drawing of drapery patterns also shows the strong impress of the Florentine *caposcuola*. The very limitations of classicizing form that are apparent in the fresco — the only partial development of *contrapposto* and the residue of additive mentality in the building of the figures into groups — are the limitations of Fra Bartolommeo's art in 1511.

Andrea's figures are, now, conceived according to Fra Bartolommeo's most recent demonstration of a classical canon. However, they possess qualities that had never been particularly apparent in the Frate and had diminished as he evolved toward fuller classicism in his style. Andrea's actors — even those who are most deliberately posed — are much more vital than Fra Bartolommeo's; they are more inhabited in body and in face by human energy. Within their classicizing cast they are observed and characterized with a cogency and variety far beyond what Andrea had shown in the Benizzi frescoes. Beside them the Frate's models of the moment look, more than ever, like studio conventions. From that aspect of Andrea's temperament that determined his affinity, in the Benizzi frescoes, to the Quattrocento's realist tradition, he has infused into Bartolommeo's figure style a measure of vitality that — for reasons no less temperamental in the Frate — it lacked.

A similar effect, of form at once more classical and more vital, has been worked by Andrea on the *Adoration*'s larger ordnance of form. There is a marked difference from the Benizzi frescoes in the manner of combining figures in this composition. It is a decisive step in the direction of mature classical style that figures are no longer set out (as in the *Relics*) as sparse loci of a geometric pattern nor (as in the *Funeral*) loosely accumulated into groups; instead they are assembled in broad masses, plastically full and patterned with connective rhythms. The sense of a slow-movemented largeness in the single forms is magnified by the resonance one form makes against another in a group.

However, the way in which Andrea arranges these groups into a composition is according to a system personal to him, different not only from Fra Bartolommeo, but from any scheme in Raphael up to this time; it anticipates, in fact, an invention to which Raphael came toward 1513. Andrea's composition demonstrates, as much as do the single figures, an effect of heavy equilibrium. The figures are disposed, with respect to their design upon the surface, in a varied, gently undulating, and controlling pattern of near-isocephaly. Yet their division into groups is strongly asymmetrical, with a marked predominance of mass in the main, rightward group. An abnormality of iconography helps the artist justify this structure; strictly, this is not an *Adoration* but a *Procession of the Magi*. Andrea's fresco is intended to be read, though hardly convincingly, as a complement to the *Nativity* of Baldovinetti, which is in a bay to the left in the courtyard, beyond an intervening door. It is this pretext of direction that supplies, literally, the motive for Andrea's design. Its structural precedent, however, appeared before in Andrea where there was no such motive, in the *Gamblers* of the Benizzi series. In the *Adoration*, where the asymmetry is at once more powerful and more certainly controlled, the intention of its use is much the same. Andrea endows the structure — now much more substantial — with the conviction of an apparently informal life, of a kind that Fra Bartolommeo's hieratic altar-schemes did not allow. The adjustment of this asymmetry into equilibrium is most sophisticated in its means, but again it is based on ideas first devised in the Benizzi *Gamblers*. The forms of landscape, and of architecture also, are disposed so as to compensate, by their shape and impulse of direction, the mass and movement of the crowd; in doing so yet further, enlivening, asymmetries are made along with their effects of balance. Color is used in a comparable way, with a remarkable awareness of its effects of apparent weight or lightness and assertive or recessive hue.

The whole procession comes toward us out of the distant countryside and approaches, on an oblique front, wedgelike across the center of the picture field. Within the procession there is both continuity and reversal of its evident direction. This is most obvious in the two foremost Magi, who, as they march deliberately toward the left, turn their attention, and their upper bodies, crosswise toward the right. The direction of the group is counterweighted to the right by the portrait group of spectators: Andrea, Sansovino, and their musician friend Ajolle; to the left the shape and movement of the cortege is countered, and its direction turned, by the broad, rotating form of the attendant in the nearest foreground. His movement is continued rearward in the space, arrested by the oblique mass of architecture, and unassertively returned toward the main group by the welcoming figures farther to the rear. Despite the very look of informality, which its asymmetry is meant to promote, there is hardly an element in the fresco that does not have a precisely meditated role in its complex equilibrium.

Beyond Andrea's sophistication in manipulating elements of the design there is a development, more meaningful and profound, of his classical conception of the nature of pictorial structure. Far more than in its first evidences in the *Relics* or the *Gamblers* of the Benizzi frescoes, there is the sense in the *Adoration* that its whole form is an integer, and that its superficial order and its design in space are indissoluble and were, in Andrea's invention of design, coeval. Andrea thinks, now, of the whole content of this illusive excavation of the wall as a malleable unity, to be wrought simultaneously in all directions and in all its elements at once — plane, mass, space, and colored light — to his pictorial purpose. And there is no remnant now of what, in the later Benizzi frescoes, had been apparent as a dualism of purpose: a distinction between the function of the picture as a representation and its object of creating an aesthetic order. Both meanings now seem to grow from one another, as interpenetrated functions of a unity of vision and of form.

The structure in which Andrea presents this scene of a stately, yet mundane, processional is, in terms of the development of the older masters of the classical style, precocious. Andrea employs much the same motives of design, and many of the compositional devices, that Raphael evolved for his later *Repulse of Attila* — not altogether unlike in the problem offered by its subject matter. It is as if Andrea, who had only newly grasped the discipline of the more conventional examples of mature classical style, should at once have invaded its advanced terrain. The *Adoration* offers a variant definition of the classical painting style in Florence. It is a style more vital and complex than Fra Bartolommeo's, with a potential for more searching and even more varied development.

Still, the *Adoration* lacks, in some respects, some refinements that appear in Bartolommeo's more personally mature contemporary style. Andrea had not yet attained such rounding grace of drawing or quite such power of generalization as the Frate had demonstrated in his *Marriage of St. Catherine* (Paris, Louvre) of this year. There was still cause for Andrea to regard Bartolommeo's example. In his search for consistency in the new style Andrea accepted and adapted not only the Frate's model of form, but much of its corresponding mood, and even exploited Bartolommeo's precedents of composition, manipulating them to his own ends. Andrea's *Annunciation* (Florence, Pitti no. 124, c. 1512; Fig. 36), once in the convent of S. Gallo, derives its figure composition not directly from Fra Bartolommeo, but from Albertinelli's altarpiece (Florence, Academy) of 1510; Andrea's alterations from this model are, however, a critique of Albertinelli's lapses from his master's style. First typologically, then in quality of expression, formal and psychological, and finally in smoothed grace of attitude and contour, Andrea's figures refer to the Frate's art in its most recent phase, as in the Louvre altar. But where Bartolommeo's example tends toward blandness, Andrea reinstills it with controlled and subtly vibrant animation. It is not only in the finely movemented variety of all his drawing in the picture that we are made to feel it, but by psychological device: by the communicative power of a gaze, or in the meaning of a gesture, gently tensed. There is no excitement, but instead, a fine-grained texture of aesthetic and emotional intensity. This is, more than in the fresco *Adoration,* in a careful and deliberated mode — fine and cautious in technique as well as in expression. Color, also, has been curbed and disciplined. The blue, light red, lilac, and brown tones of the *Annunciation* are muted, conspicuously different from the assertiveness of hues in the earlier panel painting of *Tobias.*

The design of the *Annunciation*, seemingly so dependent on Bartolommeo's school, has been given a unity quite absent from Albertinelli's model, and more articulated than in the paintings of the Frate, by Andrea's manipulation in it of responsive shapes and sequences of cursive rhythm. The design moves with a controlled and subtle scansion that is sophisticated beyond any previous effect in Andrea's own work or in any other work in Florence of this time. Far more than in Albertinelli's model, and with a more disciplined coherence than in his own composition of the *Adoration* fresco, similarly open, Andrea has made his composition of figures inseparable from their space and setting. An architecture, more stable than in the *Adoration* but also asymmetrically disposed, enlivens and defines the space and amplifies the figures' monumentality, and the figures are explicitly dependent on it to complete a single texture of design. The rhythm of Gabriel's gesture is at once expressively suspended and transmitted by the architecture, and the face and body of the Virgin are given higher resonance in their frame of architectural forms. Andrea's calculation of relations of design like these is yet more self-conscious and more pervasive in the *Annunciation* than in any prior work of his; and it is the consequence of a more entire awareness of the role, as form, of each element of representation. It is in the *Annunciation* that we begin to sense the exceptional skill with which Andrea relates forms: it is the manifestation in him of a special quality of aesthetic intelligence that will come to be almost comparable to that of Raphael.

The *Annunciation* of S. Gallo is filled with perfectly self-conscious restraints, a paraphrase of the Bartolomesque mood that had inspired it. But the inventive individuality that had made the *Adoration*, and conceived the extraordinary coloristic experiment of the *Tobias* altar, could not be suppressed by the authority of Fra Bartolommeo's reigning example. A group of panels we assign to the time succeeding the *Annunciation*, from 1512 and into 1513, is still involved with the example of Fra Bartolommeo's art and still concerned with what could be learned in it of further classical resource. At the same time these pictures affirm, at a new level of intensity, elements in Andrea's own personality that are not necessarily consistent with Bartolommeo's kind of classicism.

The earliest of these panels is the small altarpiece of the *Marriage of St. Catherine* (Dresden, Gallery no. 76; Figs. 38, 39): it refers not only for general character of style but for composition directly to the Frate's painting of the same theme, in the Louvre, of 1511. In Andrea's painting, his figures are described not only with Bartolommeo's breadth, but with a force in their generalization of form that exceeds the Frate's. They have a new rounded unitary shape; even more than in Bartolommeo we read them instantly in the whole and only in a second moment in interior detail. The proportions of the figures are different from Bartolommeo's. They seem less mature and more personally appropriate to the younger painter: less imitative than in the *Adoration of the Magi* or the *Annunciation* of the Frate's model. The whole picture is inhabited, in fact, by emphases that alter, with strong personal effect, the stylistic models of Fra Bartolommeo. The composition concentrates Bartolommeo's scheme into a more substantial, compressed mass, more contained and more spheroid than any composition of the Frate's to this time. The substance is internally articulated with more richness, and with far more energy, than in the works of Bartolommeo. Despite its painterly effects of color and chiaroscuro — the former especially far more emphatic than in Bartolommeo's style — this structure has a character of sculpturally excavated mass. The idea may have been inspired initially by Andrea's renewed contemplation of Michelangelo or Leonardo, but it is worked out here in a development of Bartolommeo's tectonics of explicitly pictorial space. This is not, as in the *Battle of Anghiari* or in the Doni tondo, an excavation around and toward a core of substance, but a building-out of substances around a core of space. The color is in the vein that had first emerged in the *Tobias*: there is the same light-infused intensity of assertive hues. The green of the Gabriel of the *Tobias* altar reappears in the St. Margaret here, and there is a bold golden orange in the skirt of Catherine; the Madonna's dress is a high-keyed pale red, partly masked by a dark blue mantle. These strong tones glow against the paler colors of the incidental figures and the background. More even than in the *Tobias* altar, there is the sense in this of the brilliance and the energies of a Quattrocento palette, appropriately transmuted.

This life of color is not, as often in the aesthetic of the Quattrocento, a separate function, but is integral to the whole tenor of Andrea's communication. It has a high-keyed vibrance that corresponds to the intensity with which Andrea's figures feel and move. More than in the processional *Adoration*, the *Marriage* asserts forms and mood in movement: an excitement close to rapture fills the actors in this picture. Even within the massive and symmetrical design that contains them the actions of the figures, like their emotions, seem imminently unstable. The category of emotion that is here expressed resembles that of Fra Bartolommeo in basic kind, but the degree of emotion is distinctly different. It has been intensified, sharpened, and made subtle to that point where its difference in degree verges on translation into another kind. Yet, with this heightening of expression of Andrea's innate mode of emotional response, there has been a concomitant increase of his aesthetic discipline. His feeling is more pointedly articulated, and the vocabulary of form that tells us of emotive states not just by countenances and by gestures but in color and by shapes — speaks with more eloquent and precise energy than it has before. Further, Andrea has made design in this picture more effectively classical than in preceding works so that it compels the picture's contents into unity. It is this authority of classical structure that finally decides the personality of the picture and provides a context for its excitements of feeling, its radiance of color, and its energies of form.

By contrast with the models Fra Bartolommeo offers, Andrea's picture lies at an opposite pole of the range of content that a classical style permits. Where Bartolommeo's great altars of this time are emotionally bland, Andrea's *Marriage of St. Catherine* makes a less pure, more active, communication. Bartolommeo's art accentuates a classical effect of ideal distance; Andrea's, on the contrary, intensifies the sense of physical and psychic presence. From this time onward Andrea's classicism carries in it, more than any other major variant of the style, the quality of accessibility, or even intimacy, of his images. In this sense Andrea's idiom is the most peculiarly Florentine of all the classical modes. And at its far lesser level it reflects, in this concern for the actuality of experience, some of the character and some of the limitations of the Florentine founder of the style, Leonardo.

We observed previously that, compared with the models of the Frate especially, the degree of emotion in the *Catherine* altar verges on trespass into another region of feeling. Andrea's pupils, shortly to emerge as independent painters, would make this trespass. In the novelty and expressive energy of this painting Pontormo found stimulus to the mood of his S. Ruffillo altar, and Rosso to his coloristic eccentricities. Out of the classicism barely formulated by Andrea, his pupils would extract matter for what would become, in their hands, the first symptoms of a Mannerism. But this occurs, in them, within a mode of form either less classically developed than here or, later, already evolved into a post-classicism. The analogue for Andrea's style in the *Catherine* altar lies less with his Mannerizing pupils, despite its influence on them, than in the North of Italy, in the roughly contemporary work of Correggio.

The Dresden altar seems to be a special case, in this moment of Andrea's development, in its demonstration of emotion, of movemented form, and of color. In two paintings that must only shortly have succeeded it, a *Madonna with the Infant St. John* (Rome, Galleria Borghese no. 336; Fig. 41) and a *Madonna with St. John and Three Angels* (lost; good copies at Petworth, Fig. 40, and Toronto), the general tenor of emotion is that of the altarpiece, but it is in a lower key, without the intonation of febrility that gives the larger work its special cast. In the *Madonna with St. John and Three Angels*, the infant forms are not less energetic or measurably less inspired than in the altar, but their actions work in a more concentrated pattern. The whole composition of the painting is more concentrated and plastically dense. The design seems to have developed from the Dresden work in the classical direction of cohesiveness and unity of substance, and this character of design weighs upon the temper of the actors, moderating and controlling it. In the Borghese painting, the Madonna figure is almost literally derived from the *Marriage of St. Catherine,* but again, in this reduced composition (but not for this quantitative reason only), there is the effect of a condensation into unity of plastic form, still more evident than in the *Madonna with Angels* and more purposefully accomplished. Both pictures share another difference from the *Marriage of St. Catherine*: their color is, by comparison with that painting, decidedly subdued, without the surprising hues or the strong intensities of the altar; except for the luminosity their colors still retain their register is not so very different from Fra Bartolommeo's. Both paintings have the accent of feeling and an energy of form and light that are undiminished indices of Andrea's differences from the Frate, and the Borghese panel has a liberty of handling the *caposcuola* would have considered unpermissible; but these indices are subjected to a discipline more sure than it had been before.

The increasing discipline that both these paintings reveal is more exact in the so-called *Holy Family with St. Catherine* (Leningrad, Hermitage no. 62; Figs. 42–44), probably the latest of this group of panels, but probably still within 1513. As an invention of design this picture seems, still more than the comparable *Madonna with Angels,* restrained and simple, but the first appearance of simplicity is specious. What seems to be an almost archaizing lateral, nearly isocephalic, order of the three adult figures is actually a subtle disposition of them, in a shallow arc of which the chord is laid diagonally in space. This spatial order accords exactly with the motive of design on the surface: a counterclockwise arc, which irresistibly binds the outer contours of the figure group, and of which the chord ascends diagonally from left to right. The scheme is not a coincidence of separately conceived ideas of surface and of spatial order: no motive of organization on the surface is meant to work separately from its function in the ordering of space. The pattern made upon the surface and that made of substance are not just interlocked and concordant; they are one from their conception. Design is thought of from the beginning as a simultaneous manipulation of form in all dimensions, in a single process and with one effect. As is not usual among the Florentines, this process of manipulation includes a role for color as an inherent property of form, not as an afterthought. In this picture color serves not only to articulate the spatial factor in design but to readjust the asymmetry of form in space toward a coherent unity of surface — as if to reestablish the aesthetic, but not the representational, illusion of a classicizing integrity of the picture plane. As the figures are set deeper in the space color in them becomes more luminous (as in the different strengths of violet in the garments of Mary and Elizabeth, or in the flesh tones of the Christ and John), or an assertive color is introduced, as in the vermilion in the dress of Catherine. In terms of color Catherine's shape is projected toward the foremost plane; it becomes equivalent in aesthetic effect of nearness and, thus, equivalent in the picture's surface pattern, to the mantle of Elizabeth. Andrea here achieves what is more than a color harmony; it is a use of color that promotes, beyond harmony, an integrity of the design.

There is an almost febrile energy of drawing in Andrea's picture. It is broken, various, and intimate in its description of the rhythmical activity of forms, but even this excitement of draughtsmanship is not a primary factor in the picture's style. The character of the drawing is dependent on and determined by the character of light, more subtly complicated and alive than in any Florentine painting since Leonardo. The light is more shaded and crepuscular and, at the same time, more vibrantly differentiated than in Leonardo; it is more responsive to an actual effect of nature, and less intellectually controlled. There is a muted excitement, or even excitability, at once sharp and exquisite, in this recreation of an optical experience.

This physical atmosphere of the picture is also its atmosphere of emotion, in which Andrea transcribes — with a sensibility that again recalls Leonardo, but which is more dispersed, and varied in accent — feelings that range from the shaded, subtlest tenderness of the Madonna to the inspiration, by no means a childish joy, of the Christ Child. All these states of mind are intimately felt and characterized, as they were in Leonardo, but there is then no subsequent imposition on them, as in Leonardo, of a measure of reserve. These sensations are meant to be shared by us immediately and entirely, with the effect more nearly of our identification with the actors than of our contemplation of them. The tone of the emotion is, basically, like the gently vibrant harmony of feeling that is common to devotional pictures in the classical style, but the acuity and range of psychological effects are unaccustomed, as is also the specific character of feeling — an ecstatic possession — in the Children. The intimacy of sensation is such that it abolishes almost all the customary classicizing sense of distance. This picture refines that quality of pathetic excitement which had been in the Dresden altar, but of which the promise was explicit even in Andrea's very early Borghese *Pietà.*

A temper like that in the Leningrad *Holy Family*, but less exquisitely articulated, appears in three grisaille canvases (Florence, Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni; Figs. 45–47) that Andrea contributed, most probably in 1513, to some ephemeral decoration for the returned Medici. Because they are occasional works, they are quicker and more casual in technique than the *Holy Family*; they have a quick and lively, but also virile, informality of drawing and a sketchlike roughness in their setting down of forms. An energetic arabesque, almost careless of any meditated order, makes their compositions. Of long and narrow format, each of Andrea's canvases depicts an unidentifiable classical subject. In the largest of them two female nudes recline in company with two putti, who hold pieces of armor; in a second a warrior in ancient costume and a nude man are disposed before more trophies; in the third are three nude faunlike musicians. The symbolism seems indefinite and rather casual, and only one detail may be construed to indicate that this work celebrates, precisely, a Medicean occasion: the crowns of laurel that the figures wear, in reference to the leaves of the Medici *Broncone*.

As an even approximate exercise of classical illustration these paintings would not satisfy the most relaxed Roman standard; only their nudity and their summary accessories testify that they are meant to represent an ancient world. The conception of an archaeological recreation of antiquity, by now so thoroughly developed in the Roman school, had hardly any currency in Florence, even at this date. Andrea's view of antiquity seems as little, or less, controlled by reference to the grammar of a visual humanism than was Piero di Cosimo's, and — to judge by these insufficient yet almost unique examples in the whole of Andrea's art — are not even so precisely illustrative of an antique matter in a literary sense. Andrea's culture was evidently not deeply literary or humanist; the matter of his art was the world he could observe within the range of the *campanile*.

II

1514–1521

THE style Andrea had attained by 1513 was the basis from which he moved into the next major stage of his development, to achieve what was an entire personal maturity and a full maturity of accomplishment in painting in the classical style. As he attained this complete command of a classical vocabulary — a vocabulary that was for its current Florentine exemplar, Fra Bartolommeo, a vocabulary of generalizations — Andrea sacrificed no part of his special individuality; he only channeled its expression into the repertory of classicism, and controlled it within the range of classicizing disciplines. Nor did Andrea, when he achieved his mastery of the new style, forget his sympathy with the older tradition of painting, yet more peculiarly Florentine than the new. Nowhere is Andrea's attachment to the *campanile* more apparent than in the first great achievement of his artistic maturity, the fresco *Birth of the Virgin* (SS. Annunziata; begun late 1513, dated 1514; Figs. 49–51).

Like the famous Ghirlandaio fresco of this theme that was Andrea's initial inspiration, Andrea's scene contains a strong element of *reportage*. On Ghirlandaio's precedent the subject is taken as a pretext for a presentation that is mundane, opulent, and actual, but less aristocratic than the Ghirlandaio. Our image of Florentine society in these years tends to come from Andrea's fresco: this is a conspicuous example of the power of art to mold, aesthetically, a concept of historical sociology. Descriptively, the fresco is a kind of journalism, a record of a visit of congratulation to a wealthy house to which an heiress has been born. The fact that this particular event is more than actuality, that it is miracle, is quite secondary; but it is at least referred to in the topmost reaches of the room where (adapting the iconographic idea of a print by Dürer) angels ecstatically celebrate the birth. This incident does not change the journalistic fact; no other picture since the founding of the Cinquecento style had so little in it of the classical ideal distance between the image and the spectator; conversely, no other image on this scale had been so welcoming and accessible.

The effect of an actuality which virtually invites our sharing in it is achieved by means, and in a humor that resemble those of the recent *Holy Family* in Leningrad, but here the similar subtle vibrance of form and emotion is magnified and diffused through a wider space. The resulting effect of content is a gentle liveness skillfully differentiated through the vast range of one harmonious, and pleasurable, mood. The effect is classical in the most obvious, but also in an entirely developed sense.

Our conviction of the actuality of these sensations of the persons in Andrea's fresco is of course inseparable from what is, for the first time in Andrea's art to this degree, the unexceptionable plausibility of their physical being. There is not the slightest problem of skill in imitative drawing; nor is there any conflict between generalization and description of detail. One appears to grow in living process out of the other, and both have become functions of a single visual and substantial unity. Most important, there is no conflict between internal aesthetic predisposition, and its manifest habits of hand, and the data of appearance given by the object. The process by which these figures are described is neither imitative nor aesthetically arbitrary but, literally, reproductive. The seen image and the artist's mind, shaping as it sees, are in vitally responsive, synthetic adjustment to each other. Our easy act of credence in Andrea's actors is not, as in the Ghirlandaio, a willed act of belief but an involvement in the working of a vital process. Such creation is, in its most convincing form, the *natura naturans* of classical style.

The canon of appearance and of attitude to which Andrea's personalities conform is more nearly than before like that in Fra Bartolommeo's mature mode, but it still retains, from Andrea's earlier predisposition, a tendency to broader forms. The tempered but rich energy these forms possess is expressed in their rhythmic structure: generous, slow-moving, and now articulately suave beyond any aspiration of the Frate. The plastic richness of these rhythms suggests a quality that is not only of the eye but tactile: a malleability as of real substances, shaped by a powerful yet gentle and responsive hand. Such structures of rhythm are of course entire artifice, but so coherent are they with the naturalness of appearance and feeling of the figures that they seem to grow out of them rather than to be imposed. The "design" of the actors seems the consequence of the kind of beings that they are in form and state of mind. Yet such effects are, inescapably, effects of art, and no matter how sensuously actual-seeming, or even how seemingly casual, these persons are we recognize them as components of an aesthetically transmuted world.

The composition equally makes most careful pretense to be casual. Its figures and its setting are disposed as if by accident, without evidence of formal emphasis on axes or on symmetry. The idea is developed, with much higher skill, from that presented in the adjacent fresco of the *Adoration*. In the *Birth of the Virgin*, the compositional scheme fulfills the pervasive intention of Andrea for this work: to convey the sense that this picture's world is actual, alive in the manner of our own and, in effect, accessible to us. Nevertheless, the evidence of art in the whole design emerges yet more strongly than in its parts: the deliberation of each form is magnified in its relation with the others and in the context of the calculated whole. Within the clear cubical framework of the painted room the elements of setting are placed asymmetrically, just to the degree required to offset the asymmetry of figures; at the same time this interior architecture frames, or clearly points up, the actors. They are arranged in an arabesque shaped, as befits their fullness, like a cornucopia. The rhythm of the composition unfolds, as it were, from that of the figures, and has their suave amplitude and their plasticity. From the door in the deepest space at rear left (where a porter bearing wood, now all but obliterated, is about to enter) an irresistible curve moves forward through the room, leaving a meaningful perspective hiatus for the Joachim; his movement, a kind of semicolon in this eloquent formal phrase, is taken up in the near-arrest of the monumental women nearest us — beings fit to occupy a pediment on the Parthenon, but masquerading in the prose of casual action and contemporary dress — and with deep slow grace is turned and diffused, again rearwards, toward Anna and her servitors around the bed. The design is, far more than had been adumbrated in the *Adoration*, a functioning of substances within the space, or rather — so strong is the sensation here of a pictorial integer — the design seems a differentiation of substances within a single whole texture of the work of art.

That this texture is a unity is affirmed, as never before in Florence except by Leonardo, and never at all in a Florentine work of fresco, by Andrea's handling of chiaroscuro and color. Light and dark are richly modulated as in the mature pictures of the Frate, but with a yet greater effect as of a respiration, like that of the rhythm we feel in Andrea's composition. The subtlety of chiaroscuro far exceeds anything in Bartolommeo; for such effects of sensibility, both of observation and of calculating manipulation, there is no precedent in Florence but Leonardo's; and this sensibility to light is fused with an equal responsiveness to color.

Like the composition of the figures, the design in color seems to grow by differentiation from the texture of a whole lighted space. From a harmonizing and controlling darker tonality of atmosphere the colors emerge with gradual increasing brightness. As the forms to which color is attached grow more clear and substantial the color becomes equally more clear, but also, as if partly to compensate for the greater mass of forms, less grave. The colors include all the familiar primaries that are found on the Quattrocento palette, but none is expressed with quattrocentesque simplicity: each hue is mixed and muted, responsive to the qualifying effects of chiaroscuro atmosphere. But accompanying this ultimate sophistication in description is the effect, hardly less evident than in the disposition of the forms, of deliberate design in color. Against the background of darkish green the design in color emerges, with the pattern of figure composition to which it is attached, first as darkened lavender; this, becoming lighter and more assertive in a nearer form and more infused with red, is then differentiated into browned red-orange and into muted blue; at this point, in the seated handmaid at left center, a dusty golden-yellow is introduced as accent, but also as complementary contrast, to the violet. The foremost figures articulate the two tones of this figure, each separately and more palely. At the right, the color recedes again to blue — echoing the blue skirt of the nurse at the left — and to tones of warm or darkened violet. Through all the figures a weaving lace of color runs, threading them together: of white or, more subtly assertive, of the fundamental violet. Even Raphael's contemporary work shows a less nice calculation of color than Andrea's in this fresco; and the contemporaries in Venice at this exact date, though more assertive of their optical experience, are not so subtle in its description, and they are conspicuously less sensible of its possibilities of aesthetic manipulation. Andrea's colorism is more than any Florentine's like that of the Venetians, but his Florentine *disegno* is applied as articulately to color as it is to form.

The *Birth of the Virgin* is the evidence of Andrea's emergence to complete maturity, in personal style and in the classical idiom of painting. In this picture he has explicitly fulfilled the proposition of a classical mode, more vital than Fra Bartolommeo's, that he had laid down in the *Adoration*; and now the difference is not one only of vitality, but of subtlety and power of both human and aesthetic meaning.

More than Bartolommeo's, Andrea's formulation of a fully mature classical style is like

Raphael's accomplishment in his phase just closed. The suavity of classical idiom that Andrea attains in the *Birth of the Virgin* has no counterpart in the Florence of this time but is like Raphael's in Rome. And it is also true, as it was of the earlier *Adoration*, that the development of style this fresco shows, in comparison with Andrea's just preceding work, seems more than a normal evolutionary expectation. Here, too, the possibility suggests itself that some part of this likeness in Andrea's *Birth of the Virgin* to Raphael's Roman style is the result of a direct experience, either one that might have been secured earlier, in 1511 — but now more thoroughly digested — or an experience altogether new and more recent in time. But again the question of a Roman trip yields no sure answer. No certifiable index of an exposure to the Stanza is in this fresco either; one specific motive only, the attitude of Joachim, may uncertainly relate to the *Parnassus* or the *School of Athens*. Except for this there is no indication of what we know is a result in every other artist of exposure to the examples of contemporary Roman art: the reflection of its repertory of motives of appearances and actions. There is no provable acquaintance in the *Birth of the Virgin* with this Roman treasury, nor is there any other certain index of such knowledge in works of the next years. The assumption of direct experience of Rome before Andrea's creation of his great fresco of 1514 is as much an arguable hypothesis as the similar supposition we have ventured for the companion fresco of 1511. The date of the brief trip that Vasari reports (V, 55) can no more provably be fixed here than earlier. And again as in the case of the *Adoration*, it remains possible that the affinity of the *Birth of the Virgin* to Raphael's Roman style could be the result of Andrea's own independent powers and process of development.

It is not only the supreme fluency of Andrea's style in the *Birth of the Virgin* that promotes the effect of an affinity with Raphael, but the comparable level of psychological and aesthetic sophistication, and beyond this, the vitality — different in temper but not in basic kind — which their art shares. Also, Andrea's style is like Raphael's in its creation of new possibilities of monumental form, less bound than the possibilities of the earlier maturity of classical style to formulas of symmetry. Andrea's variant of classicism is a summary and an affirmation of what had come before in Florence, but it is also now a new threshold for this style.

However, one of the very resources that gave Andrea's style the potential of a new development was at the same time a function of his own, and his style's, gravest limitation. Andrea's responsiveness to the aliveness of nature as a visual datum and to the aliveness of the beings who act in nature was a source of energy, and of enrichment with variety, of his art. In this fact as in others Andrea's situation resembles that of the contemporary Venetians, who derive from closer contact with the life of nature an avenue of new development for classical style. But in Andrea the relationship to nature was not so vital as that of the Venetians; there is the tenderest subtlety and, often, depth in his experience of the world, and there are episodes of excitement, but there is no urgent passion. The naturalness of his actors is not only in their looks and in their environment but in their absence of any unaccustomed spiritual dimension. There is little in Andrea's achieved art of the hieratic, though often slightly vacant, grandeur of Fra Bartolommeo and less of the high drama of the mature Raphael, and he has no will whatever to strong conceptions of ethic or of intellect. Andrea does not have, thus, the motive — the aspiring tensions of the mind and spirit, as does Raphael, or even Fra Bartolommeo, though with less effect — powerfully to develop the resources of his own new variant of a classicism. He does not seek as much as they do higher dimensions of expression for the instrument of style he has made.

Vasari recognized this limitation of spiritual reach in Andrea, and characterized it gently but unsparingly. There is something in Andrea, temperamentally, of the quattrocentesque painter of the type of Ghirlandaio, whose work his *Birth of the Virgin*, in spite of all the differences, persistently resembles. Andrea's art is, of course, historically inseparable from its context, but it is an index of the inescapable authority of that context — as well as of Andrea's profound and malleable aesthetic sensibility — that a painter of this temperament should have become a master of the classical style. It is not uncharacteristic of the history of this style in Florence that in Andrea, as in Fra Bartolommeo also, the forms of classicism, and their content as aesthetic forms, should weigh more solemnly than the specifically human content, and lend the illustrative meaning more of dignity and import than it actually contains.

Old and dependable tradition tells us that Lucrezia del Fede, Andrea's wife-to-be, served as model for more than one face in the *Birth of the Virgin*. Her countenance, most recognizable in the fresco as that of the visitor in the center, had appeared earlier as the St. Catherine of the *Holy Family* in Leningrad. In 1513 or 1514, at least three years before their marriage, Andrea painted a formal portrait of Lucrezia (Madrid, Prado no. 332; Fig. 52). In this case Raphael turns for example, as he had for a portrait once before, to the Florentine legacy of Raphael. It is from the memory of Raphael's *Donna Gravida*, still more than from the also resembling *Maddalena Doni* (both Florence, Pitti), that Andrea departs in his portrait; but far more than any borrowed element it is Andrea's own mode of vision and sensation that gives its personality to his painting. In a color scheme as warm and sensitive as that in the *Birth of the Virgin*, Andrea uses muted yellow-golds and browns for Lucrezia's costume and relieves the silvered glow of Lucrezia's face and shoulders on a background of neutral blue-black. The tenor of feeling for the sitter is like that the color gives: a gentle and deep warmth of presence. But despite the warmth of physical presence and of optical sensation with which Andrea has described Lucrezia, there is an element of restraint, or better guardedness, in her communication with us. Her expression may be an index of the nature of her relationship with Andrea at this time, or it may equally be Andrea's guard against too legible a confession. In any case, this first portrait lacks the wonderful psychological immediacy Lucrezia's later images will have, whether in portraiture or in religious guise. Here she gives us the sensation of a more bourgeoise *Mona Lisa*, self-consciously reserved rather than inscrutable.

In 1515, Andrea returned to the decoration he had begun some few years earlier, of the courtyard of the Confraternity of the Scalzo (Fig. 53). Beside the frescoes of the atrium of the Annunziata, in which he had already taken so conspicuous a part, this small *cortile* in the Scalzo was to be the principal decorative project of the classical period in Florence. This project, illustrating the life of St. John the Baptist, was essentially Andrea's own. He seems to have been the planner of its ordnance in general and was designer and, entirely personally, executant of all but two of its sixteen grisaille frescoes; assistants helped him only in the painting of the frames and ornament. The two exceptions among the major frescoes are by Franciabigio, done by him in 1518 during Andrea's residence in France, at a time when it appeared to Andrea's patrons that his stay might be indefinite, and that the completion of the scheme should be entrusted to another man. Andrea's first fresco in the Scalzo courtyard, the *Baptism of Christ*, had been painted in 1509 or 1510; he returned to paint there intermittently until the decoration was complete in 1526.

The general plan of the decoration seems to have been evolved at the time of Andrea's first fresco in the cortile, though changes would still have been permissible when he returned to work there. In regard to subject matter, the plan was simply to illustrate the life of the Baptist in counterclockwise order around the court, with the beginning and end of the sequence at the entrance door. In addition, the entrance and the exit doors, facing each other across the court on its shorter sides, were to be framed each by two Virtues: at the entrance *Faith* and *Hope*, and at the exit *Justice* and *Charity*. All the frescoes, roughly two-thirds life scale, are projected in a painted architecture, the flat surfaces of which are ornamented with simulated carving in grisaille, mostly of grotesque design. The system of architecture we see now has been somewhat altered from that Andrea originally invented: in the eighteenth century the aisles of the cortile were vaulted, replacing an earlier roofing, flat in form. The *atticae* that surmount the frescoes were once continuous (uninterrupted by any intruding arches of a vaulting) and their horizontal top line met the roof; there were no simulated openings into an upper sky. Below the *basamenti* of the frescoes there was a continuous low bench, which has long since been removed. The original effect of the painted scheme of architecture must have been more lucid in its subdivisions, more strong in horizontal emphasis, and of a more monumental impressiveness than it shows today.

On the atticae, there are heavily "carved" swags and heads of cherubim. Death's heads are set out, illusionistically, along the shelf formed by the top of the entablature. The grotesque decoration of the frieze is similarly serious: it consists of a repeated motive of the Veronica Veil surmounted by a Cross, framed by angelic and cherubic forms whose wings and bodies are transmuted into ornament. Only the *grotesquerie* painted on the pilasters shows, in general, no explicit Christian symbolism. Evidently, Andrea was indebted for his grotesque mode to Andrea di Cosimo's example. Below the frescoes a painted wainscot, with a design of strap-work, provides a continuous basis, like a stage platform, for the depicted scenes.

Andrea's scheme of architectural framing is not different, in general system, from that used for fresco decorations in the later Quattrocento, in particular in the school of Ghirlandaio to which Andrea makes, in other respects also, such frequent reference; nor is it a new idea that he constructs a believable fictitious architecture, which extends and elaborates the existing one. Such a notion had been frequent in the Quattrocento, and there was a still more recent notable example, Filippino Lippi's Strozzi Chapel in S. M. Novella, finished only in 1502. Nevertheless, the effect of Andrea's scheme of painted architecture is quite distinct from its precedents. These do not have so clear a harmony among the painted architectural forms, and none of them seems so functionally and illusionistically believable. In part from its internal character of harmony, but also from this seeming naturalness, Andrea's structure does not insistently assert its illusion to the eye: more natural, it brings unforced acceptance. As illusion it is at once realistically more true and aesthetically more discreet. It creates an ambience which, more convincingly than in any past Florentine or contemporary Roman example, is like that of a continuous stage on which the episodes of drama are to be enacted.

An internally consistent perspective is used, within the scenes, to extend the space implied by the painted prosceniumlike enframements, and in some instances the effect is remarkably that of a projection through a nonexistent wall. However, here, too, there is deliberate restraint on the assertion of illusion. As is Raphael's custom also, the perspective is calculated in nice compromise between plausibility to the spectator and the internal spatial order of the scene itself, so that what is seen is believable, but not a counterfeit in perspective viewpoint of the actuality of a stage. Finally, the grisaille technique seems, like a veil, to moderate illusion; it is constantly — and like the tonality itself, unobtrusively — present in our mind that what we see evokes, but does not wholly physically relive, the drama of St. John.

The reasons for adoption of a grisaille technique are not now clear, but they are unlikely to have been economic; the sums received by Andrea for his paintings in this place are in proportion, considering their size, to those received by him for fresco works in color. There was some precedent (as, conspicuously, in Uccello's *Chiostro Verde*) for the use of monochrome in frescoes done in cloisters or outdoors, but there may have been other reasons for the choice of the grisaille. The penitential nature of the Confraternity of the Scalzo may have suggested that the decorum of grisaille would be appropriate. The choice may also have been prompted by consideration of the small scale of the place, in which color might have made, at once, too much commotion and too pressing an effect of illusion. In any case, the decoration required that Andrea renounce his resources of color, unique to him in Florence at this time, and depend instead on his still more remarkable and more peculiarly Florentine talents as a draughtsman. The decoration was to become, in much more than the limited meaning of the word, the monument of Florentine *disegno*. It would also be the one complete work of decoration in Florence in the classical style that could be compared with the multiple, rich, and diverse decorative schemes of High Renaissance Rome.

Andrea's first intervention in the Scalzo since his early *Baptism of Christ* was in 1513 (or at latest in early 1514) when he painted the Virtue of Charity that adjoins the first one of the Scalzo frescoes. In November 1515 we have documentary record for Andrea's execution of the two remaining frescoes on this same wall, the *Preaching of St. John the Baptist* and its flanking Virtue, *Justice*, both paid for on November 1, 1515. In the course of Andrea's long execution of the frescoes of the Scalzo, no distinction in style would again be so marked as that between his first venture there and these three succeeding works, for these contain the experience of the intervening years that had led him to personal maturity and to maturity in his classical style. Like the early *Baptism*, but like the recent *Birth of the Virgin* also, the largest of the three new frescoes, the *Preaching of St. John the Baptist* (Figs. 56, 57), is at the same time a reference to and a critique of a model of the Quattrocento style. The reference is again to the inescapable precedent of Ghirlandaio; Andrea seems to have regarded the decorations of S. M. Novella as a treasury of ideas and motives on which he could freely draw. The composition follows Ghirlandio's fairly literally in its components, but condenses it — not only for reasons of a different format — into an immediately apparent unity and order; an additive dispersion of forms and content in the Ghirlandaio becomes, in Andrea, a synthetic concentration. But beyond this, Andrea here makes evident to what degree the mature classical style depends not only on coherence in design but also on an optical and psychological unity in the painter's method of perception. He differentiates the form within the painting out of an including texture of its light and space — in this case, by means of a still Leonardesque chiaroscuro. There is in fact some resemblance in Andrea's fresco to the first demonstration of a classical image in Leonardo's *Adoration of the Magi*, in compositional scheme and in certain motives, as well as in the light; and the resemblance may not be fortuitous. Doctrinaire expositions are not in Andrea's vein, but his *Preaching* seems almost like a demonstration of the new style's contrast with the old.

In his explicitness of classical intention in the *Preaching* Andrea seems to have returned, more rigorously than in the *Birth of the Virgin*, to classical first principles. The deliberated symmetry of this design is more apparently conservative than the freer structure of the Annunziata fresco. At the same time the reasserted clarity of order is not unlike the impulse which, a year or two before, had first prompted Raphael's investigation (as in the *Liberation of Peter* in the Stanze) of the possibilities of strict designs, and then, at a moment contemporary with the *Preaching*, had culminated in the austere style of the Tapestry Cartoons. Andrea has the sense of order but not the severity of temper of the contemporary Raphael; there is no Raphaelesque urgency of discipline in Andrea's fresco. On the contrary, its mood is gentle, yielding, and sympathetic; the Baptist does not need to exhort this audience. As in the *Birth of the Virgin*, we are in the presence of beings who are only in slight degree a better version of ourselves. These persons are plausible inhabitants with us of an unexalted world, intimately moved in their emotion but not impassioned. Into their number, further evidencing an interest that had begun in the *Birth of the Virgin*, Andrea has introduced three motives adapted, for their illustrative interest but not for any interest of style, from prints by Dürer. There is also evidence in the *Preaching* of a nearer influence, from Andrea's close friend Jacopo Sansovino: the figure of St. John offers the first instance we can document of a process that would be repeated elsewhere, of Andrea's use of *modelli* provided by the sculptor. The same modello served, it would seem also at this very time, for the St. John of a small altarpiece now lost (but preserved in a copy; Fig. 58) for the Compagnia della Neve, a work conceived like the *Preaching* not only in this one detail, but in general in its meditated classical mode.

The same mode, in more concentrated form, appears in the single figure in the smaller nichelike space to the right of the *Preaching*. This figure of the Virtue of Justice (Fig. 54) evokes, despite grave damage, the most impressive of the personages of the *Birth of the Virgin*. The *Justice* displays an amplitude and gravity, and a measured contrapposto, like that of the central figure in that fresco. The resemblance in posture between these figures is such as to suggest that both not only derive from a common principle of style but relate to a common model, which is more identifiably reflected in the *Justice*. It has long been known that her pose depends on the statute of the same Virtue by Andrea Sansovino, on the tomb of Ascanio Sforza (d. 1504) in S. M. del Popolo in Rome; with this Andrea was acquainted, if not directly, then most probably by means of a modello, which could well have been in Florence. Andrea had used this same source at least twice before (in the Virgin of the S. Gallo *Annunciation* and in the companion Virtue for the *Justice*, the *Charity*), and the frequency with which he consulted it would indeed indicate that the source was close at hand. In the *Justice*, the inspiration of the statue is apparent not only in its motive of pose and in passages of drapery but in the accent in the painting which suggests, but does not quite achieve, an antique classicism. The changes worked on Sansovino's model are quantitatively rather slight, but of great qualitative meaning; they serve to underline strongly the vast stylistic distance that intervenes between the two. An accident of iconography provokes comparison, still more relevant to us, between the painting of the *Justice* and Bartolommeo's *St. Paul*, done in Rome in the preceding year. Andrea's figure is, in general, indistinguishable in the kind and measure of its classicism from that of the Frate; but, beyond the generality, there is in Andrea's painting the quality that is not in Bartolommeo's: the evidence of energies of form and state of mind that charge the repose of the massive presence.

From the *Caritas* (Figs. 48, 55), earlier than the *Justice*, but much better preserved, it is more clearly legible that the figures of the Virtues were conceived with a different intention of illusion than the narrative scenes. These grisaille figures, larger in scale than those in the narratives, and contained within a constricted nichelike space, are meant as simulacra of statuary. In the *Caritas* there is still visible, precisely, an effect of smoothed and whitened surface meant to suggest the nature of a statue. There are frequent analogues, both in contemporary Rome and in Florence before this time, for this idea. One of them contains, as well, the particular theme of the *Caritas*, in a guise sufficiently related to Andrea's version to have been relevant to its invention: this is in the decoration, already noted among the antecedents of the *Scalzo*, by Filippino in S. M. Novella. The relation is only of motive and arrangement; there is no ground here that might permit comparison of style.

More than the *Justice*, to which she is counterpart in place and pose, the *Caritas* is interchangeable with the women of the *Birth of the Virgin*; she is like a translation of one of them into classicizing *déshabille*. As rounded and as suavely full in form as they, the *Caritas* conveys — despite the implication that she is a statue — a yet more intimate and sensuous loveliness in her *déshabille*, and in the quality of expression that her role calls forth. Her infants are the same lively, restless creatures who, in the *Birth of the Virgin*, make improbable statuary ornaments for the fireplace; they are affixed to Caritas like limpets and communicate their weights and action to her form. Answering their pressures, her ponderation becomes flexible, a resilient adjustment of her body into gently arching, incipiently turning movement. Into the slower pattern of her pose the infants weave a secondary, more energetic, rhythmic line, expressive of their own quicker, lighter, childish impulse. The group, as close-textured in substance and in rhythmic organization as any image of the contemporary Roman school, condenses in one equilibrium, and concentrates in their effect, the powers that are diffused through the larger compass of the *Birth of the Virgin*.

Ever since the *Holy Family* in Leningrad, Andrea had arrived at a mode of indicating the finest nuances of a psychological sensation that was tender and compellingly intimate in kind. This mode of feeling was the one most native to Andrea's disposition; we recall its symptoms in the earliest works by him that survive, as in the Borghese predella of the *Pietà*. What he had developed since was an ultimate subtlety in its expression. The Leningrad painting was suffused by this fine-textured tenderness, and there are incidents of it in the larger compass of the *Birth of the Virgin*, and among the yearning spectators of the Scalzo *Preaching*. It is a vein that Andrea exploits gratefully on appropriate occasions, and such an occasion was offered him in the small image of the *Redeemer* (c. 1515; Fig. 59) still on the altar of Michelozzo's tabernacle in the Annunziata for which it was designed. Evidently a generic recollection of a Northern iconographic type, this work intends — as does that type — the sense of an immediate physical and psychological presence. Andrea's resources of style, as they have now developed, enable him to make that sense entirely convincing. In his painting the softly luminous flesh of head and hands, and the glowing red of Christ's garment, seem to grow out of their sfumato almost as actual substances might do within the obscure lighting of the tabernacle, with the effect of veiled yet tangible presence. The intensity of light within the form indicates, however, something more than optical revelation of an actuality; this has a power as of emanation. So also, the Being that the light reveals to us is distinguished from our mortality in quality of features and in spirit. The expression is ineffable: it is the subtle resolution into gentle harmony of the feelings both of love and suffering, and a condensation of the sense of both an actual and a remembered presence. This image skirts the edge of sentiment, but unlike its Northern antecedents does not trespass into it; its effect is of an utterly convincing sincerity, and of quasi-hypnotic power. As in the beings of Leonardo's creation — whose means and ideas Andrea still employs — an utmost complexity of psychological and visual sensation, and of actuality and idea, are suspended in equilibrium in the Annunziata *Redeemer*; but the level of suspension is, more than in Leonardo, on a plane nearer and more accessible to us.

The *Redeemer* represents a mature development in Andrea of pathetic sensibility. In 1515–1516 another theme was given him that offered, even more, an opportunity for a demonstration of it: a *Pietà*, commissioned by the Florentine merchant G. B. Puccini for export to France. The picture has been lost, but its design survives in an engraving by Agostino Veneziano (dated 1516; Fig. 60). The engraving was so unsuccessful, however, that (according to Vasari, V, 23) Andrea expressed the wish that no picture of his would ever again be engraved. Andrea's composition seems itself to have been inspired in part by prints: both the central motive of the Christ and the play made in the design by angels' wings derive from Dürer's woodcut *Trinity* of 1511; and the attitude of Christ is also, but less clearly, dependent on the *Deposition* from the *Small Passion* (1507). The exploitation of Dürer's example is, for the first and only time, of more than an incident or motive, but there is still no valid influence on Andrea of the Dürer style.

The composition of the *Pietà*, as it is recorded (in the direction of the original) in Agostino's unsatisfactory print, is very like that of the earlier Leningrad *Holy Family*. The figures of the *Pietà* — a symbolic rather than a historical image, in which three angels mourn the Christ before the Hill of Golgotha — are gathered in compact unity by an including curve which, more evidently than in the *Holy Family*, inclines on a diagonal axis rightward and rearward into space. This axis is strongly marked by the posture of the Christ, who lies back as if into an apsidal concavity framed in by the angels. It can still be read, in the engraving, how Andrea wished to compensate the asymmetry of this design in space by manipulating the poses of the angels so that those farther to the rear are turned more strongly toward the picture plane. The devices of color which, as in the *Holy Family*, must have supported this effort are unhappily irrecoverable; there is no known old copy of this work.

The theme was one to stimulate (as it had done in the Borghese predella long before)

Andrea's intense sensibility. The postures of the actors convey, even in Agostino's transcription, how they are moved in grief ("con atti mesti e pietosi," Vasari, V, 23). The rhythmical involvement of the pattern communicates a temper of constrained excitement, and the structure of design itself assumes, as it had not in the analogous scheme of the Leningrad painting, a more differentiated and exciting energy. All that survives to us of Andrea's specific intention of expression for this painting is in a drawing (Florence, Uffizi no. 639Er; Fig. 62) for the head of the angel on the left, of an almost romantic loveliness: the tenderest possible image of a shadowed mourning.

The sensibility of these last two works, so fine and tender in feeling and refined in form, is such that it could hardly be developed farther in this same direction without risk to the classical identity of Andrea's style. More subtlety of psychological responsiveness like this — already a shade feminine in its gentle and receptive temper — could come too near the sentimental, and a further softening of form to match this content might result in the incipient dissolution of the form. What Andrea has done, in this moment of extreme sensibility, has the potential in it of morbidity, in both the English and Italian meanings of the word. In these pictures Andrea has reconsidered, not imitatively but with the inclination and accent of his private personality, the central conception of the art of Leonardo, and explored it to a like dead end.

A withdrawal from this position and a shift of some importance in Andrea's style is apparent in the so-called *Holy Family* (Paris, Louvre no. 1515, c. 1516; Fig. 66), a reconsideration of the theme of the painting in Leningrad of two or three years before. In the Louvre painting, the *morbidezza* of the manner that is exemplified for us in the *Redeemer* is absent; it has given way to handling of form that is, more than in any of the works of the few preceding years, decisive and more sharply plastic, less sfumato and more vigorous in the contrasts made by light. The drawing is firm in contours, and bold in accents that it makes within the forms. Color is no longer softly vibrant; the scheme of color is as strongly articulated as the drawing. A half-dozen clearly differentiated blues emerge upon the draperies, and shift in precise sequence from one into the next; and in the lap of the Madonna the revers of her blue skirt turns to mauve, to make transition to the bleached red of her dress. Into this deliberated color pattern Andrea has woven the light tones of the flesh and the white of the mantle of Elizabeth, and made one gleaming accent in the Madonna's golden-yellow sleeve.

The difference in the temper of Andrea's style in the Louvre picture would seem to be at least in part the result of another consultation of the work of Raphael — this time of a contemporary Roman painting, encountered not on any hypothetical Roman visit but in Florence: the *Madonna dell'Impannata* of c. 1514, painted for Bindo Altoviti. This picture, says Vasari (IV, 351) "egli mandò a Fiorenza," where it still remains (Florence, Pitti). The influence on Andrea of this imported Roman work seems certain and profound, and the redirection of his style in the Louvre *Holy Family* proceeds from it. The resemblance in composition between the Louvre picture and the *Impannata* is such that it would almost seem as if Andrea had filled the same diagram of composition with another arrangement of dramatis personae — some of whom are, however, also intimately related to the Raphael, as is the Elizabeth or, almost altogether literally, the Christ Child.

Not only Andrea's forms, but his quality of emotion have changed in the direction of Raphael's example. Emotion is not — and in Andrea's devotional pictures will not for some years be again — wholly free of the extreme of sensibility that was in the works just past; but in this picture feeling is less exquisitely, and also less profoundly, characterized than it had been earlier. Here there is a trace at least of emotional constraint, which restores something to this image of the classical values of discretion and discreteness of its personality. Even Andrea's ecstatic angel, paraphrasing Raphael's Christ, has assumed, in expression of face and in quality of deliberated gesture, almost an air of moderation. After this partial emotional repression, the psychological depth and the variety of feeling in Andrea's actors remains at a level not less than in the *Impannata;* however, Andrea's emotion is nowhere so sharp as in Giulio's definition in that picture of his master's expressive ideas.

It does not follow that an adaptation or even an imitation should produce equivalent substantial results of style, and it is an index of the evolution of Andrea within a classicism that his exploitation of the *Impannata* should create effects of style so genuinely like Raphael's. In Andrea's picture, as in Raphael's, a dense and compact unity of geometric shape is articulated by distinct plastic forms, the principal ones of which are so arranged, like offset parentheses, as to create a sense of rotatory, yet matching movement. Also as in the *Impannata,* countering diagonal directions intersect across the whole, and swift connective threads of cursive rhythm run all through it, warping simultaneously across its surface and into its plastic depth. The effect of a strongly disciplined yet highly complex synthetic image gives evidence of as high a development of classical structure in the Louvre painting as in the *Impannata,* and of an application of a classical aesthetic more stringent than in Andrea's art before. The Louvre *Holy Family,* absorbing for the first time a nearly contemporary Roman discipline of classical style, makes another threshold, almost as important as that made in the *Birth of the Virgin,* for Andrea's subsequent development. The supreme works of the few years that immediately follow take their point of departure in the reformation and consolidation of Andrea's style in this painting.

Much less meaningful to the development of Andrea's art than his encounter with Raphael's *Impannata* is his brief succeeding episode of Michelangelism. The grisaille fresco, the *Baptism of the Multitude* (paid for March 15, 1517; Figs. 69, 70), continuing the series in the Scalzo, is obsessed with Michelangelesque recollection. Surprisingly enough there had been no evidence in all the years that had intervened since Andrea's juvenilia that he was at all interested in the art of Michelangelo. Perhaps this tardy response was stimulated by Michelangelo's return to Florence in 1516, and by such personal interchange as must have occurred on the presumed occasion of the transfer from Michelangelo to Andrea of a commission for Pier Francesco Borgherini sometime after August 1516 (Frey, *Briefe,* XXIII, XXVI, LV). All that was available to him of Michelangelo, however, seems still to have been only the master's work of his early years in Florence. Andrea's awakened interest led him, for his models for the figures of the *Baptism,* to the early *David,* to the *Cascina* Cartoon, and probably also to the *abozzo* for the *Matthew.* There is only one uncertain indication (the Ignudo-like straddling putto at the right of the fresco) of possible knowledge — not necessarily at first hand — of any work of Michelangelo in Rome; but this figure, too, may be inspired from the background of the early Doni tondo. The *Cascina*

Cartoon — more precisely by this date, its fragments — was evidently the most influential model, for it demonstrated not only the anatomical style that Andrea imitates in the chief figures of his fresco but also an appropriate mode of draughtsmanship.

As much as his very different innate temper would allow, Andrea approximates the forceful and sharply differentiated accent of contour in Michelangelo's early style, and transcribes his faceted modelling of musculature. Andrea extends this character of drawing and modelling beyond the nudes — they are, more modestly than in Michelangelo, only near-nudes — also to the handling of draperies. The tendency to sharper articulation of both line and light is the same as that in the Louvre *Holy Family*, and so also is the whole more decisive and energetic temper in which forms are made; but under Michelangelo's more drastic stimulation these tendencies are given — for Andrea — unprecedented stress. The stimulus of Raphael's example to more plastic form had left its impress on the Louvre picture; now the example of Michelangelo's statuary style encouraged Andrea to more marked efforts in the same sense.

These stimuli, in this dosage, were not entirely digested by Andrea. His simulation of the *Cascina*'s powers and activities of form is not, obviously, in Michelangelo's dimension. Andrea's anatomies are too broken in descriptive accent, and the movement of his line is too various; his effect of energy in drawing is somewhat discoordinate. Intending to create a new force of plastic values, he is at the same time reluctant to diminish his enriched chiaroscuro mode. He does make an alteration in its temper, imparting to it the same energy of sharply varied accent that is in his line, so that modelling of form equally seems agitated. In spite of the assertion of plasticity of parts, the sense of coherent substance in any whole form is, actually, less in the *Baptism* than in the works that had preceded Andrea's recent extreme development of a sfumato style. There is an evident conflict in this fresco between the demands of a tectonic and a highly developed optical mode, and this, in places, is disruptive of the unity of form. Fra Bartolommeo, in his first access of Michelangelism in his *St. Mark*, had confronted, but also not successfully resolved, a similar dilemma.

It is not altogether unlike the early Cartoon of Michelangelo that the expressive content of Andrea's figures in his fresco does not accord sufficiently with their actions and their outward forms. Still more than in Michelangelo's old model, Andrea's nudes have the effect of academies. It is a difficult and not altogether useful lesson that Andrea has tried to learn from his study of the early Michelangelo, unsuited not only to Andrea's temperamental purpose but to his kind and present stage of development of a classical style. The Cartoon was more properly and effectively exploited by the Mannerist generation, and what the study of it has provoked in Andrea suggests the contemporary, unclassical, impulses of some of Andrea's pupils.

A Michelangelesque state of mind like that in the *Baptism of the Multitude* seems to have been visible also in two grisaille frescoes of the *Parable of the Workers in the Vineyard* (1516–17), once in the *orto* of SS. Annunziata but now lost and known to us only in inadequate translations (Fig. 67, 68). In these, within a homely narrative and in country clothes there is still the accent of Michelangelo's anatomies, and as much as could be introduced of his energies of gesture and posture. But more of the temper of accented energy of the *Baptism*, still more highly characterized than in it, is in Andrea's probably closely contemporary panel of the *Madonna and Child with the Infant St. John* (Rome, Galleria

Borghese no. 334; Figs. 71, 72). In the St. John of this panel Andrea repeats, paraphrasing only slightly, the straddling Ignudo-like putto of the fresco, and in the Christ Child he adapts the famous central figure of the Michelangelo Cartoon. These two Michelangelesque postures make an effect of energy that is not in the similar figures of the *Baptism*. Far more than the figures of the fresco, these seem strongly motivated. Both Children act with an immediate impulsiveness and with a force of movement more abrupt, and an effect of pattern more sharply angular, than any of Andrea's inspired Infants had shown before. Their sharpness is emphasized by a decisive draughtsmanship, and by an urgent contrast in chiaroscuro for which there had been, so far, no precedent in Andrea's art. Almost least expected is the idea of composition, in which a very apparent inverted V-shaped motive intrudes into the structure of the figures; only a hint of this scheme had been evident within the *Baptism*.

As in the form, Andrea seeks a new energy in his color, and in this also achieves a strong, and unconventional, effect. From the deep chiaroscuro the Madonna's overgarment emerges in a singular powder-blue which glows at once cool and intense in the contrasting light. Her dress is a muted mauve, and her lower sleeve dulled gold, metal-smooth. Against the constrained power of these hues the cool flesh of the Infants is relieved with statuary impact. More even than in the Louvre *Holy Family* of c. 1516, the fields of color are distinctly articulated and command the eye; but they are also far more precisely controlled, more restrictive and more powerful at the same time. Yet within this strength of color, and more apparent just because of it, there is a lyric beauty also: the most compelling demonstration so far in Andrea's art of the power of colored light to enchant the eye and to bemuse the mind. Its emanation is of the visual and psychological sensation of a loveliness, yielding even as it asserts itself. This dual content of the color is that of the human illustration, too. The Virgin's head is described in a deeply worked, almost melting, sfumato, and she counters her feeling and the warmth of her whole rounding form to the passion and the force of action of the Children; and within the Children not only their faces, but subtle indications in their postures, indicate the tenderness that underlies their passion.

Andrea's emotions had at times before assumed an intensity and a gender, both together, that verged on incompatibility with the conventions of classicism. This kind of expression in him, together with ideas he had conceived of color, had been taken already, in the few years since 1513, as pretext for uncanonical behavior by his pupils. Now, in the Borghese panel, there are devices of form, as well, that strain the logic of a classical style. Many of the effects of form, and some of the effects of content of the Borghese panel appear in a similar guise in the major work of 1518 with which Pontormo decisively enters a post-classical style of Mannerism, the Visdomini altar. If the date assumed here for Andrea's picture is correct, we must conclude that it was a point of departure for the new invention, and that the role of this picture as a cause, and the character of its effect, is of considerably greater meaning than the hints that we have seen before of things within Andrea's art that could be made into a Mannerism.

This picture is the nearest point in the orbit of Andrea's art to the new Mannerism. Not only Andrea's adopted devices, but his motivations in their use resemble those of Pontormo, but they are not identical; the result in the Borghese picture is not Mannerist. Andrea's will to more pointed and assertive meaning is not a will either to eccentric psychological situation or to disruption of the rationality of form. The emotion that inspires Andrea's Children is intense, but it is not, as in the Visdomini altar, a precarious ecstasy. Andrea's Infants move with sharp energy, but not in the patterns of disjointed violence of Pontormo's. The radical-seeming V-shape that both artists use in their designs appears in Andrea's painting with conspicuously different effect: in Andrea it is a device that does not unsettle, but rather more highly charges an equilibrium of composition. Andrea's own asymmetry of design — more daring than Pontormo's in his altar — is in the end manipulated to become a balanced integer. But Andrea's design is, finally, a variety of classical gestalt of fresh vitality and welcome unconventional appearance. A potential avenue of development, still of a classical style, thus revitalized, was opened for Andrea in the Borghese picture, but it was one too highly charged to suit Andrea's temperament for long; too bold and without sufficient modulation. It was a mode of feeling and of form to which he might not have come without his renewed study of Michelangelo.

In the relatively small artistic community of Florence Andrea was necessarily in close contact with the men of the generation a decade or less younger than he who had been his pupils or assistants. One commission dating from these years in fact required a collaboration of a kind between Andrea and Pontormo, both of whom (together with Granacci and Bacchiacca) were given shares in the decoration, with panels illustrating the *History of Joseph*, of the bridal chamber of Pier Francesco Borgherini. Of Andrea's contribution of two pictures to this series, his first was made, probably, in 1515 or 1516: a continuous narrative of episodes in the life of Joseph, from the boy's recounting of his dream to his family through the story of the bloody coat (Florence, Pitti no. 87; Fig. 63). His second panel, called (from its key, though not is most prominent, episode) the *Dream of Pharaoh* (Pitti no. 88; Fig. 73) is probably of 1517. Both panels conform, in a general way, to a special tradition of extended narrative painting on small scale, ultimately the genre of *cassone* and furniture painting, which in fact the Borgherini pictures seem more or less exactly to have been. In each of Andrea's paintings, as in most of the others of the set (except those contributed by Bacchiacca), small figures enact successive moments of the story through the extent of a wide, but coherent space: in Andrea's first panel in a setting of landscape (a somewhat old-fashioned topography, like one of those of the Benizzi series, or an older work of Piero di Cosimo's), and in the second panel in a setting dominantly architectural. In both panels the chief concern is story-telling: the first idea is to achieve a narrative efficiency, and only after that an aesthetically determined order of design. The placing of the figures follows mainly from a principle that might be described as one of linear sequence, a setting of them out along a "story line." Andrea in fact makes "continuous narrative," in the most literal meaning of the jargon term. Both designs consist thus, basically, of a sequence of connected actions, and to heighten the impression in them of an animate mobility, and to increase the credibility of the scene we see, Andrea seeks, deliberately, an effect of casualness, just as he had in his larger narratives before.

In the second of his panels especially — much the more easy and eloquent performance — the setting makes an almost picturesque asymmetry, and the actors move with every appearance of unpremeditation in it. Bright accents of light color, blue and red, against the sunlit buildings and landscape add to the effect of vivacity. Yet, ultimately, there is hardly less nice a calculation here than there had been in the *Birth of the Virgin*. Aside from the obviously ceremonial central group, in which Joseph is clothed in the raiment of a minister of Pharoah, the actors of the preceding episodes have been stage-managed with subtle care for their connection in a patterned equilibrium of movement and response. The stage itself is a lucid and a monumental space; even the lively, seemingly casual spotting of light color has the explicit functions, at once, of making the narration legible and making an equilibrium in the design.

These panels were contemporary in execution with the first three of the four panels contributed to the decoration by Pontormo. Interestingly, of the contributors to the Borgherini decoration, only Pontormo and Andrea seem to have worked with the consideration of each other's ideas that collaborators in such a project should in theory show, and this is despite the standardized Vasarian report of their dissympathy. Certain common types appear, evidently by intention, in the panels of both artists; these seem to be more likely of Andrea's invention than Jacopo's, but not altogether so. There are also common motives, and for these it is more difficulty to determine a priority. No clear evidence, external or internal, can establish a precedence in time between Pontormo's third panel of the Borgherini series, the *Butler Restored and the Baker led to Execution*, and Andrea's second panel. Of the number of relations perceivable in these two pictures the most striking is that between the main motive of Pontormo's painting, the exit from prison of the butler and baker, and the motive in the background of Andrea's panel, of Joseph's release; the similarity of theme does not alone suffice to justify their close similarity of form. One, but which one cannot be determined, is a paraphrase of the other.

There is more to this resemblance than the common motive. In the background of Andrea's picture, and among the smaller figures so freely distributed against the stagelike setting toward the right, there is a particular demonstration of Andrea's optical acuity. Their moving shapes are described with subtlety and brilliance in silhouette against the architecture; there is a sensation of visual aliveness, in this area of the painting, which is that — to use the phrase in an unaccustomed context — of a *tranche de vie*. This vitality is not just of the spontaneous-seeming arrangement and action of the figures, but of the sharp quickness with which they have been seen, and of which the temper is preserved in their technique of description. There is the same sense in the Pontormo of an acuity of perception and description which, in his work thus far, is new, and his actors seem to be perceived, and to exist, with a more vital actuality than Andrea's. Pontormo's mode of vision, based upon a way in which Andrea alone so far in Florence had learned to see, has become more highly charged than Andrea's, and yields an intenser conviction of existence; but it does not for this reason yield an equally objective truth.

Jacopo extends another of the ideas of Andrea's repertory in the composition of his panel: that of distribution of forms in such a way as to suggest a spontaneity of accident; but as Jacopo does this he evades the logic that underlies Andrea's adroit stage management and creates a deliberately eccentric scheme. And where Andrea's stage develops a complex and movemented, but entirely rational, perspective Jacopo's denies a rationale of space. Andrea responds, in his panel, to the finest differentiation of a harmony; Jacopo reacts, with a more concentrated intensity, to see the poignant sensations that are in imminent or actual dissonance. The links of motive, theme, and common destination that bind these two pictures serve to point up the basic variance between Andrea's style and the direction on which Pontormo had embarked. The difference is more than one of personality between the master and his former assistant; it is a difference of relation of the artist to the world he sees, and of the aesthetic each has conceived for the work of art.

Andrea returned to the cortile of the Scalzo in 1517 to paint another episode in the history of St. John, the *Arrest of St. John the Baptist* (paid for on July 19, 1517; Fig. 74). It is made more explicit than ever, in this fresco, that his commitment is to a style of classicism here more deeply felt and more rigorously accomplished than in any of his works so far. In the *Arrest,* Andrea has retreated almost altogether from the untenable Michelangelesque position he had taken in the *Baptism.* Here, the figure of St. John is still, but less literally, reflective of Michelangelo's anatomical style; and it is also possible that the motive of the whole group at the right of the composition depends on Andrea's having seen, late in the previous year, the drawing sent by Michelangelo to Rome for Sebastiano del Piombo, for the *Flagellation* of the Borgherini Chapel. More likely than this, however, is the influence of a Sansovino model, a relief (now in London, Victoria and Albert Museum) done for the project shared with him by Andrea, the decoration of the Duomo façade in 1515. Perhaps more significantly than in any probable relation of type or motive, Michelangelo's example may have stimulated the dramatic effect, exceptional in Andrea, which he intends in this whole scene. But granting this possibility, the stimulus has been so wholly personally transmuted that its result cannot be assessed as a Michelangelism.

In contrast to the disruptive energies of design in the *Baptism*, the description of form in the *Arrest* is once more definite and clear — as it had been in the *Caritas* or the *Birth of the Virgin,* before Andrea's extreme *tenebrismo,* and as it had begun to be again in the *Holy Family* of the Louvre. The look of clarity of form is like that in this group of works, and though there is no essential difference in the means by which this clarity is now achieved there is an important difference in the role these means play within the work of art. What has happened here is the result of a finally effective dialectic between a plastic and a chiaroscuro mode, each of which had been developed, since the time of the *Birth of the Virgin,* to a new degree of competing interest. It is not only that the busy chiaroscuro of the *Baptism* has receded here, but that the lighting is applied — with no less energy but with far greater clarity — explicitly to the modelling of whole plastic forms, not to disruptively asserted parts. Further, the clarifying light has been applied not only to the forms but in the space that intervenes between them: there is no longer the sensation, as in the *Baptism,* of the entanglement of substance with its surrounding space. The idea of a containing unity of chiaroscuro is by no means abandoned, but it is precisely adjusted to the plastic content of the lighted — or darkened — space. The force and clarity of light diminish in careful and almost measurable gradation as the space recedes, as if the lighting were an inseparable function of the structural perspective; and in the background, the muted light becomes a unifying substratum into which form is absorbed and out of which, inversely, it proceeds.

This system is not basically different from that to which Andrea had come in the *Birth of the Virgin,* where it was less positively articulated, and in color more evidently than in light. Its distinction in the *Arrest* is in the degree of explicitness, even of stringency, with which the concept has been stated and described, and — equally important — in the higher power of both its tactile and its optical components, in the parts of form as well as in the whole. Forcefully effected, this synthesis of plastic and chiaroscuro style assumes a new measure of meaning — almost, indeed, a dominating value — in the formal system of this fresco. It is a major factor in the paintings of the imminent climactic moment of Andrea's career.

The purposeful clarity that is in Andrea's handling of this crucial problem of perception and projection of form underlies the whole disposition in which the *Arrest* is created. This is not the first time in his career that Andrea has encountered a narrative subject with the force of drama, but it is the first place in which he has chosen to exploit it. This is as sparse a rendering of the theme as the allotted space permits, without extraneous incident and with minimal accessories. The figures act their roles simply and decisively, with precise economy of attitudes and movement, and in a setting that is exactly adequate. The impact of the event is instant and explicit. Its narrative effect is intensified by Andrea's first full realization, in this fresco, of an action projected as if on a stage. Its content of actors and of setting has been ordered with the utmost clarity, with a nearly rectilinear stringency of pattern both in surface scheme of composition and in space. There is strong contrast between this geometric logic and the straining complexity, verging on disunity, of structure in the *Baptism*.

The *Arrest* is strong and explicit in its means and in effect; but it is not conceived in either the spiritual or aesthetic dimension of dramatic painting of the contemporary Roman style, nor even in the temper of the late works of Fra Bartolommeo. In this fresco the scale of form and feeling is less than monumental, and there is more of illustration than of rhetoric in the interpretation of the drama, and in the measure of descriptive naturalism in its actors. The persons of the drama forcefully represent the human event, but they do not magnify it. Nevertheless, the *Arrest* does make a parallel to a recent occurrence of Roman style. Emerging, like Raphael in 1515, from a style of apparently insuperable and potentially disruptive complexity, Andrea reacts, as Raphael did in the Tapestry Cartoons, toward a discipline more rigorous than in any earlier episode of his career. Like Raphael, Andrea imposes an austerity of deportment on his figures, devises a laconic clarity of narrative, and enforces a stringent geometric order in his composition. At the same time, also like Raphael, he finds it necessary to synthesize anew the divergent and potentially conflicting possibilities that had developed in his art. Andrea's accomplishment of these ends is at a level very different from Raphael's: by comparison with the Tapestry Cartoons his means and his solutions are dry and poor, but the generic resemblance of purpose and achievement within the course of evolution of the classical style remains. Andrea's ultimate classicism is of no such height as Raphael's, but resembles it in principles and in the manner of its occurrence.

The similarity extends, in the *Arrest*, to a suggestion even of particular resemblance to one among the Cartoons, the *Blinding of Elymas*; the enthroned Herod and the figure who, at the left, is a counterpart of Raphael's St. Paul, especially recall the *Elymas*, and there are other more hypothetical similarities as well. There is no provable connection, however, and it is likely that these resemblances are fortuitous and not the result of an acquaintance, either *in situ* or indirect, with the Tapestry Cartoons. The Paul-like figure seen from the rear can properly be considered a recurrence and development of a motive that appears repeatedly, from Andrea's early paintings onward (for example, in the *Funeral* *of S. Filippo Benizzi*; in the Scalzo *Preaching*). The enthroned Herod and his priests recall, more than they do Raphael's Sergius and his Lictors, the figure motives and the composition of a local precedent, in Fra Bartolommeo's *Salvator Mundi*; Andrea's group compounds the Frate's central panel and the flanking Prophets of this altar. This work of Bartolommeo's was obviously an accessible source for motives in the *Arrest* that Andrea seems to have derived. Equally, the *Salvator* altar makes a far more precise analogue of style for the *Arrest* than do Raphael's Cartoons. In Andrea, the invention of a severe classical style arose in circumstances like those in which a similar phenomenon occurred in the art of Raphael; but these circumstances also resemble those in which, in Florence, Fra Bartolommeo had evolved a parallel discipline of style in the year before it happened in Andrea. It is inescapable that this important happening in Andrea's art was, to begin with, stimulated by the Frate. However, Andrea went on to make of this Florentine variant of the ultimate classical style a more consequential and far more sophisticated vehicle than it was in Bartolommeo's precedent.

Andrea's *Madonna of the Harpies* (Florence, Uffizi no. 1577; dated 1517; Figs. 75–79) recalls his own precedent in the small altarpiece he painted, probably two years earlier, for the Company of S. M. della Neve, but at the same time there is no doubt that the temper in which this new design was made depends on Fra Bartolommeo's inspiration, again in the example of the *Salvator* altar. The basic arrangement of the elements within Andrea's composition is much like that in the *Salvator*, and Andrea's design indicates — as he had not before except in the *Arrest*, similarly influenced — an insistence like that in Bartolommeo's altar on rectilinear elements of order. Andrea's composition, compared with Bartolommeo's, seems still more absolutely clear, but at the same time not so rigid or so baldly doctrinaire. It is more surely unified than the Frate's and also much more internally complex. Andrea has condensed the elements of his composition in a more compact relation, of surface organization and of space. A sensible vestige still remains of the including oval shape of design that had been in Andrea's earlier altars; within this, manipulations of drapery and of flexible anatomy — in which Fra Bartolommeo could never think effectively — work to make a unity of pattern and a connected sequence of behavior among the figures.

Andrea's Madonna is far more contained in posture than the rhetorical *Salvator Mundi*, but a deeper reservoir of energy is held within her quiet contrapposto than is expressed overtly in his movement. Her poised broad form suspends in equilibrium (the fulcrum marked by the pressure on her hip of the Christ Child's foot) a complex of ponderative forces as articulate, but *con sordino*, as in a figure of Michelangelo's. The structure of anatomy, hardly visible in itself, only adumbrates this effect of form; it is communicated rather by the eloquent differentiation of the pattern of drapery and by variations of the modelling in light. The form and the energy of movement of the Christ Child are incorporated into, and controlled by, the Virgin's form; below, the angels ornamentally elaborate, but also organically extend, the impulses of movement that are contained in her. From the left, the Madonna receives the slow but compelling pressure of the movement of St. Francis as he turns from us toward her: his glance is toward us, but veiled, because his more profound awareness is not of the audience, but of the Virgin; his body shows a slow yet poignant torsion toward her presence. Toward the right, the St. John oppositely frames the Virgin's statuary form; also poised in movement, he echoes and seemingly supports her shape and at the same time precisely complements the posture of St. Francis. John (conceivably a portrait of Sansovino, who provided a modello for this figure [Vasari, VII, 488]) confronts the spectator in a measure that is the counterpart, in gaze as well as attitude, of Francis' contrary inward turning.

With yet clearer demonstration of that sense (already more developed in Andrea than in Fra Bartolommeo) of design as an indissoluble integer of silhouette and substance, each relation in this composition is plastically conceived. Movements are spatially developed to create an almost spiralling continuity from one form to the next. The manipulation into a responsive equilibrium of the figures' substances and play in space, and of their order of design on the surface, is in one indivisible process. Yet, as this still more explicit role of substance and substantial energies within design is confirmed it is also controlled with a new stringency. The extreme clarity of superficial pattern serves this end, and so does the positive reference, within each attitude, to the picture plane; and still more evidently, the careful restriction of the depth of space, limited by a planar architecture toward the rear.

As Andrea has done before, he manipulates areas and intensities of color in such a way as to compensate the different placing of the forms in space with an approximate equilibrium of visual attraction made among them on the picture plane. In this picture, the most forward form in plan, the Francis, is the most restrained in color, a greyed tan; the *spielbein* of the Virgin is covered by a drapery of matt, but assertive blue; the lower garment of the John is a high-keyed, pale red-orange. This brings him, though he is actually slightly deeper in the plan than Francis, apparently as forward as he and into a more demanding confrontation with the spectator. This compensatory purpose of the color is evidently not its only one: there is a sequence of development and differentiation of hue and intensity yet more carefully negotiated than in any of Andrea's earlier works. At the same time, color in the *Harpies* does not give the impression to which it tends in other paintings since Andrea's maturity, of a factor of major aesthetic interest, assertive of its own particular seduction for the eye. It is, here, relatively muted, without brilliance, and unconcerned for textural effects; color has been qualified by the whole atmosphere of more intellectual deliberation that is in the making of this work. With greater clarity than before it subserves the definition of the tectonic form, in its compositional entirety and in each plastic part. And, in a way closely like that in the grisaille *Arrest*, chiaroscuro works toward the strong modelling of whole plastic shape, and at the same time still defines the integrity of visual texture out of which form is differentiated.

Because the effect not only of color but of light is seemingly less sensuous than in Andrea's previous pictures, the look of surface of this painting, as well as its compositional mode, confirms the generic resemblance — but only that — of Andrea's ideas at this time to Fra Bartolommeo's in the *Salvator* altar. However, Andrea's far greater sophistication of aesthetic resources and his extreme sensibility to the look and life of nature make this a specifically very different document, with no trace in it of the noble vacancy of the *Salvator*. There is no more in the *Harpies* than Andrea had shown before of his special power to perceive a variety of visual experience, but this is — like the entire form — much more precisely controlled. For the first time in a painted work Andrea's draughtsmanship exhibits a consistently exact refinement: the definition of rhythmic shape, in parts of body and of drapery, is uniformly fine and subtle. Both large and small forms lose the somewhat heavy and coarsely proportioned look they often had in his preceding works. There is nothing exquisite in this new manner of description of the form, but rather a more sensitive precision; and no elegance but rather a finer evocation of the quality of *grazia.*

Each element of observed nature thus transcribed — the patterning of a passage in the drapery, a contour of body, the drawing of a hand — seems in this picture to grow as if by an inevitable and organic differentiation out of its larger and containing form. These patterns are just as ineluctably, and seemingly organically, related to each other in the entire pictorial unity. In no other image of the classical style since Leonardo does the synthetic equilibrium of large and small form consist of so subtly and continuously shaded a gradation; and more even than in Leonardo this conveys the sense that what is here suspended in equilibrium is the flux of visible nature. What has been arrested in this harmony is not an exaltation of existence but a controlled, preselected actuality: as many values in this picture are induced from actuality as are imposed on it by acts of ordering artistic will. There is no trace of conflict of these tendencies; they are not envisaged by Andrea as even possibly antithetic but as reciprocal functions of one another. But for the first time in Andrea's art to this degree, a superlatively intellectual order is as strong a function in the work of art as the subtlety of actual perception.

The character of form and that of the illustrative human content are basically in accord. This too is an unexalted, but controlled and measured spiritual disposition: grave, gentle, and contained; clearly sincerely felt, and intimately characterized as living psychological expression. The range of feeling is as much differentiated into responsive nuances as is the form, from the inward adoration of the Francis through the exquisite humor of the Christ Child. Yet neither the depth nor the intensity of feeling is much more than conventional, nor is there, in Raphaelesque or Michelangelesque sense, a transfiguring power in any countenance of a content of sheer thought. The texture of emotion is rich, but it is not profound, and — as in Fra Bartolommeo's art as well — it takes its resonance from the larger affects of the picture's form. This image of an *epiphaneia,* much more than the *epiphaneia* of the *Salvator Mundi,* is earth-bound — quite unlike the Raphael *Sistine Madonna* from which, by indirection through the *Salvator* altar, it in a way eventually derives. But the reference to the *Sistina* is already, at the distance of these few years, only thematically relevant and no longer wholly relevant for comparison of style. As we have indicated, this work of Andrea's, like Bartolommeo's *Salvator,* belongs to a succeeding stage in the evolution of a classical idea. The *Madonna of the Harpies* is Andrea's exposition of his classical style at its point of climax. Compared with the *Salvator Mundi* or with Raphael's Tapestry Cartoons, it is at once the distinction of personal style of this picture, its special resource, and its limitation also, that it transcends nature less than they.

The deep impression made on Andrea at this time by Fra Bartolommeo's example in the *Salvator Mundi* is confirmed in Andrea's *Disputation on the Trinity* (Florence, Pitti no. 172; late 1517-first half 1518; Figs. 82–84). In this composition the order of the four main figures, and even part of their repertory of gesture, are inspired by the *Salvator* altar. Beyond this, Andrea refers also, in the two kneeling saints at the front of his design, to a repeated precedent of the Frate in his other monumental works (as in the unfinished *pala* in S. Marco or the more recent altar of the *Misericordia*). There is also a generic, but almost certainly fortuitous resemblance of Andrea's composition to that of that of Raphael's *St. Cecilia* altar; but no influence beyond that of the Frate is required to account for the structure of Andrea's picture.

Like the *Madonna of the Harpies*, the *Disputà* effects important alterations on its Bartolommesque precedent, all of them in substantially the same sense as there. Andrea's order is more concentrated, in all three dimensions, than that in the *Salvator*. It is also more geometrically strict either than in that picture or in the *Harpies*: this latter circumstance is much promoted by the subject matter, more than normally untractable, but is not determined by it. The affect of this schema of design — severe, austere, and of intended architectonic impressiveness — accords with the only content adequate to a theme like this, as if it should communicate the — indisputable — logical and spiritual certainty of the dogma it proclaims. The four great saints (Augustine, Lawrence, Peter Martyr, and Francis) stand clear and firm, each with his sure but different conviction of the common truth for which they all together vouch; in the foreground a gentle Sebastian and an adoring Magdalen contribute their rapt assent to the proceedings. The design implies, but does not more than minimally develop, a Bartolommesque circularity in plan. More than in the composition of the *Harpies*, this scheme stresses its component of rectilinearity, to the degree where this effect dominates the cursive elements of form, in spatial as well as in superficial structure. This is a virtually columnar setting-out of shapes which, despite its somewhat greater differentiation into depth than in the structure of the *Harpies*, is as much bound into relation with the picture plane. The sense of a planarity is indeed, still more insistent, made so by the isocephaly, by the horizontal continuity of gesture, and by the virtual suppression of all spatial contrapposto. The rectilinear basis of design itself serves to refer the plastic contents of the painting constantly to its frame.

There is no architectural support, as in the *Harpies*, for the condensation of the space, but the background, a sfumato texture of olive-green and brown, has a not dissimilar effect. This texture optically implies a space but does not construct one; it is a neutral and indeterminate aether, and not extension. As in the *Harpies*, it is the unifying matrix from which plastic substance grows and into which it is bound. The figures stand before this intangible yet sensible limit in a narrow depth; there is no independent dimension of space, but only that which exists in consequence of the figures. The analogy to a phenomenon in Raphael's Cartoons is obvious; this is equally an instance of the exclusive preoccupation with the human image that is one characteristic of the climactic stage of evolution of classical style. The figures are projected as if they might be elements of statuary: it is not without good reason that it has been observed that the composition recollects, probably not altogether casually, the early fifteenth-century *Quattro Santi Coronati* of the Or San Michele.

The structure is not, in any literal sense, a planar one, but the imminence of its substances to the picture plane imparts to that plane a different importance than it had before in the designer's mind. Since spatial meaning is diminished, the superficial order becomes proportionately more significant; there is the heightened sense in the *Disputà*, as there was equally in the *Harpies*, of design felt as a projection on the picture plane. The ordering of substance within the lesser depth is not less purposeful; rather, it is integrated in a new strictness of relation with the dominating order on the surface. This, in turn, is more responsive to the logic of geometry that seems immanent in the whole shape of the picture field. This is not yet to proclaim a separate aesthetic identity for the picture plane; this remains for Mannerism to deduce from Andrea's — and, in somewhat different measure, from Raphael's — ultimately classical conclusions. What is meant by this new principle of structure in Andrea's art is clear in the contrast of the *Disputà* or the *Harpies* with his larger works toward 1514, such as the Dresden altar or the *Birth of the Virgin*; just as it is evident in Raphael in the contrast of structure between his Cartoons and the frescoes of the first two Stanze.

Unlike Raphael, the sense of stringency that is in the application of this compositional principle does not invade the more specifically painterly concerns of Andrea's style. His draughtsmanship in the *Disputà* is as precise, and in this subject even more intimately descriptive of the look of nature than it had been in the *Harpies*; there is an almost portraitlike immediacy in Andrea's presentation, only barely idealized, of his types. The temper of drawing is, in fact, more lively than in the previous altarpiece. It is more quick and finely probing of variety of form; and the lighting, somewhat deeper than in the *Harpies*, is equally more various and fine-faceted. Brisk and subtle both, the chiaroscuro and the drawing make an overcast of almost sparkling energy on the persons of this picture and on their order of design, as if thereby to compensate its severity of basic structure. This energy of small form is also the expression in visual terms of a relieving quality in the picture's content. As the affect of larger structure supports the actors' gravity of attitude and meaning, so the vitality of smaller form conveys the energy of their communication.

Andrea's excursions into portraiture were rare. Since his picture of Lucrezia (Prado), of 1513–1514, he had painted only one portrait that we know, the plastically and psychologically strong image (Florence, Uffizi; Fig. 64) of 1515 or 1516, wrongly thought to be a self-portrait, but which may represent the young Baccio Bandinelli. Another portrait, indicating by contrast Andrea's swift ascent in 1517 to the climax of his artistic powers, comes from a moment apparently closer to the *Harpies* than the *Disputà*. This is the so-called *Portrait of a Sculptor* (London, National Gallery no. 690; Fig. 81). Every external consideration suggests the identification of this as Jacopo Sansovino except that, unfortunately, the face is not his. It cannot be reconciled with the documented iconography of Sansovino unless we assume that, on this one sitter only, Andrea exercised an idealizing process more drastic than he ever imposed on the invented persons of his altarpieces. Such liberties in portraiture seem to have occurred in Raphael — witness the various faces, all of them almost verifiable, of the *Fornarina* — but they are improbable in Andrea.

Very strongly, this image conveys that its mode of feeling and its sense of form emerge from the close context of the *Harpies* altar. The character of shapes and the touch in drawing of the portrait are almost interchangeable with passages in the larger picture (as for example, the sleeve of this sitter and that of St. Francis); and the pose in the portrait is an almost inevitable compound of the upper bodies of the two saints. The quality of expression — not as merely romantical or sympathetic as the sfumato at first makes it seem — is actually sharper and more intense than in the saints of the altarpiece. In the portrait there is not their consciousness, as they look toward us, of other presences, but only the insistent private dialogue between sitter and the spectator.

In terms of Florentine precedent, accustomed to the portrait style of Ridolfo Ghirlandaio or of Franciabigio — or even from the point of view of contemporary Rome — this picture is remarkably original. Only Raphael achieves a like incisiveness of psychological characterization, but he suggests more the separateness of the observing artist from the sitter; he does not have the compelling intimacy of communication that Andrea effects here. This is not only a result of the expression of the face; it proceeds from the fineness and acuity that are in both Andrea's psychological perception and his way of perceiving form and light. The atmosphere — in literal and figurative senses both — of this portrait has been made intimate. The pose of the sitter, more relatively informal and movemented than in any Florentine portrait, or in any Roman portrait to this date, is manipulated toward an almost perfect poise, only a little tensed, exactly reflecting the subject's psychological situation.

Four drawings survive in which Andrea searches toward his idea of design (Uffizi nos. 661E *verso* and *recto*, 301F *recto* and *verso*, in that order). They demonstrate an alternation between turning complication and frontality that is resolved finally into the complex equilibrium, in the painting, of a pose diagonally set but referred to a controlling pattern of the picture plane. The physical presence of the sitter has been brought very close to us, but does not intrude into our space. The figure makes, in its design, the effect of a self-contained formal order, constructed just beyond the boundary we feel in the picture plane. The clarity and separateness of this formal order acts as a restraint upon the elements of psychological description in this portrait that tend toward a too-insistent and too-intimate communication. Communication is controlled, not quite with the effect of an ideal distance, but still with classical discreteness, by the manifest identity of an aesthetic structure that the image possesses.

Shortly after the end of May 1518 Andrea left Florence for a visit to the court of Francis I where he stayed until, finding absence from his wife intolerable (according to Vasari, V, 30–31), he returned home before September of the following year. He intended, apparently, to return to France, but (again according to Vasari's account) his carelessness, or worse, with money entrusted to him by the King for the purchase of works of art — but not so used — made Andrea's reappearance at the court impossible. Andrea's coming to France had been preceded, by more than a year, by the aged Leonardo — with his inseparable baggage of unfinished masterpieces — who had taken up residence at Amboise. The arrival of Andrea at Fontainebleau must have been followed shortly by that of two major imports from Raphael in Rome, the *St. Michael* and the *Holy Family of Francis I*, both sent on their way in July 1518.

The sole work that certainly survives from Andrea's stay in France, the *Caritas* (Paris, Louvre no. 1514; dated 1518; Figs. 87–90) shows the marks of contact only with imported works by Andrea's fellow-countrymen. There is no trace of any influence of past or present French art and there was no reason why Andrea should not have shared Francis' conviction of the superiority of the Italian product. The *Caritas* is also untouched, as far as we can determine, by influence of any art Andrea might have seen on his way to France — whatever his route from Florence might have been. He may, however, have carried with him the impression of a very recent and significant event of art in Florence; the first publication on major scale in the Mannerist style by his former pupil, Jacopo Pontormo, in the altar for S. Michele Visdomini, dated 1518.

The *Caritas* is altogether on the same extraordinary plateau of accomplishment to which Andrea had ascended in the year before with the *Madonna of the Harpies*, and is intimately related to it and to the *Disputà*, just antecedent to the trip to France. Yet the French picture is different in some respects from these two preceding works, and its particular character is unique within Andrea's art. The *Caritas* is the product of a conjunction of extraordinary circumstances both within Andrea's personal development and external to it. In this picture the consequences of his previous accomplishment of an apparent ultimate classicism and his fullest realization of constructive powers and of private sensibilities converge. In addition, the *Caritas* accepts new stimuli from other works of art. First among these were the paintings of Leonardo that Andrea had not seen since his youth (almost positively, but not provably, he had seen them then); then the imported Raphaels, in which he could observe the latest tendencies of style in Rome. Perhaps among the works that compelled Andrea's attention were also other "foreign" paintings, "di Venegia e di Lombardia" (Vasari, V, 29) in the King's collection. Finally, remembered from Florence, there may have been the provoking image of what young Pontormo had just recently achieved. Generated at such a moment in Andrea's evolution, and out of such experiences, the *Caritas* became simultaneously an unsurpassable climax and a crisis in Andrea's classical style.

Part of the distinction between the *Caritas* and the two preceding major works is evidently impelled by the difference in its subject. It is a matter to be handled in a somewhat different mood than the two formal altarpieces, at least in the light of Andrea's own temperamental habits and his earlier experiences with this theme. Still more evidently, it is a formal problem not like that in the altars; yet it is related to the central portion only of the *Madonna of the Harpies*. In the *Caritas*, the figures of the children are, with iconographic appropriateness, more closely integrated with the mother figure than in the *Harpies*, and the integer of form that they compose becomes the matter of design of a whole picture rather than a part.

Almost certainly, the adoption for the *Caritas* of a pyramidal design and a setting in a landscape was determined by the example of Leonardo's *St. Anne* altar. However, Andrea's composition is not an imitation of the Leonardo, but an inspired paraphrase; almost annihilatingly impressive as it was (and is) the *Anne* altar would have seemed, in 1518, a little inflexible and old-fashioned. To observe Andrea's mode of paraphrase is instructive for our understanding of the evolution of the classical style to its present stage. The basis of design for the *Caritas* is, as in Leonardo's picture, a containing pyramid internally articulated by a complex equilibrium of turning rhythms, but Andrea's conception of how this scheme should work specifically is unlike Leonardo's. In her single shape the *Caritas* demonstrates the spatial evolution which, in the Louvre altar, is carried by the two main figures; her form rises in an arching spiral, and this finds its own equilibrium, gently tensed: the lesser forms of the putti only elaborate and comment on her energy and breadth. Her poise seems more resilient than that of Leonardo's group. And as if to control and counter this effect of flexibility Andrea has given to the *Caritas* a compensating grandeur in her sense of scale. Her canon of proportion suggests the Michelangelesque: on one hand she recalls the dignity of the Sistine Sibyls; on the other she seems almost to anticipate the majesty, and the motive, of the as yet uninvented *Medici Madonna*.

In this single, magnificently dominating form the effect of unity is more evident than in the Leonardo *St. Anne* and, at the same time, this unity is more continuously differentiated. Further, while in the Leonardo there is — in this comparison — a sense of juxtaposition between the generalization of large forms and the scale of detail, in the *Caritas* the distinctions between whole and part are more gradual and fluid. The relation of parts to the whole is by a process more continuous, and thus more unifying. This applies not only to the figure group but to the relation of the group to landscape. The *Caritas* is more sfumato than the paintings by the inventor of sfumato; and while Andrea's figures are sufficiently affirmed in their identity within the light and air of their surroundings they are also, by means of sfumato, in more affirmative connection with them. It is ultimately Leonardo's own instrument, the handling of light, that Andrea has so much more evolved as a major agency of his higher unity of form. Andrea's light is more directly responsive to the optical complexity in nature, but not less carefully manipulated than by Leonardo for effects of art. The visual texture of Andrea's image is a more apparent, and also more complex and fluid, integer than in the Louvre *St. Anne.*

The use of light in the *Caritas* is only somewhat different from that in the *Madonna of Harpies* or the *Disputà.* It could not be a more pervasive presence than in those two pictures, but it is a more assertive one. It is less accompanied by a draughtsmanship that defines larger shapes, or finally discriminates exact detail. More evidently, the light does not contain those clarities of contrast that serve to make sure modelling of form. There is a resurgence in the *Caritas* of that chiaroscuro mode which had been most conspicuous some years before the *Harpies* in the *Holy Family* of Leningrad: obviously not just as it had been there, but altered in a dialectic with the much more specifically manipulated use of light that since intervened. The visual and emotional tonality of sfumato of the Leningrad picture reappears, but with a more precise articulation of its affective role. There is also the reassertion in the *Caritas,* though by no means to the degree that was in the Leningrad picture, of the dominance of optical over plastic effect: this figure group is an integer of shape but not so much of substantial form. The complex light makes faceting distinctions in the form, but at the same time softens these distinctions into continuity; almost no plastic element remains unbroken and assertive.

Color works with similar effect: more than in the antecedent pictures color is sensible as a function of the light — almost, but not quite, in a Venetian way (perhaps from the influence of such Venetian works as Andrea would have seen in France; there is a strong Venetian accent in the figure episode within the distant landscape). Color is muted like the light and more subtly differentiated than before in hue: an interwoven tissue of bleached reds, dulled orange and paled red-violet is spun across the central surface of the group; above and below the browned-green strip of landscape there is a marvelous accord of blues, of the sky and of the Madonna's ample skirt, exactly equal, in attraction for the eye, to the area of reddish tones that they enclose. Color helps less to model form than to create a veiled prismatic variety of its surface. Beyond its wholly adequate but unassertive distinctions in plasticity and space, the image is presented to us as a highly differentiated unity of optical sensation, experienced at near distance to the eye. It may not be too much to assert that while the image in the preceding works is differentiated out of a chiaroscuro ground, in this one it appears as if by differentiation out of the optical texture of the picture's surface. More than in the *Harpies* or the *Disputà,* and despite the setting in a landscape, the formal substance of the *Caritas* is bound in tighter unity into the picture plane.

What is also different from the *Harpies* and the *Disputà* is the temper of expression of this form. The difference in expression of the picture is created more by properties of form than by elements of illustration or by meaning in the countenances. There had been something much like this temper in the Leningrad *Holy Family*, but there it was less sophisticated and precise — a muted vibrance of sensation, almost febrile. In the *Caritas* this feeling has assumed the fineness of articulation — and the exposition through an absolutely masterful technique — that had developed in Andrea's paintings since. Here there is a quick and complex definition of the shifting light and of nuances of color; and in handling of line there is an including range from bold decisiveness to almost morbid sensibility. There is no passage in Andrea's art before this so intensely, nervously, refined as in the silhouette of Caritas. The febrility of form that was in the Leningrad picture is, furthermore, now compounded with a flexible controlling strength. An extreme, almost feminine, intimacy of sensation is communicated within a monumentality; and a complexity of formal matter at once more various and more intense works within the surest unity. And there is also, in the figure of the *Caritas*, a quality that was not in the actors of the *Harpies* or the *Disputà*. There is, in her, not only a subtler poise nor only a more quick-tempered grace, but a refinement and an attenuation of form to the point of elegance: the counterpart of the expression in her of the sense of grandeur.

Beyond his experience of Leonardo — and discounting that of Venetian pictures that we do not know — Andrea's vision of the two royal Raphaels at Fontainebleau must certainly have been important to him. There is no literal likeness between the *Caritas* and either of the two Raphaels, but it may be that the grandeur of form of the *Caritas* and the combination with it of extreme refinement, and the scale of the silhouette against the landscape — this last is not in the Leonardo *Anne* — owes something to the example of Raphael's *St. Michael.* The posture of the *Caritas*, with its spiral axis that is brought up out of depth at the figure's left and ascends in a diagonal, may also have resulted from a study of the *Michael.* It may be in part by inspiration from the Raphael that the *Caritas* comes closer than any other Florentine painting to fulfilling, as the *Michael* does, the most sophisticated compound of ambitions possible to the most developed moment of classical style. In the execution of the *Michael*, but still more in Giulio's execution of the *Holy Family of Francis I*, Andrea could have found encouragement to reassert his former chiaroscuro mode. In the latter picture also — though in Giulio's peculiarly equivocal terms — he may have found the suggestion for the veiling of the figures' third dimension that is in the *Caritas.* More important, the temper of quick, precise, complex involvement of design in the *Holy Family* is similar to that in the *Caritas*: a phenomenon new to Andrea except for its appearance once before, in the Louvre painting of 1516 — there also under Raphael's, and Giulio's, stimulus.

It is Andrea's particular accent, in this temper of design, of a muted but complex excitement that first suggests some likeness to Pontormo in the Visdomini altar, and this suggestion of resemblance is increased by the postures of the putti and their rhythmic interplay; it is pressed farther by the attenuation of proportion, exceptional in Andrea, in the *Caritas* herself. Andrea's experience of Pontormo's painting prior to the trip to France is just chronologically possible: the dating 1518 on the Visdomini altar would not have been inscribed, according to the Florentine calendar, before the last days of March; not much more than two months might be supposed between the date of publication of the Pontormo and Andrea's leaving. It cannot be excluded that the resemblances we see are fortuitous, and that these similar qualities could have developed independently. There is, after all, a wide common basis between Andrea's and Pontormo's art; and it is a specifiable historical fact that a great part of what is in Pontormo's style in the Visdomini altar proceeds directly from an exploitation of Andrea's precedents. If the style of the Visdomini altar did affect the *Caritas*, it was no one-sided transaction but a return to Andrea of his coin, with unforeseen interest. It remains, however, that there is the possibility of Pontormo's chronological precedence in those effects which are similar in the *Caritas*, and while Andrea could have seen Pontormo's picture, Pontormo could not have seen his.

What is similar in these two works is so in part by likeness of motive, but it is more important that there is a measure of similarity in the expression that results from manipulation of the forms. In both pictures there is an optical and rhythmical excitement made with quick-shifting, somewhat eccentrically related shapes and lights. There is also a dynamic nervous sensibility in both works, more communicative of an intimate and private personality than in other works of Florentine provenience, and conspicuously more so than in works from Rome. The stimulus to this particular expressive temper in the *Caritas* may come, if our assumption is correct, from Andrea's vision of Pontormo, but this does not mean that what Andrea makes of the style of his picture is what Pontormo made in the Visdomini altar. The excitement of aesthetic and of illustrative sensation in the *Caritas* is muted; and though sensibility in it is extreme, it is not exacerbated. What is in the *Caritas* is an ultimately complex diversification of the content of a synthesis — the most vibrant texture possible of a harmonious unity — but not its disruption. Even touched, as we assume he may be here, by a first major assertion of the style of Mannerism, Andrea uses the experience toward a yet more elaborate and refined achievement of classical style. In its very complexity, however, and in the fineness of its equilibrium in synthesis, this is a precarious *summa*; and it is a developmental end. It is also a declaration of private personality as intimate, and as subtly shaded, as it is possible to make within the approximate restraints of a classical objectivity. Having reached this end in the *Caritas*, Andrea confronts, in this climax of his classical style, its necessary crisis also. For the next three years his art would probe for new directions, almost as urgently but not in the same way as the emerging Mannerists.

There is no necessary consistency in the happenings of these few years of continuing crisis in Andrea's art. Like Raphael after 1515 Andrea had at his disposal all the resources of an accomplished classical style to rework and refine, or press — if he could — toward new expressive powers; and he was free as well to probe, obviously less intellectually and less forcefully than Raphael, new and in part unclassical ideas of style. If the *Madonna and Child with the Infant St. John* (London, Wallace Collection no. 9; Figs. 91–93) belongs, as is most likely, in this place in Andrea's evolution, probably in 1519, it is in a vein not deeper in the same direction than the *Caritas*, but one tangential to it. This picture is a specialized development of what might be described as the feminine aspect of the synthesis that is in the *Caritas*: a development of subtleties at the expense of the power which, in the *Caritas*, wholly compensates them. There is largeness of form in the Wallace picture but — proper to its different size and household function — no such monumentality as in the *Caritas*; and there is a meditated order but not the complex and precise calculation of design that is in that work.

This structure is in its own way remarkable; it is a unity as cogent as that in the *Caritas*, but of very different temper and affect. The Madonna establishes a motive of a *serpentinata* that works in three dimensions simultaneously: it ascends through the Christ Child, descends from the head of the Madonna toward the right and ascends again, coiling back upon itself, through the St. John and attendant angels; as it moves across the surface it warps as well through the placing of the figures in their space. This armature of the design is a deep, slow convolution, yielding and extremely suave. The forms that amplify it — of a warmer, darker consonance in color than the *Caritas* — are still more than in it sfumato-soft, and their contours meld more subtly with the atmosphere. This whole yielding form and what the figures demonstrate of feeling are inseparable reciprocal functions of one another. There is no comparable illustration of a quality of love that so softly permeates the countenance, either in Andrea or even in the pictures of the earlier Raphael. The cast of this emotion is feminine, or childish, as befits its bearers; only a shade less of continence in its expression would make it sentimental. The Madonna here is surely identifiable as a portrait of Andrea's wife; she is the same person who earlier was portrayed as the Virgin in the *Madonna of the Harpies*. Here she is the primary actor, and Andrea's private feeling for her is infused into what is enacted. More than any earlier one among Andrea's pictures, this one demonstrates his sensibility to the psychological situation of his actors — a situation he invents, as much as observes — and the sense of his identification with them. There are no closer presences to us, nor any that we feel more compellingly in Andrea's art except in the picture which, by our reckoning, succeeds this one.

This intenser presence is in the *Pietà* (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum no. 651; c. 1520; Fig. 94). Here the subject matter and the intention coincide to make the most impassioned communication in Andrea's art. His treatment of the subject matter in this way would have been impossible in any other time than this one of crisis in his art: we know enough of the lost *Pietà* of 1515–1516 to gauge its different character, and the Pitti *Pietà* of 1524 provides the contrast of a later, and more settled, term. This version of the theme was conceived in the context not only of Andrea's private searching for new avenues of expression but of his likely stimulation by — or even, perhaps, rivalry with — the increased production of the younger Mannerists. With means significantly different, but almost as inventive as those of the Mannerists, Andrea creates an image in this *Pietà* as cogent as theirs.

The resource of feeling that, in the Wallace *Madonna*, had seemed to be inexhaustibly tender and subtle now yields an opposite emotive power. Where, in the Wallace picture, the spectator is as if received into its yielding and diffused, feminine, personality, in the *Pietà* the form and content are assertive. The handling is of the sharpest brilliance, quicker even than in Andrea's work before, and brighter in its light; and the color, high-keyed, takes on a flavor of the bitter-sweet. Feeling is precisely focused and, in the person of the Virgin, projected out toward us. There is no difference from the Wallace painting in the degree of emotional identification we are meant to make with this image, but the kind of emotion and the direction of its working are distinct. In the Madonna of the *Pietà* Andrea works to make a countenance of anguish as convincing as the Wallace *Madonna's* is of love; in the anguish there is also love, but in a different aspect. In both pictures feeling is, in its fullest possible sense, a sympathy.

Andrea sees this theme, now, not as a projection of diffused and gentle pathos (as it had been in the *Pietà* of 1515–1516), but as a concentration of emotion in its utmost poignancy: the Virgin's countenance is the entire climax for the form and human meaning of this work. The other figures, even that of the lamented Christ, are accessory in place to the Virgin, and the movement of design is gathered in her. To assure entirely her domination of the picture she is described in slightly but perceptibly enlarged scale. Her face is framed by a shape of sharpest visual pregnance in the white coif, which at once isolates and comments what it frames by the excitement of its bright-lit, shifting pattern. The Virgin leans only a little forward, yet she seems to loom toward us, certainly psychologically more imminent than the body of the Christ and seemingly almost physically as near. Beside and behind the Virgin the mourning angels are relatively recessive and discreet, accenting by contrast her aggressive pathos. Any psychological implications in the head or even in the body of the Christ are deliberately minimized: there is no residue of agony in his countenance and only the least trace of it in the corpse. His body is the visible but mute cause of the emotion of the Virgin. However, the Christ is the most explicit and assertive physical presence in the whole art of Andrea. He is an utterly unidealized simulacrum of nature, an apparently objective fact as close to us as it is possible to be. This picture demands not only that we accept its intense actuality of psychological existence; it equally imposes our immediate acceptance of the physical presence it asserts.

The intense emotion in this picture and its energetic and immediate communication are like those of the contemporary Mannerists, but there is a marked distinction from them in the ways in which Andrea has achieved these ends. Andrea's way to a more urgent expressiveness, both of emotion and of form, is to intensify the sense of actuality of what, in natural experience, we might feel and see. His alteration in this work from his former style is in a lessening of ideality and an increase of naturalism, not unlike what we may observe in aspects of the latest classical style in Rome. Also, in this same respect, the community of the Vienna *Pietà* is less with Florentine Mannerism as we know it in this moment than — as we have observed of other tendencies in Andrea's art before — with contemporary phenomena of style in North Italy. This direction of research, if it were investigated strongly, could lead to a style of protobaroque character resembling that of Correggio. There is in fact a discernible analogy of style between this *Pietà* and the *Pietà* (Parma, Galleria Nazionale) of Correggio (probably of 1524–1526). As in that picture, the new urgency of participation by the spectator is in an intenser naturalness and not, as in Mannerism, a more assertive inward vision: the subjective identification of the spectator is with the life within a more convincing, realized object. In this sense of presence that Andrea achieves in his *Pietà* his innate tendency toward naturalism and his inclination to transcribe optical experience find a use like that they have in a protobaroque style.

A protobaroque direction is implied in Andrea's painting, but not more: it is still more attached to the classical style than it is distinguishable from it, and even its new tendencies are communicated through classical principles. Emotion here, intensified as it may be, is not eccentric or irrationally possessed, as it tends to be in contemporary Mannerism or in contemporary works of protobaroque cast. The passion of the Virgin is projected in the context of a moderating chord of feeling in the attendant angels and no one of the actors is moved by their emotion to such demonstrative excess in posture — inspired, tormented, or merely artificial — as in nonclassical works; their attitudes are deeply and decorously contained. What communicates excitement is the movemented pattern, of drawing, light, and color that overlays these forms; but the forms themselves are essentially stable and their mode of arrangement in a composition is, if anything, more indicative of high classical principle than some of Andrea's previous designs. Beneath the lucent color and the active drawing there is a manifest clear order, synthesized from the favorite motives of the classical repertory of design: a whole containing rounding shape, a gathering and stabilizing triangle, and a rectilinear grid. All of this is articulated in plastic forms that fill a limited and planar space close to but still, despite its great imminence, discrete from us. The community of style in which Andrea's picture belongs is still much more that of Fra Bartolommeo's latest *Pietà* than that of the contemporary Correggio, or of Rosso and Pontormo.

There is one more major document of this time of critical research by Andrea: the fresco *Tribute to Caesar* (Figs. 100–111) in the great hall of the Medicean villa at Poggio a Cajano where in the same year, 1521, Franciabigio and Pontormo also painted. In Andrea's fresco, almost diametrically unlike Pontormo's exposition there of an aspect of the new Mannerism, Andrea achieves a result that is like the Vienna *Pietà* in basic character of style but, in consequence of its utterly diverse subject matter and scale, different in its repertory of inventive means. Like the companion fresco by Franciabigio, the *Triumph of Caesar* (or Cicero?), Andrea's painting was enlarged to the right and at the bottom by Alessandro Allori in 1582 (who, also, added the alien figure of a putto with a turkey at the lower right). In its original dimension the composition shows at once that it is in the experimental temper of these few critical years. Its energy and its unconventional design — again protobaroque in its cast of style — represent Andrea's farthest probing of a new direction for his art. The same ferment, which in the contemporary lunette by Pontormo erupted in a very different form, is at work in Andrea's conception of his fresco.

The subject, the presentation of a tribute of animals to Caesar (with an inevitable Medicean reference) invited a diversity of contents and incident. It is the kind of reportage that suits an aspect, long since familiar to us, of Andrea's temperament; but Andrea has endowed it also with a sense of drama, and the air of an ultimately serious event. There is an energy in the forms, and an impetus in the design, that are new to the Florentine vocabulary. The composition is based upon an idea of asymmetry Andrea had not thought to use since the early *Adoration of the Kings,* before the time when his classicism of style had been perfected wholly, but this idea is far more freely and brilliantly developed here. Further, it is expressed in a repertory of cursive form he had acquired only in the intervening years. Andrea creates a monumental setting in which the architecture, the space, and all its contents are as if in movement: the massive building to one side of the fresco — seen from the side — the rising flight of steps, the diagonal impulsion of perspective lines, all insure this end. The stage for the actors has been made by rotating the conventional setting of classical design, frontal and symmetrical, through ninety degrees, and displacing its axis from the center to the side. In Rome, Raphael had used this principle in two monumental compositions of five years or so before: in the *Coronation of Charlemagne* in the Stanza dell' Incendio and in the *Paul Preaching at Athens* of the Tapestry Cartoons. But these Roman designs, novel and inventive as they were, do not do as much as has Andrea in the *Tribute* to exploit the potential in a setting of this kind for movement. In Florence, there was one precedent only, beyond Andrea's own of ten years before: Pontormo's *Joseph in Egypt* (London, National Gallery) of 1518. Pontormo's use of the device intends, obviously, what Andrea's does not, an effect that wholly contravenes a style of classicism; but he does reinforce the sense of movement in his diagonal and asymmetrical structure by an overcast of action, patterned into convoluted rhythms, in his figures. Andrea uses a like means, and to the same end, but it is of very different temper. Upon his stage, Andrea has overlaid a curving pattern, swift and vigorous, generated out of the shapes and from the deportment of his actors. Starting in the figure nearest us at left, an S curve sweeps through the figures, warping deep into the nearer space, then rising and impelling itself against the tensile, receiving form of Caesar; turning then to explore depths of landscape to the rear. Simultaneously, this curving armature determines the surface order and shapes the content of the space. The effect of movement is powerfully compelling, but the very forms that make it, both human and architectural, control and limit it by their own large dimension, and by the color that articulates them separately. The color, bright and high-keyed, defines each figure with clarity and emphasis upon its major local tone, precisely distinguishing each form from the next, and making sharp distinctions of their place in space. The hues sparkle in a light-filled atmosphere. On one hand, while their distinctness sorts out the acting forms, on the other their brilliant liveness in itself makes movement. In each major group there is a sequence, substantially reiterated, of yellow-gold, light green, lilac, light red, and blue. The architecture, a varied beige, takes up the yellow-gold; the sky, pale violet-toned, takes up the hues that tend to lilac and to blue. In the end the color adds, to the animation in the structure and the forms, an effect of brisk exhilaration, the temper of the sunlit day Andrea takes as the time of the event.

The sense of actuality in this atmosphere and in the vitality of form is what Pontormo made for his lunette also; and Andrea's scheme of design is, in its way, like Pontormo's a searching beyond the limits of the classical conventions. But there the resemblances stop: in Pontormo's fresco he has sought, beneath the references to reality, a realm of complex sensation, subtly introverted and abstract; while Andrea has conceived a mode that liberates, expands, and shapes the energies of nature. Andrea's mode is too carefully restrained, and his allegiance to classical principles of balance and control are too deeply felt to permit this, any more than the Vienna *Pietà*, to be described as an incursion into a baroque style. But here, too, as in the *Pietà*, there is a new directness and immediacy in Andrea's description of his experience of nature. This, in combination with the novel shape and the vitality of the design, again invites comparison with the means by which, in the North of Italy at about this time, a new avenue of development, of protobaroque cast, was opened for the classical style. Andrea's force of visual sensation, of color and of form, the vigor of action, and the expansive informality and freedom of design are precisely the qualities that appear in Titian's art as he begins, in his own "crisis," c. 1518, to extend the resources of the Venetian variant of High Renaissance classicism. It is about the time of Andrea's *Tribute* that Titian, in the Este *Bacchanales* (and in the *Annunciation* for Treviso and the *Pesaro Madonna* also) invents a mode which, within its Venetian dialect, resembles that of Andrea's venture at Poggio. And in Titian's mode of this moment, as in Andrea's, his intention remains, despite the new means and the unconventional devices, to achieve a classical solution for the making of the work of art.

The Venetian analogy should not be exaggerated however. There is a vital difference of degree, and literally a difference of vitality, in the qualities Andrea and Titian show in common. The direction Andrea has explored is remarkable enough in its Florentine context, but it is precisely this context that prevents its fuller realization. The Florentine atmosphere, with its intellectuality and its dedication to formalism, was conspicuously not favorable to any tendency toward a baroque; even in the matured Baroque world of the seventeenth century, Florence would not be fruitful ground for that sensuous and aggressive style. The energy and unconventionality of Andrea's *Tribute* are his farthest probing of a new direction, but he still does not effect a lasting revolution in this fresco in his own art, nor does he make of it a precedent of sufficient force to influence the art of others. It would be Pontormo's new solution at Poggio, more difficult to achieve and much more revolutionary, which would suit the school of Florence, and shape the direction, after this time of crisis, of Florentine art. This effort at Poggio is Andrea's last — almost — radical experiment; he retreats from it to a more explicitly classical position, and it is from this position that, in the next years, he continues to seek for new varieties of expression in his art.

III

1521–1527

THE frescoed *Madonna di Porta Pinti* (c. 1521; the original destroyed; Figs. 97–99), close in time to the *Tribute to Caesar,* indicates the main direction that Andrea's art would take in the first half of the new decade. Not as complex as the Poggio fresco, nor of comparable size, the Pinti Madonna — in part from these limitations — more positively than the *Tribute* shows Andrea's ambition for a new force of style. In the *Tribute* this ambition had been realized by the exploration of new resources of movement; its impress of monumental form was quite sufficient, but not Andrea's only aim. In the Pinti fresco the whole direction of Andrea's will is toward the shaping of a monumental form, of great force of impact. The figures are instinct with energy, powerfully made according to a canon that suggests Michelangelo's, and almost like Michelangelo's, physically vibrant with the strength of spirit they contain. Yet they hardly move; and their economy of action only serves the more, by continence, to magnify the sense in them of vital force. The two small forms of the children are gathered to the large one of the Madonna in a single silhouette, of statuary density, and like a statue deeply excavated. In the original, the effect of monumental scale and of plastic efficacy in this group was reinforced by its isolation against a bare architecture, itself imbued with the energy of a perspective cast diagonally to the picture plane. An experience of Michelangelo is certainly contained in Andrea's idea of this group, with its assertion of the character of sculpture and its effect, in the Madonna, not only of the dimension but of something of the personality of Michelangelo's art. But as always with Andrea, the precise reference to Michelangelo is elusive. The Doni tondo, the *Delfica,* the *Zorobabel* lunette in the Sistine all seem relevant, but not precisely; and even the Christ for S. M. sopra Minerva may have been (for both the Madonna and St. John) in Andrea's mind. The sense of an analogy to the Medici *Madonna* haunts the critic, but Andrea's fresco is prior even to Michelangelo's first thoughts for that subject. That there should be analogy, independently achieved by Andrea, in kind of form and in scale of idea, is a measure of his power of search and creation in these years. His experience of Michelangelo in the art to be seen in Florence is sufficient to account for the cast of Michelangelism in the Pinti fresco. For the references to Rome there may have been, not direct knowledge, but (as we have speculated for another occasion) material supplied by Jacopo Sansovino. Sansovino, now again in Rome, in 1518 invented the *Madonna del Parto* (Rome,

S. Agostino), of which the motives suggest, perhaps more than casually, a relation to Andrea's work. But Jacopo's sculpture, in an almost neoclassic vein, has no sense of Michelangelo's dimension and approximates no such Michelangelesque effect of personality as does Andrea's painting.

Whatever the Michelangelesque component in the Pinti fresco is assumed to be, it remains Andrea's peculiar creation. It is intimately bound to the ambitions he had conceived for himself in this moment, and indissoluble from inventions of his own making in the recent past. The connection with the *Caritas* for Francis I, two or three years earlier, is at once apparent; there, too, as we have seen, the quotient of Michelangelism, if it in fact exists, is indecipherable. But the relation of the two paintings relieves their difference all the more, and defines the change Andrea had effected in the meantime in his style. In the *Caritas*, the effect of monumentality is a tempered one, uninsistent, and it is one element only in a phenomenal complexity of form and of expression. The difference of the Pinti fresco is in part the result of its being in a bolder medium, but that does not explain its distinct style. The whole mode of form and feeling has changed: in place of the exquisite sensations of the *Caritas* there is a single-minded concentration upon force and forthrightness, even on simplicity of effect. The postures are uncomplicated and explicit, the contours firm, the plastic definition very clear, not filtered through a complex screen of chiaroscuro. The drapery style has been simplified, even more than in the Vienna *Pietà*, diminishing the elements of angularity and the fine incidents of rhythm, and has become a more largely cursive and more sweeping pattern, as it is also in the most salient figures of the *Tribute* at Poggio. All these qualities reinforce the impact of the whole design, and accord with its directness and simplicity. We are given an image of commanding and insistent presence, of noble and even of heroic tone.

Like the other major works of Andrea's time of crisis the Pinti *Madonna* is of exceptional power in invention and in realized effect; the intensity of Andrea's search for a new way of style has been projected in it. But the Pinti *Madonna* is, now, the solution of this search; and the solution takes the guise of a new mode of classicism, of a clarity of form and a force and elevation of content that, before this time of crisis, had not been in Andrea's art in any comparable degree. In a lesser way, a like process had occurred earlier in Andrea's career, in 1517, in the *Arrest of the Baptist*; in the earlier instance, as now, a new discipline was evolved to refound a style grown too complex. We observed, in that context, how Andrea's action resembled Raphael's in his shortly prior Tapestry Cartoons, but the analogy of the happening of this present moment, in 1521, is much closer. It is in the masterworks that had succeeded the *Arrest*, not those before, that Andrea had attained his fullest measure of development of a classicism, quickly grown again, as in the *Caritas*, to a seemingly ultimate complexity. The new reformulation of Andrea's style, in 1521, is based on the surpassing accomplishment since 1517 of the possibilities of classicism: this new discipline is more conscious, more thorough and more profound. The *Madonna Pinti* is the evidence of Andrea's ascent to an ultimate plateau of classical style, on which, as in Raphael's Tapestry Cartoons, its principles are reformed in clearer, in more pregnant, and in higher terms.

Andrea's pictures of the years 1519–1521, when he seeks a new direction for his art, do not violate basic principles of classicism. Their experiments find means that in isolation are like those that would become the matter of a baroque style; but these means are not in isolation, but in the context of a classicism. And, as we have observed, some of the intentions that Andrea would achieve with these baroquelike means are the intentions that Pontormo and Rosso entertain also, chief among them that of creating in the work of art a presence more intense and more compelling than the previous conventions of the classical style would permit. Andrea realizes this intention in the *Madonna Pinti* with almost the same effectiveness, but with more restraint, than he had in his *Pietà*, and he does so in a vocabulary that, oppositely from the Mannerists, is based on new clarity not on increasingly abstruse complexity. For all Andrea's concern in these few years with the problem of development within his style, and for all the questions raised around him — and, as it were, directed to his style — by the new art of Rosso and Pontormo, Andrea's essential allegiance to a classicism was not in doubt.

The ennobled and monumental clarity of the *Madonna Pinti* was the exact intention also of another work, probably of slightly later date, for which we have the evidence only of a modello by Andrea: an *Adoration of the Kings* (Florence, Uffizi no. 634E; Fig. 115). In this, the Madonna of the Pinti reappears as the central personage, surrounded now by the traditional company of the *Adoration* scene. The modello is tiny, and in passages it is described as finely as a miniature; but its design conveys a monumental effect (though not necessarily an intention of actually monumental size) not less than in the *Madonna Pinti*, or in the *Tribute* at Poggio. Here, as in the *Tribute*, there is a full complement of actors and a grand architecture for a setting. They have been arranged, however, in the temper of the *Pinti* fresco: frontally, in near-symmetry, and in a spatial scheme as ample, as surely shaped, and more deliberately open than a mature altarpiece of Fra Bartolommeo's. Each major form is articulated as a locus of the solid geometry of the design. The incidents of movement are all in minor key; Andrea's new purpose is to convey the high spiritual climate and the monumental dignity of the event. The architecture, half-ruined, yet lucid and imposing, frames the central actors; it does not make their monumentality but rather only affirms it. But even more than the form and comportment of the actors, it is the impress of the lucid order of geometry we see here that determines the tone of the scene Andrea has described. It is as if, in this modello, Andrea has reconsidered the idea of the Poggio *Tribute* from a newly affirmed and newly stringent classical point of view and remade much of its matter to accord.

The *Madonna della Scala* (Madrid, Prado no. 334; 1522–1523; Figs. 116–118) was conceived with the recent memory of the Pinti fresco still in mind, and with the experience of the ideas in the modello for the *Adoration*. The actors here are not supported by an architecture, but against the openness of landscape they make a dense and massive form no less imposing than in the *Madonna Pinti*. In their arrangement they are a variation on the central persons of the *Adoration*. As there, in that lucid geometry of space, the figures are set out in clear intervals from one another, so are they here; but at the same time they are bound absolutely into a single silhouette. Its form is, with simple geometrical obviousness, triangular, but in contour and in the disposition of the figures it contains this shape is filled with intense, yet muted energies. As in both the antecedent works to which it is related, but as in the *Adoration* particularly, the internal movement is effected by slight turnings and by carefully compensated oblique displacements of the forms. And like the lost fresco, the design has an instant clarity, density, and impact, but its measure of contained power is still higher.

Unlike that fresco, with its public destination and its almost rhetoric dignity, this private altar intends a different order of communication. Its emotion is contained, but not austere as in the *Madonna Pinti*. It exhibits an extraordinary pathos: the awareness of the tragedy that is to come to Christ inspires the countenances of the adult actors, and in their postures there is the sense of an emotion that involves their entire being. The Joseph and the angel focus a yearning, subdued passion on the Christ; the Virgin, in tragic resignation, makes as if to encompass him protectively within her mantle, as one day he will be taken in the shroud. The power of emotion is like that in the *Pietà* of Vienna, but all the more profound for the grave continence, of high classical kind, that has been put upon it. As in that *Pietà*, this experience is brought very near to us, but again with a different measure of restraint. The actors are close, and the looming pyramid of their design is somberly impressive, but they do not make, as in the *Pietà*, a physical or psychological invasion of our space. However, the new mode of definition of form that had been invented for the *Madonna Pinti* — clear, summarizing, and plastically very strong — establishes the figures for us with ultimate conviction. Not altogether paradoxically, the effect of actuality that Andrea achieves in this mode is more instantly apprehensible and more forcefully convincing than his subtlest descriptions of c. 1517–1518. This image, no less than the *Pietà*, and in despite of its renunciation of the *Pietà*'s baroquelike means, creates the sensation of intensest presence. As in the painting in Vienna, but now with a repertory only of classical device, Andrea has achieved an ambition, shared with the contemporary Mannerists, to make the impact of the pictured experience upon the spectator immediate and compelling.

In one respect, its color, Andrea's language in this painting would seem to have been touched by the practice of the Mannerists; but actually this is a re-evocation, perhaps suggested by the contemporary Mannerists, of ideas of color Andrea had himself long ago evolved, and from which, as we have observed, the Mannerists may have taken part at least of their initial inspiration. To a less degree, some recall of an earlier sharpness and near dissonance of color had occurred in the Vienna *Pietà*, and for the same reasons of intensifying the temper of the form and content. In the Scala altar the reddish-orange, green, blue, and bleached pink of the *Pietà* recur, but in stronger hues. In this new mode of handling the hues are less broken and shadowed than before, and attached, each more separately and clearly, to the now more plastic forms. The paled pink of the Joseph, the luminous green of the angel, and the near-vermilion and dark blue of the Virgin seem isolated from each other, each equally intense: increasing the power of each separate presence, but not reconciling them. In this one instance in Andrea's mature art color is divisive in its effect. This scheme was meant, surely, to promote the identity of each figure and increase the impact of each form; and it was also probably intended to magnify, by the polarities of color, the expressive tension Andrea has instilled into this work. But the experiment has almost miscarried; it is redeemed by the incorruptible authority of the whole remaining, classical, apparatus of design.

The first of Andrea's two great *Assuntas*, that for Bartolommeo Panciatichi (Florence, Pitti no. 191; designed 1522–1523 but never carried to entire completion; Figs. 118–128) offered a special problem in its size and subject. Andrea's basic means for its solution were those evolved in the three works since the Poggio *Tribute* that we have just discussed. These, however, did not entirely suffice for a machine of this complexity and size. For this painting, of the scale of a fresco and, nominally, of dramatic subject, a touch at least of the temper of the *Tribute* was required, if not its precise devices. Like the composition of the *Adoration* modello or the Scala altar, the design of this panel is a clear order not much removed from symmetry, but more than in those smaller works this design has been enlivened by devices that create variety. In the lower range of the picture, the central axis, in St. Thomas, has been displaced toward the right, and a pyramidal shape, gently impelled into movement, built around him and the two Apostles kneeling front. To animate the group further, the sarcophagus is set obliquely, implying, but not defining very strongly, a movement rightward in the space. There is no intention of creating such an impetus in depth as is at Poggio, however; the way is barred by the sheer wall of landscape, almost featureless, at right. The remaining Apostles are distributed around the tomb in a mostly shadowed, unassertive space, with nicely calculated differences of posture that make a complex but not excessively movemented pattern: their effect is of a finely, but discreetly animated equilibrium. A sense of power in the structure of the lower portion of the picture is reserved to the single figure kneeling left (who, like the basket-carrier at Poggio, serves literally as an agent of introduction into the design) and to less degree to the figure who is gathered into a pyramidal scheme with him. The upper portion of the picture matches the lower in general shape and ground plan, and it is more obvious in its approach to a symmetry. To the rightward displacement that is in the lower part of the design, the Virgin offers a compensating movement toward the left.

The basic design conforms to the acknowledged conventions of classicism, as does the manipulation into variety of the forms within it; but what is without precedent in the art of Florence is the sophistication and the natural-seeming ease with which the adjustments, out of symmetry but into equilibrium, have been achieved. There is a finely modulated, muted energy pervading the design. Even as all the devices of animate variety work, we sense their exact reference to an ordered system, and the ultimate deliberateness of their control. This, too, is the mode of feeling of the subject matter. The dramatic implication of the subject, like its potential of impassioned action, has been assessed, and discounted, quite contrary to the mood in which Andrea had described the lesser happening at Poggio. The interpretation, despite its utter naturalism, stands half way between drama and hieratic symbol, as if this were a ritual reenactment of the miracle, not the actual event. In this effect of content, and in the restrained energy of form, the painting stands a great remove apart from Titian's shortly precedent *Assunta*, with which it is sometimes uncomprehendingly compared.

Andrea's design is essentially conservative but in concert with his use of color — never separable in Andrea's mature art — the picture assumes a somewhat different aspect, more positive in aesthetic personality and in affect. Within the muted implication of a space, beneath the cloud bank on which the Madonna and the angels rest, a shadow partially obscures the forms and colors of all the Apostles except those who are meant to be protagonists — less of the drama than of the design. At left, brilliantly relieved in light, the Apostle kneeling is clad in pale orange-gold, and his counterpart at right in bleached pink and grey

— almost in white; Thomas, not so much in light, shows stronger color, in a deep blue skirt and a vermilion mantle. To the left of these three figures the colors recede into dully glowing browns, and to the right into varieties of *changeant* blue and muted greys. Though the colors of the Thomas and the kneeling saints are strongly distinct — each almost as assertive of its impact as in the figures of the Scala altar — the three forms, in their pyramidal relation, become a salient and, almost, a dynamic unit. From the kneeling saint at left, and less from that at right, the eye is carried inward and obliquely to the Thomas, rising in him, and then above him to find the magnetic echo, altered and inverted, of the colors of his garments in the Virgin. Color, isolated in the light, marks out a mobile, warping ascent through the design, linking its two separate zones and giving a whole new dimension of aliveness to the structure. But that structure remains one of classical restraint. As at Poggio, a means has been employed which will become that of a baroque style; and more than at Poggio, since Andrea's invention of a stronger and more forceful technique, this scene takes on the look of actuality. A vitalized *Existenzbild*: such a situation could define a baroque style, but only with another force of emphasis, and in another context than this one of classical controls of content and design.

These years, from late 1521 through 1523, were the time of a major contribution to the fresco series of the Scalzo. Four of the narrative episodes and two Virtues were painted by Andrea in this period; and these were followed shortly, in 1524, by a fifth, the penultimate *Visitation*. All are in the same vein — the high classical discipline that is the major mode of Andrea's working in these years. It is this group of works, more than his preceding efforts or his sole later fresco in the Scalzo, that gives the cloister its main cast of aesthetic personality.

It is in the first of these new frescoes, the *Dance of Salome* (late 1521 or early 1522; Figs. 112–114) that the distinction we have already marked between Andrea's classicism of a preceding phase and of this one becomes most understandable. The *Arrest of the Baptist* of 1517, Andrea's earlier fresco in the Scalzo, had been a clarifying and simplifying of classical principles of form, and had achieved dramatic concentration and explicitness in narrative. By comparison with the *Salome*, however, these qualities in the *Arrest* seem half-realized: the *Salome* conveys, at once, its superior effect of order, absolutely lucid, and its higher efficacy of dramatic meaning. Beyond this, it has the instant legibility that is the consequence of entire fusion between form and content. More than in the *Arrest*, Andrea has achieved an idea of concord of yet another kind, between the given shape and meaning of the space he is to paint and the image he invents for it. He has now fully expressed the implication of a stage that is in this picture-field, raised on a podium and framed as if in a flat proscenium. A space like that of a true stage, backed as if by wings, is made for the protagonist and chief figurants; behind, but at a good remove, are the two principal supporting actors. Behind them a bare architecture in deep perspective (like that of contemporary stage design) extends and defines the limits of this *inscenatura*. The idea brings to mind at once the double sense of imitation and of art that, in the theatre, is more pregnant even than in painting. On this stage entirely natural persons enact the scene, but they have been crystallized within their action in an order of surpassing artifice. On one hand, this order is rectilinear and virtually symmetrical, in shape echoing the picture frame and, in disposition, the logic of its fictive architecture. Into the depth, the forms are defined in strata, as if on the intervals established by a grid. At the same time, the order is that of the diagonal relations in its structure of perspective. These join the strata that are laid in space, and inextricably link the rectilinear patternings of form; and they charge the rectilinear design, almost unmovemented and severe, with a current of perspective energy.

These are in no sense separate ideas of design, one meant to compensate the other. Since his earliest maturity Andrea had demonstrated that he had the power to conceive design, and mold it, in terms of a solid geometry. The fresco works especially, with their opportunity to shape a space, invited, though not always consistently, the exercise of this power of gestalt. Now, seeking the highest classical lucidity with this shaping power, Andrea has conceived a scheme of geometry for the *Salome*, deduced from the shape of wall and its perspective excavation, which is like a quincunx in a cube. This framework of geometry is made of straight lines, explicit, energetic, and severe; the figures suspended on it give it a discreet measure only of relieving ornamental grace. Beneath the conviction of a naturalism, there is a theorem of aesthetic intellect, of the highest clarity. The mentality of Mannerism makes propositions of abstract kind in design that are not more arbitrary than this, but without Andrea's perfectly consistent logic, and conspicuously without his integration of this abstract logic with the world of nature. The analogy for this mode in Andrea is not with his contemporaries in Florence but, as we can see here more convincingly than in any case before, with the Raphael of the Tapestry Cartoons.

Even now, however, this analogy must reckon with the disparity between Andrea's power of aesthetic intelligence and his dimension of humanity. The aesthetic order and the human order are not, in magnitude, quite the same. The actors are, if anything, more evidently a "natural" humanity than in the works of a few years before. The elegance of the *Madonna of the Harpies* or the Michelangelesque impressiveness of the *Madonna Pinti* are not to be found here. Forms and postures are only restrainedly idealized and heads suggest the verities of portraiture. Only the Salome has a flavor of deliberate classicism, imparted by her headdress and by the rounding fullness of her features and form; yet she, certainly, is a portrait, of Lucrezia. Alone among the actors of the fresco, she is conceived with positive inspiration: her posture is a gravely sinuous, ornamental contrapposto, carefully contained, yet with the sense in it of imminent uncoiling as of a heavy spring. Her dance is just at this moment to begin, and Andrea's selection of this moment is an index of his whole temper in the making of the picture. He has taken the instant when the scene, as yet, is clear and still, but already charged with tension; the actors do not yet move, but small, pregnant gestures and expressions mark their incipient response. What we see is all, so far, restraint, but the scene is inspired with the innuendo of the passion just to come. And into this fine understatement by the actors of the narrative, the order of design discharges its own abstract powers, simultaneously urgent and austere. These are as if taken up within the figures and transformed in them into sensation: the tension mounts within the stillness, and so does the sense, within the restraint, of the acute imminence of drama. The beings Andrea has described, in appearance suited to a world prose, are exalted by his alchemy of form into a climate of emotion not so far, finally, from that of the Tapestry Cartoons.

The *Beheading of St. John the Baptist* (paid for early 1523; Figs. 129–132) is a still more developed consequence of Andrea's mode of thinking in the *Dance*. It is no less stagelike, though now, in this smaller picture-field, the whole action takes place in the foreground. The setting, simple and symmetrical as that in the *Dance*, and identical in its architectural style, gives the idea of complete consistency of place. Evidently, this is the exterior, beyond the arched door to the rear of the *Dance*, of Herod's palace. Salome reappears, the same actress as in the *Dance*. The scene is played with the same air as before of controlled understatement, and with a yet greater explicitness and clarity in the action and in the form. However, we are not shown the moment of climax any more than in the *Dance*. The drama is again oblique: as the *Dance* was the beginning of a scene this is the ending of one. This, too, has a muted power of emotion, but of a dénouement, heavy with the violence just past. The officer of the guard commands, with a Roman gesture of authority, that the Baptist's severed head be given to Salome. She stands opposite, still and waiting; the executioner, head averted, extends his arm toward her with its ghastly trophy. The morbid details of the scene are half or more concealed: the neck of the Baptist behind the right leg of the executioner, the head in the shadow of his arm. The postures of the figures could not be more simple or explicit, yet each conveys, also, a remarkable nuance of expression. The monumental figure of the executioner (as an "anatomy," almost worthy of Michelangelo) tells of his repugnance at Salome's act; the gesture of the officer is as much an accusation as a command; the waiting Salome, her body arched and slightly tensed, is proud in beauty and perversity. Her classic profile, with eye intent and parted lips, communicates her moment of petrified, almost dreamlike, fascination, and her cruel pride of power.

The density of meaning in the few figures of the *Beheading* is increased by the very fact that the design, unlike that of the *Dance*, is itself condensed: each meaningful form is closely conjoined to another. An almost wholly rectilinear order makes the composition, nearly symmetrical, its figures set out like the columns of a classical architecture. Across them, two decisive horizontal thrusts of gesture make the continuity of form and story, culminating in the confrontation of Salome with her victim's head. By what successive acts of discipline this high classical solution for design was reached we do not know, but we have Andrea's first thought for this scene (Uffizi no. 321F; Fig. 131). It is diffuse in form and feeling, casual, and despite the subject almost invested with an atmosphere of charm. The classical solution, limited, austere, and forceful that replaced this was no instinctive mode of expression but the product of intense self-conscious striving and of will. The exercise of that will in the *Beheading* has achieved a Roman effect of elevation in the content and the form, and a condensed eloquence, that bring this fresco — alone among the frescoes of the Scalzo without qualification — into the sphere of Raphael's highest classical style.

The intention of a single continuity of drama in the three last scenes of the Baptist's life is fulfilled in the *Presentation of the Head of St. John* (1523; Figs. 133–135). It takes place in the same setting as the *Dance*, and with the same dramatis personae (though not all of them). Only the serving man who had been in the *Dance* has conspicuously changed place, and as a scrupulous indication of the lapse of time, the dessert course has replaced the earlier one. As in the *Beheading*, the wall space is a narrower one than in the *Dance*, and the stage thus more restricted. The wings and ample foreground are cut off, but Andrea takes this not as a sacrifice but as a factor to convert to his expressive purpose. He brings us to a deeper level on the stage, nearer to Herod's table, or conversely, brings them nearer us; and among themselves, the actors gather in a tighter group. Unavoidably this episode must represent a climax, and action and response are emphasized by close conjunction among forms, and by their proximity to us. Fundamentally, the order of the scene is that of the *Dance*, intellectually deliberate, but the changes in it are designed to make, most economically, a different, overt, temper of drama. Within the spatial quincunx of design, the energies of diagonal impulse have been stressed. At the left, Salome walks on stage toward Herod's wife, who turns in shock and protest from her; farther behind and to the right the servant echoes her response in a diminished key. We read the reactions of the older men in a return, more restrained, of the same spatial movement; at right, a monumental *pensieroso* stays it. Like a Michelangelesque prophet he ponders on the meaning of the tragedy. The diagonal impulses through the figures, matching one another, deeply penetrate the space, following the orthogonals of the perspective; and this effect is reinforced in the perspective of the courtyard wall above.

In the human actors and expression there is a minimum of commotion; the understatement could hardly be much more than it is here. Indeed, this effect may result not only from intention, but from Andrea's emotional inadequacy to do otherwise. He had demonstrated a vast range of sensibilities, and even of powers, and he had shown in the preceding Scalzo frescoes that he could impressively convey the sense of tragedy, provided it was muted; but a direct confrontation with dramatic climax is not in Andrea's vein. His actors here are too discreet, but despite this the fresco achieves a genuine dramatic power. The force and the intelligence of the devices of design generate the affects that the figures lack; here, where the disparity between feeling for design and human feeling is more than in the *Dance of Salome*, the devices of design count more obviously than they do there. And the devices that supply drama to this fresco remain wholly classical, making a counterpoint and equilibrium with one another, and functioning always within the clear rationale of geometric form.

Where the dramatic matter is significantly less, as in the *Annunciation to Zachary* (in which, also in 1523, Andrea comes round to the first scene of the Baptist's story; Figs. 140–142), the conception depends frankly upon meanings made of form. In the *Annunciation*, there is a grave dignity in the interpretation of the subject, but no excitement, almost as if the appearance of the angel in the synagogue were not much more singular than that of the other communicants, only a little more solemn. There is no indication of a psychological response to this apparition, and the action of the two protagonists is exceedingly restrained. Nevertheless, within this stillness, there is the profound sense of a serious dramatic atmosphere; created by and depending almost wholly on the form. It is the most explicit expression so far of Andrea's new compositional rationale.

There is the same stagelike space in the *Annunciation* as in the prior scenes, and the same simultaneous sense of perspective extension, and yet of clear distinction, from the spectator's space. Connection and distinction are both more specifically defined by Andrea's placing of the foreground figures, close to us, but immobile against the pilaster frame. The space behind them is constructed as if it were the inward continuation of the architecture of the frame, but it has been expanded to the dimensions of a cube. Within the clear, grave, perfection of this space of architecture, the figures have been set out in near-symmetry, in an order that is again based on the principle first used in the *Dance of Salome*, and altered in the *Presentation*: a quincunx laid in space. Now, however, in the more concentrated dimension of this composition, and in the almost entire stillness of its forms, the sense of the geometry is yet more positive and more explicit.

As in the earlier uses of this order of design, the deviations from symmetry within it, and the diagonal impulses, are the indices of action. Here these are expressed with a particular restraint. To the left front, a slight turning of the female figure initiates — more by implication than by any obvious physical act — a diagonal direction toward the angel, who inclines, more than he moves, toward Zachary at the center right; behind him, in the far corner of the space, a single asymmetrically disposed figure ends this quiet, unassertive thread of narrative. Almost as in a composition of Giotto each deviation from the basic order assumes special value. Between the two protagonists a deeply charged relation is achieved, within their stillness. The rotund shape of Zachary responds to the opposite, gentle, bowed motion of the angel; and the two are bound, across their interval, by the elastic curves behind them in the architecture. Between them there is a phenomenon like a magnetism, which is in fact aesthetic energy transmitted through the intervening void, that inspires and transforms their reticence. And Zachary himself acquires, from a further compositional device, a quotient of expressive power that his attitude alone does not contain: he is placed just asymmetrically enough, between the two impulses of rightward and inward diagonal movement in the design, to strain and elasticize them.

Unlike the *Presentation*, this is not an instance of Andrea's making up, by his command of form, a deficiency in human content. This region of emotional experience, grave and subtle, is Andrea's native preserve. Now, in these maturer years, and in the frame of mind of this purer classicism, reticence is an affective virtue, and he finds strength in stillness. But the persons who convey these qualities are no more than before a special classically idealized version of humanity; their forms do not suggest the working on them of the high force of abstracting intellect that goes into the making of design. The actors of this group of Scalzo frescoes have the new clarity of presence that had first come with Andrea's change in style toward 1521, but he does not intend (as in the Sibylline *Madonna Pinti*) to give us the impression that they are superior beings. Their clarity and plastic emphasis of form is meant to tell us, affirmatively, of their actual existence, as credible facsimiles of persons like ourselves. Together with Andrea's intention to create a higher art — an art more evidently artificial — there is his no less positive intention of a stronger naturalism. His intellectual structures of design are meant to make an elevated, abstract, order of aesthetic experience; but this is meant to coexist with an intensified illusion. Even more than the preceding scenes, the *Annunciation* convinces us of the natural truth of the persons and the place it represents; the very stillness of the presences in it seems to promote illusion, as in a Bellinesque *Existenzbild*.

The measure of Andrea's new power of illusion in these years is given by the contrast that the two Virtues on this side of the court, the *Hope* and the *Faith* (1523; Figs. 136–139) make with their early counterparts. There is no remaining sense in either of the newer Virtues, as there is in the old, of obvious reshaping of the seen form into pattern; the machinery of art is much more subtle here, though even stronger. The intention to translate what is described into aesthetic order is, now, more resiliently adapted to the data of appearance that the artist sees, in such a way as to create not just a greater naturalism, but a profounder, surer synthesis between the actuality and art. The general form is given, in the *Faith* and *Hope,* in Andrea's present vein of extreme plastic clarity, and the postures have a direct simplicity and ease. The drapery develops toward complexity, but avoids it: its pattern seems to grow by successive acts of subdivision, as if organically, from the basic shape of the whole form. Each descriptive statement takes its place in a commanding order. The seeing has a clarity and brilliance, and the mode of description an energy, that far exceed those in Andrea's earlier style. But still as there, the perceiving of reality and the ordering of it are not separate acts, but a virtually instantaneous synthetic functioning.

In both these Virtues, a special circumstance promotes Andrea's inclination to achieve illusion. Their spaces had been conceived, initially, to contain the painted simulacra of statuary: the "niche" exactly adequate to hold and throw into relief a single plastically emphatic form. The idea of a form in strong plastic isolation has remained in the later Virtues, but not that of the imitation of the sister art; earlier, even the *Caritas* had threatened to exceed her statuary guise. The *Faith* and *Hope* are frank re-creations of real beings: the former, in fact, is an explicit portrait of Lucretia, and for the latter her daughter, Maria, very likely served as model. In the *Faith,* the sense of a reality is inevitably increased by the character of portraiture in personality and appearance that she has. But more than this specific accent of description, the agency that brings the final measure of illusion to these figures is the handling in them of the light, more forcefully and more brilliantly than in the other frescoes. The light floods each niche, charging its small space with the illusion of an atmosphere, and modelling the form within it with such power as to give the sense of entire tangibility. The figure seems, within its narrow ambient, to be an isolated and an actual substance. The light conveys that its origin is in our space, and the form it shapes seems no less to belong to it. Andrea has fulfilled an ambition of the Quattrocento — to which he never felt entirely alien — with resources the Quattrocento never could command. But the illusion he has created is still classical: an actuality of appearance, but an appearance selectively transcribed, harmoniously alive, and contained in a form of lucid, subtle order.

Andrea's painting on the Scalzo frescoes was interrupted late in 1523 when a visitation of the plague to Florence caused him to retire with his family into the country. He took refuge in the convent of Luco, in the Mugello, and while there painted a *Pietà* for the convent church (now Florence, Pitti; paid for in October 1524; Figs. 143–149). This altar is an exact transposition into panel painting of Andrea's concerns of style in the fresco works of 1523. There is the same lucid deliberation of design; indeed, the design is a variant of the schema of a quincunx invented for the frescoes. It is significant that its development in space is less, though the scene is placed before a landscape. Andrea demonstrates that he feels an easel picture, even one of this considerable size, requires a spatial structure different from that of a fresco. In the frescoes, painted in a context of architecture, it is an extension of the sense and logic of the architecture to make further, ancillary units of fictitious space; there is harmony and, no less important, reciprocal support between real and invented space. The easel picture, however, is a lonely integer, whose harmony depends only on itself, and whose identity ultimately depends — as Andrea had discovered in the researches of his earlier classical maturity — on the preservation, if not the assertion, of the sense of an integrity in the plane through which the forms have been projected. Thus, in this easel work, despite the common device of design with the frescoes, Andrea moderates their spatial emphasis.

Here, unlike the Scalzo, color articulates the logic of design; and it is color conceived in a concordant vein. In a middle key, but tending to lighter hues, of reds, greyed blues, and pale gold, the colors have a high clarity, and they attach to each form in distinct fields, almost with the arbitrary separateness of local tones: the color analyzes the components of the large design. An even but insistent light, like that in the just preceding *Annunciation to Zachary* (and, also, in the *Faith* and *Hope*) gives further distinctness to the fields of color and a sure, strong effect of plastic definiteness for each form. Like the color, the light in one sense functions analytically, but its consistency and quiet strength also predicate a unity; the color also is manipulated in an integrated scheme. As in the compositions of the Scalzo works of 1521–1523, movement, of design and in expression of the content, is made by oblique lines: here the main affective matter of the *Pietà* is in the diagonal ascent from left to right, from the Evangelist through the Christ and the Madonna to St. Paul, and not only the described forms but the color marks this line. A sequence of differentiated reds, with a minor thread of blues through them, warps across these figures. To the right front and left rear, in the two female saints and in St. Peter, there is a subsidiary affective theme, and these forms, too, are bound not only by devices of connective form but by color. All these devices, however, intersect in and converge upon the Virgin's head, shadowed in grief, but coiffed in the brightest light in the picture, a pure white. Behind the mourners, the shape and color of the landscape at once support and finally rectify the deviations from symmetry, in color and in form, that animate the structure of design and enliven the communication of the content.

Enliven, but not sufficiently: this picture is a repository of the devices that Andrea's lucid, subtle aesthetic intelligence of this time could conceive; what we have singled out for summary description is a fraction only of its means. The human inspiration of the picture is, however, not sufficient: the mood of the event seems too reticent and gentle, so that its meaning recedes behind the impressiveness of the manipulation of the form. The restraint of content is intended, but has gone too far; we have the evidence of Andrea's first idea in drawing (Florence, Horne Foundation no. 5543; Fig. 143), and of an only seemingly fulfilled intermediate stage (London, British Museum no. 1895–15–546; Fig. 145), later altered, for a meaning of differently intense energy. But from his diminution of the temper of the content in the *Pietà*, Andrea has fallen into the dangerous possibility that awaits the artist who works on the highest plane of classical development. There is a disparity between the aesthetic and ethical values of the painting. From the preoccupation with the one and, in this case not the unconcern, but the too deliberate constraint upon the other, the *Pietà* comes perilously close to being an exercise of formalism. This is the distinction between a classical and a classicistic art, and between a high classicism and an academicism. In this instance the lapse is momentary, but the tendency appears again and will be much more manifest when, at a later time, Andrea's creativity in the classical style becomes vitiated.

Another aspect of this painting lessens the dimension of its content: a naturalism in description of its actors that shares the ambition of the near-contemporary Scalzo frescoes, but exceeds it. There is, here, a finish of technique that the fresco medium will not allow; the sense of forceful summarizing statement that is in the *Faith* and *Hope*, and as much in the *Annunciation to Zachary*, is decreased, compromised by an excess of diligence. One has the feeling that Andrea, in his convent retreat, had too much time on his hands. The forms are not less strong than those of the frescoes, but the smooth perfection of their finish makes them somewhat bland, and their impact is diminished by too fine attention to detail, in places very literal. The actors pose with a deliberated, muted grace, and they are, in form, restrainedly idealized. Only one among them, the Paul, and perhaps the Peter also, are the vehicles of a large idea. The rest are an unexceptional humanity and, as we have seen, no inspiration of emotion has transformed them. Andrea's womenfolk — his wife, his stepdaughter, and a sister-in-law — serve as models for the Marys and St. Catherine, and their presence, with a cast of portraiture especially in the latter two of them is, in this context, obtrusive. The ambition of illusion, as strong as that to an intellectuality of form, has perhaps been too well realized in this picture. Exact presences in the clear and shining light, these figures form an *Existenzbild* of wonderful conviction, with superb painterly *morçeaux*, but they convey no correspondingly convincing human meaning. The impassioned image of the preceding *Pietà* (Vienna) has been cancelled, and its impulse of intense communication, shared with the contemporary Mannerists, has been put aside to affirm in this *Pietà* a classical ancestry that goes back not only to Fra Bartolommeo, but to Perugino.

The difficulty of generalization about a historical moment becomes apparent when we compare Andrea's *Pietà*, in almost all its aspects, with the fresco of the same subject by Pontormo, done in his own retreat at the Certosa di Val d'Ema in the same year. There is almost no element of style in the Pontormo that is not the antithesis of Andrea's. Yet, two or three years later, when Pontormo was prepared to reconsider some at least of the propositions of a classicism, in the *Deposition* of Sta. Felicita, this *Pietà* of Andrea's was sufficiently meaningful as a classical example to Pontormo almost surely to have influenced him.

The *Dead Christ* in fresco (Florence, S. Salvi no. 8675; c. 1524; Fig. 150) may have preceded or followed the Luco *Pietà*, but it is certain in any case that, besides the similarity of theme, Andrea's thinking in the two was much alike. In the fresco there is the same intention to create illusion of existence, and of the same unmagnified humanity; the model for the two Christs may in fact have been the same. But in the fresco Andrea does not labor his point with the excess of diligence of the *Pietà*. In the fresco technique, and in the restriction of his work to the depiction of a single figure in a niche of space, he recalls the manner and the state of mind in which he did the recent Virtues. All the force and the immediacy that are lacking in the *Pietà*, but are present in the Virtues, are again in the *Dead Christ*. The form is an instant and clear presence, relieved in light of no less force than in the Virtues, but now, with the resource of color, more subtly, almost tenderly, articulated. Half absorbed, half sent back in faceted reflection from the background, the light, of faintly violet cast, encompasses the Christ and gives the palpable sense around him of an atmosphere. The color is as limited and soft as, in the *Pietà*, it had been various and hard: the body ivory, the loincloth paled rose; and in the lower corner at the right a cloth glows yellow-gold beneath the point of the symbolic lance. The still figure vibrates in an energy of light suffused with color. The directness of simple statement, and this energy, combine to create a conviction that the *Pietà* of Luco does not have. Barely idealized and undemonstrative, the presence Andrea creates for us is yet actual and intense, and this lonely, loved image of the Savior speaks of profound pathos. It is an image worthy, in its evocation of a presence, of the *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius Loyola, but Andrea has made it with the repertory of means and in the temper of a classicism; he has found no occasion in the making of it for frenzy or for the least touch of rhetoric.

Late in 1524, Andrea returned to the cloister of the Scalzo to paint his penultimate fresco there, the *Visitation* (paid November 1524; Fig. 151). In it, he pressed still farther the effect of actuality he invented for the Virtues, and conveyed in the *Annunciation to Zachary* also; and at the same time he infused this actuality with a pregnancy of content like that in the *Dead Christ*. Even in its present state, faded and damaged more than any other fresco in the cloister, the *Visitation* reads as Andrea's most remarkable expression so far of the role of light. The light works, through the whole extent of this large painting, with a controlled intensity like that in the *Dead Christ*, but it is more subtly and exactly differentiated and its temper is distinct. It has a brisk energy, almost sparkling. Searching the figures, light communicates its temper to them: in Andrea's modelling there are episodes of quick-movemented, fine-faceted planes of form; and in the drawing swift, sharp-angled tracings of contour, light in touch, that are different from the more deliberate technique of the preceding frescoes. Unlike the Virtues or the *Annunciation*, but more as in the *Dead Christ*, there is no longer a primary emphasis on the power of light to model solid forms. It is a felt presence also in the space among them, making the sensation of a vibrant atmosphere.

In the just previous Scalzo frescoes presence had been affirmed mainly by the impact of the substances; in this one substance has been in part transmuted into energy. And in place of an illusion made primarily by substances, the *Visitation* attains a subtler veracity, of the whole optical experience of form within its ambient. Without sacrificing any part of the clarity he had won since the turn of the decade, Andrea has revived, to join with it, the sensibility of vision of his earlier maturity and the fine responsiveness of that time to the overtones of vital, and aesthetic, energy of form. The recent personality of Andrea's art is, from this moment, altered: it is not less lucid, but it is charged with reawakened sensibilities and energies that make its lucidity exciting, and its descriptive truth seem more vital, still more real.

The structure of the *Visitation* also shows this altered temper. Based on the schema invented for the *Dance of Salome*, used in the *Presentation* and *Annunciation*, and most recently in the Luco *Pietà*, this makes another variation on the idea of a spatial quincunx. But its geometry is, now, even more explicit. All but one of the restricted cast of characters is placed so as to mark, almost with the abstract exactness of a diagram, the loci of the arbitrary form, and every major feature, of figure and of architecture, is set out in a pattern of straight lines. The space is opened out, in this large one among the picture fields, to make measured, equal, interval among the loci of design. All this affirmation, more stringent than before, of an abstract logic is not doctrinaire; it makes, more than in the prior frescoes, the sense of daring and exalting clarity of mind. And the placing of the one form that evades symmetry in this structure is, at once, supremely rational and dynamically inspired. At the right, the figure of the porter (a motive remembered from Pontormo's *Visitation*, and before that from Ghiberti) makes a dozen vitalizing complications in the order of the design. He supports the oblique action that penetrates from the extended arm of Zachary into the meeting figures in the center, and he also counters it. He makes a tension against the expected terminal of this oblique line in the handmaid to the rear, slightly displaced from symmetry, and adjusts for her displacement. He creates not only oblique stress, but reinforces the lateral and rectilinear sense of the composition. He makes a rising impetus, and is weighed down. And these are a part only of his functions, of which the catalogue could continue for a page. Already expressive, in its arbitrary daring, of a vital force of mind, the design is galvanized by this boldly dislocated, magnetically related, figure.

This form adds life to the composition in another way also. His asymmetry, so exactly plotted, and plotted within the extreme artifice of whole design, lends the design an air of accident, no less convincing to the spectator for being so carefully contrived. The event takes on just enough the look of natural, unpremeditated, movement to assure us that it is like life. This, too, like the subtle naturalism of the light, is an old power resurrected: it had been an ambition of Andrea's, within his first classically achieved designs, to retain an air of casualness in them, as of a *tranche de vie*.

Beyond the means of design used to accomplish an effect of nature, Andrea uses means of illustration also. He strives, in the actors of the *Visitation*, for the look of prose. A perceptible degree more than in the antecedent frescoes, Andrea moderates his always discreet apparatus of idealization, and gives his figures the semblance of an average humanity. Costumes, casts of countenance, and unrhetorical behavior make the appearance of a household cast of characters, instantly believable. Their states of mind, also, have been recorded with the same effect of human actuality, as subtly responsive to nuance as in Andrea's paintings of an older time. In the Elizabeth, the protagonist of the *Visitation*, feeling is homely, tender, and profound. Simultaneously, while he intensifies abstract aesthetic logic, Andrea also intensifies his grasp upon reality.

These are not, however, disparate or divergent in their functioning within the work of art. In the *Visitation*, Andrea entertains an ambition similar to one of Raphael's concerns in his highest phase of classical style: to extend the reach of art in both directions of rationality and actuality. With less strain on the unity of the image than there is in Raphael, Andrea has achieved this end. He gives us, in the *Visitation*, reason vitalized, wearing the very countenance of actuality. With greater cogency than he had ever earlier attained, Andrea here unifies order and appearance, and fuses abstract logic with human content. Each clear locus of geometry is embodied, literally, in a human presence, and each lucid line of force conveys, between one locus and another, the relations both of presence and emotion. A high tension is created among the separated actors, and a poignant, climactic, convergence of energy is made upon the meeting figures of Elizabeth and Mary. While the overt action and the feelings of the scene are, as always, in a restrained key, the powers of the order of design infuse them and charge them with its own intensest force. Its abstract life exalts their life of ordinary appearance.

Andrea's phase of cautious and austere refounding of the principles of classicism is over. These principles are now inspired with a reasserted vital force, and reincorporate, but within their own new terms, Andrea's remarkable old resources of sensibility. The *Visitation* marks a new stage of synthesis for Andrea's art, and the attainment of a moment of climax that, like the one of 1517–19, yields masterpieces.

The highest of these is the *Madonna del Sacco* (Florence, SS. Annunziata; dated 1525;

Figs. 154–157). Beyond the tendency that was in the *Visitation*, this fresco asserts the look of life, and while its logic of geometry is no less it is more subtly masked. To say that Andrea has inverted, from the *Visitation*, the precedence of order over the appearance of living accident would be an overstatement, but to compare the *Sacco* and the *Visitation* conveys something like this sense. In the *Madonna del Sacco*, it is made to seem as if the artist had no prior doctrine of form in mind, but had waited until a vital nature in the very process of its living had fallen, of its own accord rather than by his design, into crystal pattern and impeccable equilibrium. In the *Sacco*, more absolutely than in the *Visitation*, artifice and actuality are fused.

Since his maturity, Andrea had been more than ordinarily sensitive to the "personality" of the shape and place of the space he was to paint; as much as Raphael, Andrea felt it as a preexistent condition of the kind of harmony he could obtain, and a factor in it. A sheet of studies exists (London, British Museum no. 1912–12–14–2; Fig. 157) in which Andrea put down five tentative first thoughts for this fresco. In each sketch on this sheet the outline of the lunette has been indicated, and the thinking of a way to shape the contents of the picture field depends from its own shape. That shape, unlike the rectangles of the Scalzo, implies movement, and rounding patternings of form. These mobile patterns are in the finally evolved design: in its look, in general, of vital flexibility; and more specifically in the arching shape, echoing that of the lunette, of the two main forms; in the motives of the drapery of the Madonna, and in the *sacco* itself and in the very action of the Christ Child. The place of the given space implies, also, a perspective situation, and the consequent effect of movement in the energy of perspective lines. Andrea takes this situation as a pretext for an effect of life in yet another sense, not only of an energy of forms, but of their illusion. He creates a setting that has something of the character both of the "stages" of the Scalzo narratives and of the close-containing niches of the Virtues, but with the forcing impact of a *sotto-in-su.* He invents a device that will emphasize the connection of this picture space, and of the forms it holds, with the space of the spectator. A basis for the painted architecture is made by a low step on which the Madonna sits, her legs — across which the Christ Child clambers — projecting outward to the very limits of the lower frame.

In his way of painting the Madonna (inevitably, the model is Lucrezia) Andrea has developed to yet higher force the clarity and the assertiveness of plastic form he had arrived at in the *Faith*, and added to it the affirming and articulating powers of color. As in the Virtues, it is asserted that the light that shapes the Virgin comes from our space, emphasizing her connection with it. Deeper in the architecture, in a light that seems filtered from within the fresco, Joseph makes quieter but not less sure illusion, described in a technique, quick and subtle, like that used in the figures of the *Visitation*. Like the *Madonna Pinti*, the *Madonna del Sacco* seems not only an actual but an aggrandized presence; and there is a splendidly premeditated effect in the folding of her drapery into a pattern more handsome than any accident of nature could be expected to produce. But otherwise, the strength of form and dignity of posture of the Madonna do not seem, as in the *Madonna Pinti*, to belong to an exceptional variety of being. There is less of the seeming Michelangelism of that fresco, and less of artificiality, in the aspect of this Madonna. More clearly than in the *Madonna Pinti*, this figure is a development of Andrea's own precedents and resources. While her monumentality expands the Virgin's presence and the power she has of illusion, it also holds her, as a physical form and as a dimension of human meaning, at a clear remove from us within her space, and in her sphere, of art.

The illusion of presence is precisely and compellingly achieved, but it is in equal measure precisely controlled; and so is the illusion of a vital spontaneity of order. The setting of architecture is the stage for an illusion, charged by the energies of mobile atmosphere and by its own perspective, and enclosed by the lunette's arching form; yet it is a shape of pure geometry, rectilinear and quietly severe. The figures are disposed in an easy, seemingly casual, asymmetry of place both on the picture surface and in space; but they resolve into an indestructible equilibrium. We know from the original composition sketches that there was no prescription in Andrea's commission for a Holy Family; he was concerned only with the Madonna and the Child, perhaps with some accessory angels. Part of his motive for the change of theme into a Holy Family was to make, as it were, compositional weight, and to gain the matter for a design with sufficient forms to command this space. From the figures of the Holy Family Andrea makes two large, resembling silhouettes, related by analogy of shape and by rhythmic devices of connection, and by threads of color. More evidently than in the Scalzo frescoes these shapes make the sensation of an order formed upon the surface of the wall. As in a contemporary work of Rosso or Pontormo, there is the heightened effect of an identity, sheerly pictorial, created on the picture plane. It is not less immediately perceptible, however, that the design is of relations in a depth of space: as much as in the Scalzo this indicates Andrea's thinking of design as three-dimensional gestalt. The connection of the two great forms and their reciprocal adjustment into equilibrium is made in all dimensions simultaneously, and with all the means, including color, of the painter's repertory. The major form, of the Virgin and Child, a massive pyramid infused with energy, is set strongly forward but only somewhat to the right of the center of the picture field; the Joseph, leaning on his sack, is placed well back and to the left: his is a lesser pyramid of form, but its displacement farther from the center and so much in depth makes, according to a principle as of leverage, exact counterbalance to the Virgin. This is, however, no mere linear conception of a leverage, but a manipulation of the weights and the vectors of complex solid forms around a pivot within space. To the assertion in color of the forward group — salmon pink, light blue and intense green — Joseph counterposes the sheer white brilliance of his sack, and the yellow-gold of his discarded mantle over it; but his dress is contrastingly, and compensatingly, muted — a flattened violet.

Reciprocally corrective, making one whole equilibrium out of two distinct, vitalizing asymmetries, the two forms are necessarily complementary; but beyond this they are locked into a unity by an extraordinary device, one of the most apposite inventions of Andrea's formidable aesthetic intelligence. Characteristically for the atmosphere of this painting, this device wears, with utter speciousness, the look of a natural accident. The book in Joseph's left hand, white and bold, acts like a hinge into which the two adjacent, partly overlapping pyramids of form are bolted. Flat against the plane of one figure, and imbedded in the other, this hinge shifts — almost with the sensation of an audible click, as of a piece of actual machinery — the mass of one form into the next, and locks them irrevocably together. The conceit is worthy of the thinking of the Mannerists, but such a thought, of solid geometry, would not be likely to occur to them. Across the hinge, made into the effective pivot of the whole design, there pass the curves which, spiralling over and around each figure, then turn in the hinge, inverting their direction, from one form into the next. A beauty of movement, a slow, strong, *cantilena* that describes the forms in space, overlays the reason of geometry in the design and confirms its unity. This is Andrea's ultimate classical accomplishment, a superlative conjunction of his powers and sophistication; he will never quite attain to such a peak again.

The last fresco of the Scalzo, the *Naming of St. John the Baptist* (paid for June 1526; Figs. 165–167) indicates at once that Andrea's thinking in the *Madonna del Sacco* had intervened between it and the *Visitation*. More even than in the *Sacco*, Andrea searches in the *Naming* for the look of accident within which order can achieve disguise. He abandons the strict scheme of the *Visitation* and the antecedent frescoes altogether, inverting their proportions between apparent order and asymmetry. The composition sketch for the *Naming* has survived (London, British Museum, Sloane no. 5226–86; Fig. 165); the design was conceived from the beginning as a scheme in movement, and in this one instance only in Andrea's art, the final work is not a corrective, but an intensification of this character in the first thought. By the familiar process of dialectic with one's own artistic past, the personality of the fresco done at Poggio has reasserted itself, and beyond that there is the inevitable reminder of the nearby masterwork of a preceding time, the *Birth of the Virgin* of the Annunziata.

The long shape of the picture field is scanned by an arching, then asymmetrically descending line, immediate in its effect of movement, and communicating, by its temper, an effect of ease. This main motive of the composition seems, primarily, to mark a surface plane of the design, but it moves at the same time, though less assertively, within the space: as in the *Madonna del Sacco,* there is a new shade of emphasis upon design as a projection on a plane surface, but there is the continuing conviction that it remains a gestalt of space. The spatial function of the main device of composition and its role in scansion of the surface are separable only in an arbitrary analysis; but by such analysis it becomes clear that this device, seemingly so unlike the severe quincunxes of the preceding frescoes, shares one important property with them. The pattern it creates on the picture surface and the ground plan that it makes in space are concordant shapes, one transposable almost exactly into the other. Each supports the aesthetic personality that is in the other to make one resonance of harmony. Also as in the previous Scalzo scenes, movement here — different in its cursive kind — is the agency of narrative. It unfolds from the waiting figure, spectator like ourselves rather than an actor, of the Sibylline old crone at left — a passive echo of the Zachary opposite; and to the rear and right of her, deeper in the space, the figure of a servant walking off-stage makes a curving appendage of the line of design. The line passes, rising, through the handmaid center, whose figure shadows the infant John, into the ascending canopy of Elizabeth's bed more to the rear; then it descends, turning forward with the heavy posture of the mother toward Zachary, the protagonist. His bowed form gathers and encloses the preceding movement, and a network of subsidiary rhythms converges on his writing hand. The effect of movement determines the temper of the narrative, sure but deliberate in pace.

As in the *Sacco*, the first impress of a movement, and its asymmetry, promote the sense of a natural, living order rather than an intellectually imposed design; and in an environment more extensive than the *Sacco,* and directly taken from contemporary life, the *Naming* makes even more of the appearance of an actuality. And beneath this simulation, the apparatus of artifice is more oblique, but just as firmly controlling as in the *Sacco*. Within the mobile, asymmetric impetus of the major compositional line, the three figures of the foreground plane are symmetrically spaced, the two outer ones near counterparts, and their forms make heavy affirmation of their order. To the rightward inclination, among these three figures, of the handmaid, and to the further rightward impulse of the movement of design, a levered spatial counterpoise — subtly exact as that of the Joseph in the *Sacco* — is made by the servant girl in deeper space at left. Rather like Joseph's book, the corner of the room, marked by the two adjacent doors, links and turns one main plane of structure into the other. Finally, like a device from the Venetian repertory of classical design, the clear, even heavy pyramid of form in the right half of the fresco is countered by an inverted wedge of darkened space at left. Within the impulse of vital, actual-seeming movement in the *Naming*, there is the — by now — accustomed, intellectually achieved, equilibrium. The moment of life the picture seems to represent has been synthesized with an unalterable, monumental, permanence of art.

The sense of a monumentality is increased by the character given to the main figures, all of them suggesting, like the *Madonna del Sacco*, a dimension and a force of substance slightly magnified from life. In this instance it is finally possible to trace this aggrandizement of Andrea's actors directly to the current Michelangelo, rather than to a tendency in Andrea's own past art. Vasari gives us his testimony (V, 45): ". . . Andrea, che aveva ringrandito di maniera per aver visto le figure che Michelangnolo aveva cominciate e parte finite per la sagrestia di San Lorenzo, mise mano a fare quest'ultima storia . . ." * It is an imitation of which, of course, Vasari approves. But even here Andrea's references to Michelangelo are not recognizably direct: Zachary's form and posture uncertainly suggest the Medicean *Giuliano*; Elizabeth's may be an oblique echo of the *Giorno*. While the crone at the left has something in her of the Sistine *Persica*, she makes a more convincing and less expected local reference, to the figure lower right in Rosso's recent *Marriage of the Virgin*. Andrea's borrowing from Michelangelo, as in the few sure instances before, is of an idea of the shaping of the human form, not of specific motives or of apparatus. Furthermore, it has been so assimilated to Andrea's own intention, and so effectively incorporated within his painter's art that the Michelangelism becomes not more than an intonation taken into Andrea's native speech.

There is the identifiable cast of a Michelangelism in some of the actors of the *Last Supper* at S. Salvi (1526–1527; Figs. 168–178), but this is only an incident among the means by which Andrea seeks his own kind of monumental meaning for this, his largest single work. His own devices are explicitly pictorial, intending to create a nobly impressive shape and dimension in the space, and a dignity of order in the complex cast of figures. His shaping of the space realizes his ambition: it is substantial and lucid, and impressive in a deliberately restrained way, without the devices of an architectural rhetoric. It is a proper stage and sounding board for a human drama of corresponding tenor. It is also, however, a superb illusion: a perfectly habitable architecture, holding a subtly moving content, almost palpable, of light and air. Through the open loggia above, we see a quiet radiance of sky, and in the center opening of the loggia two servants are framed as if caught in an instant's movement. The setting is an actuality as much as it is an order, and this is what Andrea wills consistently in these last few years. With equal definiteness, the figures who inhabit this setting make both order and presence, and in equal measure. However, they do not imply, within their human scale, a monumental stature or a dignity that quite corresponds to that of the architecture. In part, the disparity of sense of scale is a simple factor of the figures' size within the setting. Given Andrea's intention to create the effect of an actuality, their size cannot be more than life; but to accept this limit literally, as Andrea does, wants daring. He permits himself no apparatus, beyond the few Michelangelesque aggrandizements of form, that will expand the expression of dimension that they make. The relation of figures and setting does not attain to that reciprocal reinforcing of effects of scale that occurs in the big frescoes of an earlier phase of classical style, as conspicuously in the Raphael Stanze; and it is the opposite of the domination by the actors of environment in Leonardo's painting of the theme.

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* ". . . Andrea, who had made his style grander from having seen the figures that Michelangelo had begun and partly finished for the sacristy of San Lorenzo, set his hand to this last story . . ."

The subordination of a possible ideality of persons to their actuality — for this, in effect, is what Andrea's principle here seems to be — is sensible as an emotional fact as well as a fact of their appearance. What had been felt in the compass of the Scalzo frescoes as a deliberated reticence of feeling seems in this wide scene like an insufficiency of it, and the relative concentration of emotional effect that was in those frescoes has, here, been dispersed, seeking variety of sensation, none of it convincingly intense. The spiritual resources of the actors, even the principals, are not up to the occasion. Studied postures, deliberately indicated gestures, and expressions differentiated with fine care do not make up for Andrea's excess of emotional discretion. There are thirteen adequately handsome human episodes within the scene, but not one of them exceeds the conventional by much. And they are episodes: there is too low a pressure of emotion to connect response, much less to fuse it into a convincing unity. The actors were not felt in this way in the preparatory drawings that have survived, at least those in the stage of study from the nude. In those studies there is a *brio* in the action of the figures, and a rhythmic energy that binds them into groups; but these qualities have been suppressed in the deliberation, too intent on each fine but uninspired presence, of the final work.

All this is true, but it is not the whole story, and to leave it at this point is to reckon without the resources of compositional device, in form and color, that are peculiarly Andrea's. In earlier instances he had achieved a realm of aesthetic meaning higher than the meaning his humanity conveyed, and through the one had lifted up the other. In the *Last Supper*, where his humanity seems more evidently insufficient to the theme, he has redeemed them in the same way. The figures are not separable from their context: both their order and expression are meant to be comprehended in conjunction with their setting. Behind the figures, a broad clear scheme of an entablature and panelling articulates the lower wall, exactly containing the table and the actors at it. The entablature firmly embraces the whole group, and the panelling responds in an abstract geometry to the subdivisions of the group, and reciprocally reinforces them. Further, the architecture is knit in color into the figures. The flat blue of the panelling takes up the strong blue of some of the draperies — a tone intermediate between that of the wall and table; the muted violet of the featuring responds, at once, both to these blues and to the reds that are, with various cast, the dominant color among the figures. The few greens of drapery answer to the reds as complementary, but they are also differentiations out of the color of the wall higher above. Only one spot of yellow drapery stands salient, and though it is a complementary of the violet in the setting, seems too strongly saturated to be attached by a coloristic logic to it. There is also a relation of color, subtle but insistent, across the intervening wall between the figures at the table and the two servants isolated high above, which works not only in the terms of color but creates an implied, binding, triangular motive of form, and makes a further emphasis upon the figure of the Christ among the Apostles. The unity of the figures is not measurable in their terms alone: it is a unity conceived in indissoluble relation with their environment.

And the unity of the whole work is, at the same time, one of an aesthetic structure and an actuality: the leitmotif returns. The human actors in the *Last Supper* are embedded in a superlatively efficient entity of form, and take power from it; and they take an increment of power also from their part in the compelling unity of illusion. No less certainly than in the *Sacco*, and with the greater impressiveness of this larger scale, the powers of order and illusion reinforce each other. The illusion is that of a world in order; as illusion, it is as strong and lucid as the abstract structure of design. Not only the whole recorded presence, but each part of it is perceived and transcribed with this force and this extreme lucidity, so that it transcends nature and becomes more powerfully actual than the matter of reality itself. The clarity of a form and the beauty of its color take on more than a descriptive virtue: they acquire an aesthetic identity as such, as pure sensation, transcending the presence in which they reside. This is the finally commanding power of the *Last Supper*; and this may be the magic, more even than its apprehensible illusion, that stayed the hands of the *guastatori* sent out to destroy it in the dark days of the Siege of Florence, only a few years after the painting was completed.

The painting is conceived at a level of sophistication inconceivable to the Florentines of the late Quattrocento, but it is nevertheless still attached to that tradition, more than to the arbitrary and aggrandized world of Leonardo's *Supper* (which Andrea may have seen in 1518–1519) or that of Raphael's version of the theme (in drawing, published in Marcantonio's engraving, B. 26). The ancestry of Andrea's work is rather in Ghirlandaio's *Supper* of the Ognissanti, or even before that, in Castagno's in S. Apollonia. The likeness is in part in the conception of a kind of order, but more, it is in the sphere of humanity with which Andrea, like the Quattrocento Florentines, still was concerned. Here, on the highest plateau of his classical development, with a supreme machinery of abstract form, Andrea still presents us with the likeness of a world not far removed from the shadow of the *Campanile*. He has exalted this world with his power of art, but he has never transcended it.

The local manes also make their presence felt in Andrea's *Sacrifice of Isaac* (we here speak of the first version, unfinished, now in Cleveland; c. 1527; Figs. 179–189), with its echoes of the same subject in Ghiberti's competition panel. The picture also makes an antique reference, to the statue of *Laocöon*; not to the antique itself, however, but to a version accessible in Florence, Bandinelli's copy, in the city since December 1524. One cannot help but have the feeling, in view of Andrea's past unconcern with the — in the exact sense — humanistic apparatus of contemporary classical style, that he thought of his statuary model as a Bandinelli more than as an antique. In any case, he has responded to its temper of movement and drama with characteristic moderation, even though his own theme, inherently and by precedent, is a dramatic action, too.

In the Abraham, he makes a handsome posture for a monumental form, and in the Isaac a deliberately studied, also handsome, nude, almost an academy. He builds a single unity of form from both figures, a tall pyramid that surely dominates the picture field. The action is taken at its point of climax, as the putto-angel intervenes to stay Abraham's raised hand; but this is also a moment of suspension, in which the motion of the figures and their psychological responses are, for this one instant, immobilized. However, the controlling form, and this moment's stilling of the action, are imposed upon a powerful resource of movement. Isaac leans right, but his body turns in a rising spiral motion toward the left and outward; in the Abraham there is a strongly tensile opposition of two spiral turnings, both directed rearward. The movements of the two forms do not merely overlap, but precisely intersect one another at what might be, in an artist of less cautious emotional temper, the passionately characterized point of content of Isaac's head. A rhythmic excitement of drawing, in Isaac's anatomy and in the drapery of Abraham, and a brilliance of reflected facetings of colored light elaborate the energies within the basic pattern of movement. Compactly interwoven, the motives of movement are articulated clearly in their shape in space. The structure of the group might be conceived of as a centrifugal unwinding of parts of form inhabited by force. The pattern is of solid form, as exactly excavated within its density as a group of statuary, not less clearly than in Bandinelli's model. As in a group of statuary, the single strong projection into space, Abraham's right arm, is plastically distinct from its environment. In the angel to the upper right and rear, and in the landscape, adjuncts are appended to the central group that at the same time extend its implications of spatial and oblique activity and support its equilibrium.

Characteristically for Andrea, though his inspiration and his formal idea in the figures is a statuary one, his descriptive machinery of light and color integrates the figures in a visual texture with the landscape. Furthermore, the dense, energized main form itself communicates, as much as the Apostles of S. Salvi, the spatial as well as the plastic illusion of its presence. Here, where the painting has been left unfinished, there is not quite the force of visual sensation that is in the deliberated figures of S. Salvi, but there is — more than adequate compensation — the brilliance and immediacy of a quick shorthand technique enlisting a different excitement of response from the spectator.

This primary version of the *Sacrifice* was judged unsuitable for delivery to its intended royal customer, the King of France (for reasons we can speculate about but not prove) and a second version was prepared in its place. Now in Dresden, the circumstances of politics and war did not permit that painting, either, to reach its originally intended destination. In the second version (late 1527 or 1528; Fig. 190) Andrea has deliberated his problem further: his effects are still more carefully calculated, and in some ways finer than in the unfinished painting. Necessarily, however, some of the brilliance of effect of the first work has been lost, and more than this, some part of its power. The basic machinery of the new picture is the same, but it intends a different, more ideally removed kind of monumental presence. In a larger frame, the actors are set deeper in the space, in a setting in which the adjustments of direction have been more painstakingly contrived. The action of the figures is more muted and there is a more conscious, intendedly ennobled, pathos in their expressions. The content is more elevated and the appearance of the actors handsomer; and the design is so lucid and meditated a machinery that it asserts itself, demanding admiration. But there is almost too much meditation, and too evident an artifice, in this published version of the painting. There is too much art, even in its working of illusion, quite to convince. Perceptibly, but just, the second *Sacrifice* verges on the brink of an aesthetic formalism that is one of the indices of a classicistic, as distinguished from a truly classical style. This aspect in it is not the result only of the fact that it is a reworking, too finely pondered, of an extant theme; it is a symptom of a significant alteration, in its time of painting, in Andrea's style. Later still, probably in 1529, Andrea made a third, reduced, version of the composition, now in Madrid (Fig. 191). Again using the same basic ideas and apparatus, Andrea reformed the specific accent and effect of style of this version into his intention, again different, of that moment.

Our characterization of the Dresden *Sacrifice* anticipates a course Andrea's art will imminently take; but now, still within 1527, he was possessed by the strength of creative impulse that made the *Last Supper* and set down the first version of the *Sacrifice*. From the evidence of another painting, close in time to the first *Sacrifice*, it would seem that, even carried to completion, its vitality would not have been diminished. The so-called Borgherini *Holy Family* (New York, Metropolitan Museum; Fig. 194), has no comparable drama in its subject matter, but it conveys almost to the degree of the Cleveland painting an energy of content and a brilliance, almost an excitement, in the handling of form. The theme is simple: in the presence of St. Joseph and the Virgin, the young St. John presents the Infant Christ with the symbol of his dominion of the world. The Child is unknowing; he accepts the sphere as if it were a toy, and shows his pleasure to the spectator. John, however, knows what his gift means of responsibility and tragedy, and the Virgin feels it quietly and deeply. The expressions in the faces of the three different states of mind are given with conviction and with Andrea's most exact command of psychological nuance. From behind these figures, Joseph looks out at us with intent gaze, inescapably direct. He has the appearance of a portrait, and the effect of a physical reality he makes is as explicit as his glance. He is in the scene, but not an actor; like ourselves he is a spectator of it. He seems as real a presence, behind the action, as ours is before it, and he exchanges his comprehension of its loving, tragic, sense with us.

There is not only this beautifully articulated meaning, but a passion, characteristically muted, in Andrea's interpretation of the theme, and the same temper is in his working with its formal means. The basis of the design is a simple confrontation of the Virgin and St. John around the Christ; and the interchange among the actors is set down in equally direct terms, in the movement of their arms across the horizontal axis of design. But the forms that make this scheme, with its explicitness and simplicity, are described — still more than in the unfinished *Sacrifice* — with a movemented energy. Fine, quick conjunctions of angles and curves make contours and planes of modelling, and drapery is faceted in sharpened planes. There is a quick tempo in the rhythmic pattern, with a pulse in it of controlled excitement. This pattern is supported by a strongly differentiated light, and the light carries a content of color that is more active than any Andrea had employed previously. The drapery on which St. John kneels is a sharp cerise, urgently drawing the eye. The mantle fallen over the Madonna's lap — continuing John's drapery in one sweep of pattern — is an intense darkened blue. The Madonna's dress is rose-violet, with a sleeve of gold, and Christ's loincloth is *changeant* from violet to blue; the globe St. John holds is aquamarine, gold-striped. Behind the figures, in a shadowed implication of a space, is a curtain of dark green, against which each nearer field of color is relieved. There is a discernible logic of relation among these fields and a rationale for each effect: out of the rose-violet of the Madonna's dress the hues of her mantle, Christ's loincloth, and the globe have been differentiated; the cerise of the drapery at left and the green of the hanging to the rear are near complementaries; the three chief hues in the picture approximate a color triad. But these relations, though perceptible, remain approximate: they do not mesh like the conjunctions of a classical color system but, instead, make a slight dissonance. Some of the hues — the cerise, the *changeant* and the blues — have in themselves a peculiar identity, intense and not quite naturally credible, and they resist the working on them of any comprehending scheme. The color of the picture has been given an unnormative complexion, slightly dissonant, pregnantly intense, and not quite consistent with our expectation of natural experience. These effects are modified toward harmony by the working of the light, beautifully modulating color, with an action like that of a filtering lens. However, the sense of intensity and of tensions that strain harmony persists, and imparts their affect to the other factors of the picture's form, and condition its tonality of content.

The functioning of color and its emotive tone suggest those of recent Mannerist inventions. It is obvious that Andrea has considered the color practices of Rosso and Pontormo, as he had done before (as in the Scala altar), and decided to investigate their possibilities himself. By comparison with his Mannerist contemporaries, Andrea's color in this picture is, inevitably, in a moderated vein, much less radical than Pontormo's early exercises in Mannerist color, and far from the more extreme ideas of color in the work of Rosso. Andrea does not forget that the coloristic experiments of their new style take their origin in developments he himself had conceived. In the Borgherini painting its character of color may be stimulated by example in the Mannerists, but it is derived, with gentler dislocating pressures than they use, from Andrea's own classical precedent. And though the color works to affect the whole gestalt of style of which it is a part, in the end it does no more than increase the power, through increased tension, of a classical expression of emotion and a classical structure of design.

IV

1527–1530

THE Borgherini *Holy Family* is the end point of a succession of superb accomplishments that had begun with the *Visitation* of 1524. In this series of works Andrea had explored the maximum level, accessible to his resources, of accomplishments of classical style. In the Borgherini picture his exploration had been carried, as in the *Caritas* for France of 1518, toward a verge of classicism, even specifically using in the color an element of Mannerist vocabulary of style. In 1518 Andrea's probing of a limit of his then variety of classicism had led him to a subsequent phase of critical, experimental search, essentially self-stimulated, but occurring in the context of the deepest creative crisis in the recent history of Florentine painting. He had emerged from this research with a classicism reaffirmed, and reformed in a higher and more powerful guise; and to this he had given its ultimate expression in his works from late 1524 through 1527.

There was no theoretical impediment to Andrea's continuing on this same plateau, but toward 1528 he descended from it. His change of style may be assessed to any one of a number of causes, but it is more likely that there was more than a single cause. Most simply human is the likelihood of the exhaustion of creative energy, to which even genius of a higher order than Andrea's is susceptible. He may have felt, as well, that he had played his resources of a charged classical style to their limit. To continue to charge this style further, in the sense of Mannerism and with its devices was not, with his temperament and his history of style, a possibility for him. In the series of works that end in the Borgherini picture Andrea was truly at the highest level that his temperament and his history would permit him to attain; and there was no internal resource out of which he could generate, yet another time, the matter of a further reformation, on a plane of higher inspiration still, of the principles of classical style. Nor was there any external stimulus to such a labor. In Florence, there was no competitive accomplishment of classical style; on the contrary, what he saw around him was the gradual imitative vitiation of what he, and before him, Fra Bartolommeo had achieved of the meanings of a classical style and — slow but perceptible — the infiltration even into these vitiations of the modes of Mannerism. The doctrine of a classicism bound to nature, as Andrea's was, had ceased to be a vital one among the attitudes of Florentine visual culture. Instead, vitality gathered like an emanation around the workings of the supreme Michelangelo, bound to a classical tradition still, but exalted and abstract. His classicism was taken, not in its integrity, but in its aspect of abstraction, as a formative authority for Mannerism; and the energy of creative impulse overflowed from the explicit Mannerism, by now visibly matured as an artistic style, of Pontormo and from the residues of Rosso's art in Florence.

Andrea's response to all of this took the form of a retrenchment, which is also a descent within its level, of his classical style. What he turns to now is a style less intensely inhabited and less complex than what he had accomplished in the last few years. It begins as if it might be no more than a return to Andrea's antepenultimate manner, that preceding the masterworks since 1524, but this new style soon develops a distinct flavor of its own.

The first clear evidence of a change is in the altar for Becheruccio Biccheraio of Gambassi, the *Madonna with Six Saints* (Florence, Pitti no. 307; 1527–1528; Fig. 195). As an altar painting of fair size, it refers to another mode of composition than those used in the frescoes of the just preceding years. This design recalls the symmetry of the Luco altar, or the formal order in the *Harpies*, and even beyond that, the precedents of Fra Bartolommeo. This principle of structure is one that was invented by Fra Bartolommeo; however, its reappearance in Andrea does not imply a direct reference, and it is of course recast, in any case, in more sophisticated guise. A symmetrical order, with only minimal responsive variations in it, has been formed into the approximate semblance of a sphere: a circular ground plan, with the Madonna suspended at its center, intersects an oval pattern on the surface. Such a scheme, even as Bartolommeo had used it, contains strong implications of effect of space and potentiality of movement; its spatial and surface patterns tend to an energized relation to each other. Andrea, however, has dampened and restrained these energizing effects. Motives that build into a triangle stay the sense of curving motion almost altogether, and assert a planar order of design.

The restraint of energy in the composition is expressed with another accent in the figures, and in them it takes on something of negative value. Again, the formal altar, as a subject matter, need not inspire a content of particular strength; but the human communication of this altar seems even less assertive than does its form. The actors are gently, almost too softly affectionate; they do not suggest, like Andrea's actors of his recent phase, or even the antecedent one, that their feeling has been muted from a higher force. Their postures make the same effect of mood, a little too relaxed, unvital. And, combined with their slight spiritual inspiration, their ordinary appearance gives the effect of a diminished human stature: what we felt was insufficient in the actors of S. Salvi is here more perceptible. These are adequately convincing presences, but in no way inspired; and unlike the case of Andrea's preceding works, there is no aesthetic energy to exalt them.

Nor is such an energy created by a force of coloristic sensation like that which, until now, had been customary in Andrea's style, or in default of color (as in the Scalzo) by assertion of a life of plastic form. The color, like the temper of emotion, is rather pallid, in a higher key than in the last altar, the Luco *Pietà*. The color scheme is dominated by the tones of pale flesh and by a pervasive cast of greyed light blue; the only strong note is in the reds — bleached out, however — as in the dresses of the Magdalen and the Madonna. Light tones take the cast of blue into their shadows, with an effect at once melancholy and abstracting. The color is in sharpest contrast to the Mannerizing energy of that in the Borgherini picture, but this scheme in the Gambassi altar also may have some explanation in a contact with the style of Mannerism: with the bleached, high-pitched hues of Pontormo's Sta.

Felicita *Deposition*, completed just about this time. But if Andrea has in fact borrowed Jacopo's device, its effect in Andrea's work its quite unlike, for he has imitated only the bloodlessness, but not the intense vitality of abstract life of Pontormo's color; attached to the ordinary, somewhat spiritless humanity of Andrea's picture, it has no power to transfuse them.

As Andrea used this blanched color scheme it suggests, more than any positive force of abstraction, rather something of the deadness that is in the denatured classicism of some of Fra Bartolommeo's posthumous followers. In the Gambassi altar this effect of the color seems a concordant adjunct of a not unlike whole character of style. For the first time in Andrea's art we are given the sense in this picture that its design is a convention of form rather than a shaping of it with strong disciplines of mind, and that its content also is conventional: its classicism no longer seems a vital mode of artistic being but an insufficiently inhabited formula.

This is in fact the character of style of the Gambassi altar, but its meaning is not merely negative. This painting, the first evidence of a retrenchment and diminution of the reach of Andrea's classical style, is a work of crisis. This time it represents a crisis of negative value, but no less a turning point; it alters an old direction and implies a new one, but has not realized fully what the new direction's character and means are to be. Its lifelessness, in part, is the result of the decline of an old purpose, here not yet replaced. Its experiment with an abstracting color was to have no consequence; this idea — perhaps, as we suggested, the result of outside influence — was discarded. However, from the relaxation in this altar of energy of design, and from its diminution of vitality in content, Andrea developed qualities of more positive effect. They appear in the *Assunta* made for Margherita Passerini (Florence, Pitti no. 225; c. 1528; Fig. 196). Unequivocally, what distinguishes this version of the theme from the earlier one, generally similar, for Panciatichi, is a vitiation in it of the sense and force of classical style. The Passerini altar seems, where it hangs opposite the earlier *Assunta* in the Pitti — unintended pendants — a ponderous machine. To the varied energy of form of the Panciatichi painting this contrasts a heavy rectilinear emphasis in its design; to the former's diagonal evocation of a space this contrasts a near-closure; where color makes a sparkling chain of continuity in one this makes strong, dispersed fields, analytic rather than connective in effect; where one gives fluid vibrancy of optical experience this gives more inert description, with a heavier hand. But these are not just negative effects in the Passerini *Assunta*; they are the shape of a new purpose. For the missing vitality of his former style Andrea substitutes a heavily impressive gravity. We might regard this as a kind of aesthetic transmutation of energy into mass; more truly defined, however, it is a subsidence of energy. It is also a subsidence of complexity into clarity, ponderously obvious. More than in his earliest large-scale paintings, the order of this *Assunta* recollects the ancient connections of Andrea with the art of Ghirlandaio: here, as in Ghirlandaio, order, as much as it is the imposed result of artistic will, is just as much the absence of the energy to violate it.

It had often been a tendency in Andrea's art — and a more overt fact in other practitioners of the classical style in Florence — to make classical form support a deficiency of content. The Gambassi altar, in default of energy of inspiration of content, had implied that its meaning was primarily of form; in this *Assunta* Andrea has, in a perfectly self-conscious act, established a primacy of formal meaning over that of human illustrative content. We have observed in another context that such a formalism compromises classicism with the character of academicism. It also shares a character that may appear in Mannerism, but there usually in a very different temper.

In the Gambassi altar Andrea had explored, in color even more than in the structure of design, an effect with some flavor in it of abstraction, like that of the devices of Mannerism. In the Passerini *Assumption* the formalism is mostly of the order of design, but there is an aspect of abstraction in its color, too: in the strength of the sheer sensation of hue emitted by the major color fields. This strength of coloristic sensation is by no means new in Andrea's art, but its assertion of an effect as of abstraction is. There had been a symptom of it in the Apostles of the recently completed *Supper*; here it has become overt. The effect of abstraction is the result of two interdependent factors in this picture's style: one, the separateness of the major fields of color, in an almost discontinuous design; second, the absence of qualification of the color fields, and of the intervals between them, by effects of mobile light. The fields of color are, simply, less optically true than they had been before. The light that isolates the colors in this way itself has an even, artificial — and abstracting — glare; it makes contrasts as abrupt and simple as those in the substantial order of design. Nevertheless, unlike the Gambassi altar, there are episodes of intense color, and they are attached to episodes of intensely plastic imitative form. While each such episode, considered in its function within the whole image, reads more abstractly, considered separately each makes the most concrete descriptive effect. This duality is new, but it has been arrived at by the extension — an exaggeration, more exactly — of a principle long present in Andrea's art, his intention to reconcile abstract aesthetic logic with effects of actuality. What we have described in the *Assunta* is a sensible duality, and it strains the sense of classical synthesis.

The vast machinery required for the making of the *Assunta* posits all the problems of Andrea's change of style, and makes apparent both its demerits and its few positive ideas. In the context of the large work, it is the demerits of the new style that are the more urgently relieved. These are less evident, and the merits more, in the smaller, less pretentious pictures of this close time. We have already spoken of the second, published, version of the *Sacrifice of Isaac*, probably well antecedent in its completion to the altarpiece. Essentially a repetition of the first design, the second version was bound to make basically the same effects; now, however, in the context of the change of style we have described, its different formality and deliberation, and its lesser energy, may be precisely understood. A variant on the theme of the Borgherini *Holy Family* was also done in 1528: a *Caritas* (Washington, National Gallery, Kress Collection; Figs. 197–198), which like the *Sacrifice* was also meant to reach the King of France, and did not. More than the Dresden repetition of the *Sacrifice*, this free transcription from a work of 1527 shows the changed mentality of this next moment of Andrea's art. In the *Caritas*, the figures are aggrandized, heavier and more plastically broad than in the Borgherini painting, and they are more separately conceived. The modelling of form is smoothed and the contour simpler; and the pulse of movement, and of emotion, has been made deep and slow. The *Caritas* has the gravity of the Passerini *Assunta* but not its ponderousness; and in this concentrated theme there is power of feeling quite distinct from the dispersed, conventional expression in the big machine. Conspicuously, the color of the *Caritas* differs from that of the Borgherini painting, and does so in the sense of the large altar; in color, also, the small compass of the *Caritas* preserves it from the risk of dispersion or disunity. In place of the Mannerizing tensions of the *Holy Family*, the *Caritas* shows a close accord. Varieties of green in the background and through the swath of drapery at front make a dominating hue, to which the light clear red of the Madonna's dress is complementary, while accents of yellow-gold, dark orange, and light blue make differentiation. More than in the Borgherini picture the light is smoothly modulated from strong brightness into a rich dark, and the color, very thinly and transparently laid on, is fused with the light and controlled by its behavior. The flesh is nacreous in light, but transparent greyish-brown in shadow, as if partaking of the dark of the background. In general, the luminous color seems embedded in its context of grave dark: the strong, deep tonality of light and color makes one sense with that made by the dimension of the figures and their states of mind.

Like the Dresden *Sacrifice*, the *Caritas* still has attached to it some part of the personality of its "first version," and some part of Andrea's powers as they were at the time of its invention. Between the Passerini and Panciatichi *Assuntas*, more separate in time, there is less survival of the personality of the earlier work into the later, despite the thematic connection and the related formulae of their design. Unlike all these, the *Sarzana Altar* (destroyed, formerly Berlin; dated 1528; Figs. 204–207) is not shaped in some way by its exact liaison with a preceding one of Andrea's paintings, but is freely and entirely invented in the style of this year. Nevertheless, it does relate in its design to the recent Gambassi painting, and in this we observed the reference by Andrea to the compositional ideas of Fra Bartolommeo. It is highly indicative for Andrea's present state of mind that now, in the new altar, he makes the same reference much more direct: he reforms the design of the Gambassi altar into terms more overtly and exactly like Fra Bartolommeo's. The basic formula of the Sarzana altar is that of the Frate's great *pale* of his mature years: the *St. Anne* altar, the Pitti *Marriage of St. Catherine*, or the *Virgin in Glory* of Besançon; the dependence of Andrea is explicit, though not on any single work. In this time, after the creative straining and the complex thinking of his prior years, and in default of will or resource to proceed farther in the same way, Andrea falls back on what had once been for him the image of classical authority. His return to the Frate is, for Andrea, a return to absolute, unshakable, first principles. Unlike the Gambassi altar, this design not only refers to a Bartolommesque geometry, but makes it even simpler, clearer, and heavier than in the Frate's mature work. This is a recall not only of first principle in Bartolommeo, but of Bartolommeo's own first principles.

A bare architecture supports the figures, and repeated rectilinear emphases mark their symmetric order. Simply posed and plastically strong, the figures, in this order, themselves take on architectonic character. More clearly than the Passerini *Assunta*, the Sarzana altar fulfills Andrea's intention for his conception, of this moment, of design: of grave impressiveness, but which tends to ponderousness; of deliberate simplicity, but which tends to lifelessness; and of a clarity that tends to formula and scheme.

The design is more than formula, however, precisely because it takes body in part in the convincing presences that Andrea always can invent; and in this particular design its logic of order is fused, with exact intention, with a logic of illusion. In a visible play on the name of the altar's patron, Giuliano Scala, Andrea has emphasized the role of the steps in the Bartolommesque architecture, and made them a vehicle of relation between the space of the spectator and the pictured space. To make the transition from one space to the other, he has introduced two half-figures, at the painting's lowest edge, close to us but gesturing inward, who imply that they occupy a station very near to us, within the painting but connecting with our world. The device had been most recently used, in an outward guise quite like this, by Pontormo, in the *Christ before Pilate* of the Certosa, and a rather like idea had appeared in Rosso's *Marriage of the Virgin* in S. Lorenzo. There is no doubt that Andrea had Pontormo's specific precedent in mind, but he has quite altered the effect of Pontormo's use of it. The basic purpose, of making connection, is the same, but the figures that make it for Andrea are verities, not wraiths, and they do not float in an indeterminate limbo between two spaces but are firmly anchored on the inner border of the picture. Furthermore, the space they introduce us to is, above all, objectifiable and clear. The device had served a Mannerist end for Jacopo, but it is not intrinsically a Mannerist device. Inventions like it had appeared in the illusionist repertory of the later Quattrocento, and it is to an older sense that Andrea has reconverted Jacopo's idea; and beyond this he has made it no more than an adjunct, in this altar, of a whole explicit classical structure. It should be recalled that Correggio also uses devices of this kind about this time, but, beyond the common function of connection, neither does Andrea's use resemble Correggio's. The temper in which the connection has been made by Andrea, and the image into which it takes us, now have no cast of Correggio's tendency toward a movemented style like that of a baroque. Even the spatial implication of the idea, as Andrea makes it work, is muted: the color of the foreground figures and the nonperspective structure of the stairs serves not to distinguish, but rather to affirm the relation of the lower space into the unity of the design. Andrea is still thinking in this painting of the ambition he had long entertained, throughout the 'twenties, of the simultaneous achievement of order and illusion. It is only that in this altar, both dimensions have been carried to what is, within the limits predisposed by Andrea's classical point of view, their possible extreme. But neither its order nor its virtue of illusion works to make a vitality, even of idea, within the picture, and like the actors of the Passerini altar the persons of this one, handsomely discreet, do nothing to the same end.

In the human content he communicates — or rather in the too discreet moderation of it — the *St. John the Baptist* (Florence, Pitti no. 272; 1528; much damaged; Fig. 200) might well make one of the cast of characters in the two great contemporary altars. No more convincingly than they do, St. John assumes a grave expression, but its effect remains conventional. His bland good looks, a little soft, are hardly such as to convey a force of personality. The content of the head is just adequate, and its character accords with that of the still, posed, handsome form; but the affirmation of a spiritual presence is not a primary intention in this picture. More important than this is the assertion of the figure's physical existence, and of the affects that Andrea, in his present mood, desires to attach to it.

John's whole form, his head included, has been only cautiously idealized, but into a pattern of appearance that approximates a squaring geometric regularity; and despite incidents of slight asymmetry and diagonal device he has been posed in a design that is rectilinear, planar, and quite still. Gravity and clarity are imposed on the appearance, and the appearance given a beauty — more than St. John's merely physical handsomeness — of quiet harmony of form. This presence, so ordered, is projected by strong light and color into an intense relief, with the utmost power of illusion. A brilliant light isolates the torso, of a paleness like that of marble, violet-shadowed, against a darkened neutral background, and a strong vermilion relieves the robe. The physical illusion is almost tangible. At the same time just the phenomenon occurs that we observed in the Passerini *Assunta*, where the presences most strongly affirmed by color and light simultaneously have the same force, and an equal meaning, of abstraction. In the St. John the singular accent as of marble in his flesh intensifies this dualism of actual and abstract effect. Though the context of descriptive form to which this color is applied is so different from Pontormo's, the possibility occurs to us, as it had for the Gambassi altar, of an influence from the Pontormo of Sta. Felicita with its bleached, arbitrary, statuary-seeming hues.

Like the altar for Sarzana, the *St. John* concentrates the new intentions of Andrea's style with greater efficacy than the Passerini altar, and it is without the worst defects of either of the altarpieces. The *St. John* makes it evident that Andrea now wills a sheerly formal, abstract aesthetic meaning for his art as explicit as that attained by the Mannerists, and conspicuously by the contemporary Pontormo. But Andrea will not, and cannot, detach this meaning from the appearances of nature, and the effect he makes in his abstraction, of the purest clarity, is the opposite of the effects, eccentric and difficult, of Pontormo. We have observed that in the Passerini painting the duality of abstract and illusive meaning strains the sense of classical synthesis. It does so here, but only as an idea, not in the actual expression of the work of art, for in this compass Andrea absolutely dominates his mechanism, and the single force that is in both the illusion and the abstraction makes them cohere. The coherence is by *force majeure*, and not by synthesis: this apparently simple picture is an extreme landmark in Andrea's history of development of the classical style.

Close in time to the *St. John*, Andrea painted an altar (Florence, Uffizi no. 8394; dated 1528; Figs. 201–203) for Vallombrosa which, since its removal from there, is no longer arranged in its original form. The saints of the main panel were once separated, two to either side of an older painting of the Madonna, and between them, below the older painting, were two putti who are now in another frame (Fig. 202). The present effect of the main panel falsifies Andrea's intention, making a conjunction between its left and right halves that is too abrupt. Originally, the composition was wider and had more ample space, within which the four saints were disposed on a square ground plan, in a measured symmetry and in responsive attitudes. Between the two groups the putti, small mimics of the saints, made a connecting link, and the old Madonna painting made a central point of focus. In this design there is — now, too apparently — the heavy regularity of order we encountered in the Passerini altar and, in this less populated theme, a distinct, and also heavy, clarity of each separate form. Each figure has the plastic density, and the power of illusion of its presence, that are in the recent *St. John*, and each figure has a comparable strength in terms of color. As in the Passerini altar, there are relations made of color, but these are secondary to the separate power of each color field. The force of presence in each distinct, dense, form is as great as in the smaller picture, and the definiteness of whole order more than in the larger one. In this work, too, there is some sense of a separable effect of abstraction, which here belongs both to the colors of the forms and to their schema of design. However, this effect in the color is by no means so pressing as it is either in the concentration of the *St. John* or in the disconnective fields of the *Assunta*. What diminishes the effect of an abstractness, both in the color and the design, is the assertion in the figures of some degree of human aliveness that neither the *St. John* nor the actors of the *Assunta* had. Among the saints Andrea has made a counterpoint of energy and countenance, in postures as well as in expressions of face, and the putti make an obbligato to this. The effect of energy is a little effortful, and there is a touch of artificial rhetoric in the figures that accomplish it; nevertheless, even the meditating bishop has a liveness of mind that convinces more than the Pitti *St. John.*

Where energy of human content is so much reduced as it is in the *St. John*, or in the Passerini altar, the attention of the spectator becomes fixed on the effects of form, and the duality in these between illusion and abstraction becomes, as such, a pressing fact. But where there is a human vitality as well as a presence of form, the human content suffuses the effects of form: it can obscure, or even seal, the fissure that may have opened between illusion and abstraction. By reasserting a vitality of content, even in the measure in which it is in the Vallombrosa altar, Andrea has done something to reassert a classical integrity of style.

Were it not for this element of energy in the Vallombrosa altar, its components would strongly recall the doctrinaire, schematic order of Fra Bartolommeo's now long-distant *Salvator Mundi*; more this, indeed, than it recalls the subtle, vibrant, harmony of Andrea's own *Disputà*. There is vitality enough in the *Four Saints* to make the difference from Fra Bartolommeo, but not enough to match the temper that inhabited Andrea's classicism before 1528. It is in default, now, of a vitality of classicism that Andrea insists so much on the obvious formulae of classical style, trying to make up by emphasis what before had been achieved by inspired creative impulse.

Again, a work of smaller compass concentrates in a more effective way the ideas which, in this time, take on the character of dogma, or worse, of vacancy, when they are projected in large scale. The Barberini *Holy Family* (Rome, Galleria Nazionale no. 2332; 1528–1529; Fig. 211) carries a reasserted power of content like that in the *Four Saints*, but without their sense of effortful assertion or their overcast of artificiality. The feeling here is quiet, but it seems as compelling as it had been in Andrea's Madonna paintings of a former time. Dense in form, and with a quiet strength of color, and carrying conviction in its human meaning, this painting seems to indicate a regathering of parts at least of Andrea's previous creative force. However, its mentality of design, though not its temper, is still that of the works of 1528. There is the same insistence, or yet more, on a rectilinear geometry, and a similar heavy squaring-off of silhouette; and here, more than in the *Four Saints* or the Passerini *Assunta*, the will to make geometry has invaded the description of the parts of form. Each possible element of drapery, and even of anatomy, has been cast into a straight-edged shape, but not monotonously; this is a patterning into a movemented geometry. Within the rectilinear design, further, the figures are posed to make a decisive diagonal impulse, as vigorous as the whole containing order is severe. As in the great machines of 1528, Andrea builds this picture in an obvious scheme, but conspicuously unlike theirs, this scheme is vital.

The color, too, has a concentrated vitality that had been missing since the Borgherini *Holy Family*, and which recalls its kind. This, too, is high-keyed, with bleached, powdery, tones of red, blue, violet, bronze, and green. Especially because they are applied to faceted and angled folds of drapery, the description of these hues suggests they should contain prismatic energies like those in Rosso's color, and verge toward a comparable effect of dissonance. In fact, they are of more muted effect than the color of the Borgherini painting. As the rigor of whole pictorial geometry controls the inner energy of form, so a shadowed light, of grave affect, controls the movement and tempers the complexities of color; but an overtone like that of Mannerist color mode remains. The color is so evidently that of art, more than the expected hue or tonality of nature, that — more pressingly than in the *Four Saints*, but not with the sudden revelation of the Pitti *Baptist* — it lays claim to separable aesthetic identity. In combination with the element of geometric abstraction in the form the effect of color gives some cast of Mannerist personality to the whole work.

One way of responding to the situation in which Andrea found himself in 1528, of near-exhaustion of his creative energy of classical style, was in his attempt to reaffirm, with emphasis, at least its formulae, seeking at the same time to reassure himself of classicism's basic principles as he had learned them from an older art, of Fra Bartolommeo. Another possible response was to refer to the example of the newest art, and make some compromise with Mannerism. The Barberini *Holy Family* seems like a tentative move toward such a compromise though hardly any grave concession. In it Andrea accepts from Mannerism some of its ideas, and perhaps a dosage of its energy. These serve to modify Andrea's present style, and to revivify it in some measure, but not change its substantial character.

This moment's *rapprochement* with the mode of Mannerism was to have no consequence. It is a solitary venture; the avenue it opened of exit from Andrea's dilemma of development was foredoomed. The energy of Mannerist devices could not be simply borrowed; it was necessary that it be inspired by the borrower's own creativity, and Andrea's creativity was attached by twenty years of practice to the style of classicism. Andrea had played out the combinations and permutations of that style that were accessible to his personality, and his creative resources in that style lapsed altogether.

Confronted on one hand by the exhaustion of his resources of classical form, and on the other by the impossibility of progressive compromise with Mannerism, Andrea fell back not on any principle of style, but on the inmost core of his artistic personality: on those resources that precede the accident of his birth into an environment that would school him to one historic style rather than another. This was a return not to first principles, but to first intuitions and native powers, and in these Andrea again found creative resources. There is a deeper link between Andrea of these last two years and of the first years of his career than with the years just past. These resources, beneath rhetoric and doctrine, and devoid of them, are Andrea's tenderness and warmth of human sympathy — emotion felt exquisitely and deeply, but in household terms; his sensibility to the life of optical experience, of light and color — like his native emotion, an experience of immediate existence; and the supreme skill of hand with which he could transcribe his responses. The best works of his last years exploit this ultimately private capital; and the former grand machinery of his art, with its self-conscious manipulation of effects of form, and also of emotion, is hardly in them. When, as circumstances still dictate, he must confront the problems of a major altar in these years, and use the machinery of art, the result is empty, a confirmation not only of the exhaustion of his principles of classical style, but of their total inanition.

Surely not long succeeding the Barberini *Holy Family*, Andrea's *Madonna and Child* (Florence, Pitti no. 476; c. 1529; Fig. 212) reveals the spirit in which Andrea resolved his dilemma of 1528. The density of the figures of the Virgin and her Infant is still in the vein of the preceding year, with its intention of heavy monumentality, and there is a touch of the apparatus of the grand style in the handsome drapery behind them. These elements support the impression made by the Madonna, but they have no meaning of "fine" art or of any self-conscious "style" apart from her. Lucrezia again takes the Madonna's role, and she is given us as a natural, almost a portrait presence, as is the Child, with almost no trace of the abstracting manipulations of the Barberini picture. Subdued color and a darkened light soften the appearance of the forms and suggest the warmth of their emotion. And the light and color convey not only the visual effect of atmosphere around the figures; it makes their atmosphere of feeling. It is this emotion, deep and tender, embodied in the warmth of human presence, that is the primary and entirely dominating meaning of the picture. To tell us of this, which he knows immediately and intimately feels, Andrea has no need of the apparatus of pictorial rhetoric.

We have remarked that Andrea has described this Madonna with the accent of portraiture, as if she were an actually confronted presence of substance and of state of mind. When Andrea turned, infrequently, to true portraiture in the later years he saw his subjects with the same immediacy and warmth, and with the same minimizing of formal device. Four portraits survive from the later 'twenties, and these include a self-portrait (Fig. 213), one of Lucrezia, and another of her daughter, Maria (Fig. 214); only one sitter cannot be identified. A sense of intimate response is to be expected in the family portraits but it is just as convincing in the single presumed stranger, an unfinished *Portrait of a Lady* in Windsor (c. 1528; Fig. 199). Heavy-featured and dark-shadowed, her look is tinged by the shadows with a subtle cast of melancholy. Andrea's communication with her, and hers with us, is in an unobstructed sympathy, but it is not confessional; there is a slight but perceptible veil of restraint. Her aliveness of personality — and it seems as strong as her features — and its nuances are recorded, but in a muted moment, gathered in repose; and her simplicity and clarity of pose convey a dignity. As a physical presence, she is as strongly actual as the Pitti *St. John,* roughly contemporary, and as a psychological presence infinitely more.

The unfinished state of the portrait, evident in the garment especially, gives it a quality of visual vibration that, had it been finished, would be less, and of a different temper; and the energy of drawing with the brush we now see might have been obscured. But the direction Andrea intended for the finished work is clear. The vibration of optical sensation would have been diminished, but its clarity and power increased, and the sense both of identity of colors and their harmonious connection would have been more explicitly affirmed. The color now grows as if by successive stages out of the dark brown atmospheric background: the hair and eyes a distinct brown, the hat dark green, the dress a radiance of yellow-gold, the shirt ivory-white. It is a differentiated unity, in which the differentiations are made with the emphasis and strength of Andrea's mode in color as it was toward 1528.

There is the simplicity of whole geometric form of Andrea's style of this time in the Windsor portrait, but none of its effect of ponderousness, and it is not only the small format of the painting that forestalls this. Confronting nature directly, Andrea feels it as a presence, not as a problem in construction, and his apparatus of pattern is used as a minor adjunct only to his powers of description. Andrea intended a larger portrait of his wife, seated and seen to the level of the knees; its plan survives in one of Andrea's finest drawings (Florence, Uffizi no. 647E; c. 1528; Fig. 208). A portrait in this scale required, more than the bust-length work in Windsor, to be "composed," and Andrea has used a scheme, planar, dense, and rectilinear, which is exactly in the manner of design prevailing in the public paintings of that year. But this formal order, though apparent, seems almost unmeditated, as if it were no more than the convenient device, ready to hand, of this moment. Andrea's primary concern is with the human presence, instinct with life, that communicates an energy of body, countenance, and pattern that Lucrezia's seeming repose, and the order of design, barely constrain. The swift, sure indications made by line give the mobile shape, and the light and shadow seize the sense of an existence in a fluid atmosphere. The face is the most subtle transcription of a moment of appearance and of state of mind; and in it Andrea has used no line, but only chiaroscuro, so that what is recorded is a look as live and transitory as the falling on it of the light.

This design may never have been put into execution on quite this scale; in any case, what we now have in painting is a bust-length portrait only (Berlin-Dahlem no. 240; Fig. 209), an explicit fragment; less finished than the Windsor portrait, and in a softer harmony of dark green and yellow. Inevitably, the marvelous spontaneity of appearance and expression of the sketch is diminished in the painting. It is more composed, but in the softened color it makes a warmer and more tender presence, somewhat differently but no less responsively felt.

The portrait of Maria (*Girl with a Petrachino*, Florence, Uffizi; Figs. 214–216) is from a slightly later moment, into 1529, and was probably conceived as a pendant to that Andrea intended of her mother. Here we are already past the time when classic formula could intrude itself between Andrea and his confrontation with reality; present, but as an adjunct only, in the plan for the *Lucrezia*, formula is of hardly sensible effect within this work. Obviously, there is a meditated pattern, but it is flexible, completely free of the formal look of doctrine. The pattern does not determine the shape of the appearance but rather seems to have emerged from it: Maria's rounding form and leaning posture are the very substance of the design. The stilled warmth of the Berlin fragment of Lucrezia yields to a more movemented temper here: a dulcet liveness in the girl, with a touch of *civetteria*. Her presence is felt in a slightly different key than Lucrezia's — as tender, but somewhat more physically and psychologically intense. Her body emerges from the dark blue-violet of the background, materializing by degrees into the lighter, strong blue of her dress; and her ivory sleeve stands out nearest us as a sensation of sheer radiance. This remarkable episode of paint is isolated against a harmony of hue more compelling than any in Andrea's more complex earlier researches for effects of color; its emanation is as tender and as strong as the mode with which Andrea has transcribed the personality, and it makes a corresponding effect of loveliness. The concern and the creative energy Andrea had earlier dedicated to intellectual meanings of design he now shifts into a purely sensuous effect. He is concerned no longer with the beauty made by synthesis of intellect with actuality, but only with the poetry, more intimately felt, the eye and hand can make of presences.

The author of these portraits recorded his own face, on a tile, in tempera (Florence, Uffizi; 1528–1530; Fig. 213) in what Vasari tells us — probably unreliably — was a quite unpremeditated act, when Andrea wished to paint Lucrezia with these same materials, and she refused to pose for him. Understandably, there is more reserve in his comment on himself than in his loving response to his wife and step-daughter. The glance is clear and strong, but the expression wears the look of self-control, and of suspended attention, that are frequent in a mirror-image. Andrea gives us his objective traits, perhaps a touch idealized; but there is more self-conscious dignity than confession in this portrait. After all these years, and in a portrait intended only for his household, Andrea regards himself still in the state of mind and with the cast of appearance of the classical generation.

There is no doubt, even if we entertained one, of Andrea's continuing conviction of belonging to that generation and style. The so-called *Holy Family* painted for Ottaviano de' Medici (Florence, Pitti no. 81; 1529; Figs. 217, 218) makes a renewed reference to Fra Bartolommeo, to his Holy Families of c. 1515–1516; however, the reference is given in a different spirit from those in the altar works of 1528. In Andrea's current vein, the design is translated into a mobile pattern, diagonal and asymmetric, threaded through with long cursive rhythms and, beyond this, enlivened by the energies of smaller forms. In this picture, painted for a sophisticated connoisseur, there is some self-conscious demonstration of the machinery of design: an intended measure of artifice. This quality is in the color, too, a curious and slightly unreal scheme of bleached red, greyed blues, and browns, with a flavor of Mannerism in it, though less even than the measure we remarked in the Barberini painting. Conscious of the destination of the work, Andrea gives it not only the benefit of his own virtuosity, but a slight accent, just perceptible, of the advanced fashion of the time. The apparatus of art, however, does not obscure what had now become, for Andrea, the more cogent reality, of human sentiment. It is as tender here as in the *Madonna* of the Pitti, though artistically and aristocratically more refined. Not only feeling, but color and effects of form have been made in this same dominating mood. Movement is given with a softening grace, and color seems powdered, encompassed in a muting light; contours yield to atmosphere in a sfumato. Seeing and its record happen in the painting in the same temper as its emotion of poetic tenderness.

The altar once in the church of S. Agnese in Pisa, now shown, dismembered, in the Cathedral (1529–1530; Figs. 221–228) is Andrea's last expression of this last, but rich, resource of his art. Like the Vallombrosa altar, this once framed an older holy image, and was painted, according to archaic prescription, in the form of a two-stage triptych. Of Andrea's five panels, the upper ones, Sts. Peter and John the Baptist, are spoiled by damage and the large intervention of a pupil's hand, but the three female saints of the lower range stand with the finest products of Andrea's whole career. In the center panel, St. Agnes sits in a posture that is vaguely sybilline, turning toward the (now absent) image of the Madonna that was once above her; to the left Catherine sits as if on a low stool that is hidden by her drapery, looking toward the spectator, but not at him; and to the right Margaret kneels in gathered contemplation. The saints express no urgent emotion, but the same feeling, tender and profound, that we saw in the *Madonna* of the Pitti. This feeling is expressed with utter gentleness in Agnes — her temper is that of her attribute — and the same gender of emotion, but in stronger vein, is communicated, each with a distinct accent, by Catherine and Margaret. Catherine turns as if to share her feelings with us, but only obliquely; she is the nearest to us in emotional and physical presence. She wears the handsome countenance of Maria, and her strong young body, turning in constraint within her narrow space, and patterned by movemented drapery, conveys a subdued passion. Margaret, with the face of Lucrezia, a little aged, is rapt and inward, and her mood is given in the tenor of her pose. And in color, each actor wears what comes to be, as we regard it, the visible emanation of her state of mind. A paled smoke of lavender and pink and a soft radiance of orange give the tone of the *Agnes*; in the *Catherine* the dominant drapery is the red of a blood-orange, touched with accents of feminine pink and beige; the Margaret wears a mantle of *changeant* green and violet, and a bleached rose dress. The color is emotion made apparent, radiant and soft, but it is also, sheerly, an expression of art. Feeling and perceiving nature with his utmost and most personal resource, Andrea does not transcend it, but makes it transcendent.

But it was only in this region of innate resource that Andrea could create in these last years. When he was obliged to confront the problems of classical form that had once involved him so profoundly, and in which he had achieved such superlative solutions, he had no answer now but lifeless formulae. All the large works of the latest years of Andrea's career are only incomplete expressions of what Andrea intended for them: one, the *S. Godenzo Altar* (Florence, Pitti no. 97; 1528–1530; Fig. 220), largely pupils' work and perhaps in part posthumous; another, the *Assunta di Poppi* (Florence, Pitti no. 123; begun 1529; Figs. 231, 232), mostly finished after Andrea's death; a third, the *Madonna delle Grazie* (Pisa, Cathedral; Fig. 237), painted by Sogliani on a panel Andrea had drawn, but left otherwise almost, or altogether, untouched. Andrea's execution might have redeemed details of these constructions with some at least of the values we have seen in the smaller works of the last years, but their design, in each case his sure responsibility, could not be redeemed. In each of these there is a formal order clear to the point of obviousness, and simple to the point of vacancy. They are the confession of the inanition of the Grand Style. And though Andrea's last small works retain the basic values of a classicism, in feeling and in character of form, their classicism is not their major meaning or the major motive idea of their creation. Andrea affirmed in them that his most profound attachment was to nature, more than to any principle of style. At the end of his life, as at its beginning, he asserts his attachment, never quite broken, to the Florentine Quattrocento.

For a decade after the affirmation in Florence of the new Mannerism, Andrea had worked the permutations and combinations of an accomplished classical style with high intelligence, in no sense a doctrinaire of opposition to the increasing eminence of Mannerism, but content enough with a different, and continuing, validity of his own ideas. Through most of this decade his works demonstrated the continuing efficacy of classicism as aesthetic expression, and as a personal if not a generic cultural attitude. Only toward the end of his life did his merit of classical achievement lessen; and then, when Andrea died, the classical style in Florence died with him. But even in the context of a triumphant Mannerism Andrea's art retained a large authority. The original debt of the Mannerists to Andrea's painting of the second decade was not forgotten, nor the degree to which their new ideas had root in some of his. His painterly vocabulary, if not his essential style, continued to be widespread, even among the devotees of Mannerism; it was a vocabulary more generally influential than Pontormo's. And conservative and lesser painters still more clung to Andrea's superficial language. His art was esteemed without break by the collectors and he was a favorite recourse for the copyist. Vasari tells us (V, 56) that his works were ". . .

imitate più dopo la morte che mentre visse; e chi n'ha le tien care." * Finally, late in the sixteenth century, when the creative life of the style of Mannerism was exhausted in its turn, it was to Andrea's art that the pupils of his pupils turned for inspiration in the making of a new style. They found it in his classical moderation and, still more, in his naturalism; what bound Andrea to the century before him was his link also to the next.

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* ". . . imitated more after his death than while he lived; and who has them holds them dear."

V

Andrea as Draughtsman

ALMOST separately from his reputation as a painter (and in some quarters, more than for it) Andrea came to be esteemed as a draughtsman. The esteem is justified on any grounds, and it is especially understandable in that the drawings may make a kind of claim on our attention that the paintings are less apt to do. There are more aspects of Andrea's personality expressed in his drawings, with a spontaneity both of idea and of hand that his deliberated paintings may not have. It may be even more important for their popularity that as fragments only of his larger ideas they do not require of us that we understand them in their context. No comparable effort of perception and of intellectual apprehension is needed to "appreciate" one of Andrea's drawings as is asked by any of his paintings; the drawing is, relatively, a simple statement, and the painting complex, a mechanism full of calculation. What, in this calculation, tends to be unsympathetic or even unassimilable to the contemporary mind — but which is, nevertheless, an essential of Andrea's art — need not be considered in our response to the drawings. They are, like the paintings, the product for the most part of a classical style of perception and of corresponding habits of hand, but they are not vehicles of a whole classical apparatus. We can read them, as the unschooled spectator can read the paintings, primarily for their meaning as a record of the experience of nature.

This attitude is encouraged by the actual contents of Andrea's drawing *oeuvre*: the bulk of it consists of studies after nature. This is not an accident of survival, but a circumstance of Andrea's practice, conditioned by the tradition of the Florentine school in which he was educated, but in this degree developed by himself. To a measurably greater extent than in the *oeuvre* of any draughtsman of the past, contemporary, or just succeeding period, Andrea's drawings are model studies, various forms of specifying the appearance of a form conceived loosely in a first *invenzione*. We have surviving evidence of all the stages in his preparation in drawings, subsequent to the *invenzione*, of the final painted work of art: the quick note of articulation of a pose, still or in action, taken by a convenient *garzone*; the studies in the nude, of varying degrees of experimental roughness, often altering the pose, rarely carried to any considerable finish; the idea for drapery, from the first note for its arrangement to the exact, polished reproduction of what has been arranged on the model or the lay figure; and the studies of detail, particularly of heads. These drawings, in their kind and quality, are indices of the extent of Andrea's involvement with nature, and of the extent to which its reproduction was a motive of his art.

As documents of naturalism the drawings are, exactly like Andrea's paintings, the most truthful of the Renaissance. In a Vasarian chronicle of the progress of this aspect of art — art as imitation — Andrea represents a *summum*. There are episodes of Leonardo's draughtsmanship that are still more naturally convincing, but they are only episodes; Leonardo's *oeuvre* in drawing is not, like Andrea's, mainly a record of things observed, but an intellectual analysis of them. And in the draughtsmanship of Michelangelo and Raphael the presence of aesthetic artifice in the process that records nature is always more evident than it is in Andrea. More than their drawings, Andrea's retain the look and the sense of the objective presence of what he has drawn, not because his power of perception of nature or his apparatus for its record are superior, but because they are in the service of a different interest. The instinct to reform nature according to aesthetic or ethical predisposition while recording it, that is so strong in Michelangelo or Raphael, intervenes much less in Andrea's drawing. More even than in the final shape a form may assume in the finished painting, in his drawing Andrea's "idealization" of it is, generally, discreet. The working of classical precept is not meant to be so apparent in the parts of the painting, or in the drawings that prepare them, as is their visual truth: the apparent classicism is a matter for the larger structure of design.

Yet Andrea's mode of drawing, even in his model studies, is not conceivable except as a consequence of this, classical, moment in the history of style. The very fact of the surpassing command of naturalism is itself an accomplishment of this moment, and of no earlier time. However, the power to record nature is not, in Andrea's draughtsmanship, a power of imitation only. His drawing, more evidently than his painting, is a selective and summarizing process: less imitative than descriptive, a continuous succession of acts of judgment. Graphic conventions of the greatest flexibility permit Andrea to record the mobile subtleties of a contour and show the play upon its surface of a transitory light. Within the limits of the conventions that cannot make illusion, he makes symbols that remarkably suggest it. But as he achieves this end, he also summarizes, with swift, strong outline, the shapes he sees, and notes the logic of their structure in his modelling. What he perceives and records is, further, not just substance, but substance inhabited by energy: no shape is merely static. An inanimate presence, like a drapery, is given Andrea's perception of its life of rhythm and its spatial planes; an animate presence is transcribed as a form compounded with a physical vitality. Within the object Andrea has recorded synthesis is made of the aspects of its existence in nature: between the transitory appearance and the underlying substance, and between the physical presence and the energies, formal and vital, that inhabit it. Into this image there are instilled the purely aesthetic energies and the effect of personality that are in the artist's graphic *trait*, the symptoms of his degree of participation in the existence he records. This is another element of the synthetic nature of the image, on which we have remarked before, in connection with the paintings.

But this sense of a participating personality is in the drawings as a byproduct, and not as a primary end; it is in them as a residue of the process by which they were made. For all the sense of personal style a drawing by Andrea may have, and whatever effect of brilliance it may achieve, the first meaning of the drawing is its descriptive one. It is intended to record the objectively existent visual fact, and it is secondary, if inevitable, that the subjective agency of record should leave a trace upon it. In both the personal and historical meanings of the word there is no mannerism in Andrea's drawings. There are no graphic signs that call attention to their own value of ornament, and none that try to communicate special nuances of private personal response: all the creative energy that is in line or modelling is absorbed into the object Andrea represents. There is not, among Andrea's drawings, that sense of an inextricable involvement of the artist with the object that we see in the drawings of Pontormo — who had learned much of his graphic vocabulary from Andrea. Andrea's participation in the thing he draws is not Jacopo's identification with it. Even less is there the other, unclassical, potential we find realized in Rosso, which uses the object as a pretext for abstraction.

There is another category of Andrea's drawings, by comparison very limited in number, that deals with whole composition rather than the preparation of its parts. There are only a few of his first ideas for a design, and among these it is possible that there are two varieties: a strict *primo pensiero*, of exceeding quickness and ellipticality (e.g., for the Luco altar, Fig. 143, or the *Madonna del Sacco*, Fig. 157), and a slightly more deliberated indication of design (e.g., for the *capotto* of the Cortona *paramento*, Fig. 163, or the Sarzana altar, Fig. 204), which might have been a kind of "second *pensiero*" rather than, strictly speaking, an absolute first thought. There are fewer sketches still (e.g., for the Pantiatichi *Assunta*, Figs. 122, 123) in which Andrea shows his seeking to specify or develop some part of these first *pensieri*, still in the most flexible rough style. At the other end of the designing process, there are a very few sheets that approach the character of a modello (e.g., in the British Museum, for the Luco altar, Fig. 145) or that actually achieve it, in careful finish (e.g., Uffizi no. 634E, for an *Adoration of the Kings*, Fig. 114, or Louvre no. 1670, for a *Pentecost*, Fig. 241). There are no surviving cartoons. Cartoons tend to vanish easily but it may be that (except for the frescoes, where they were obviously required) they may most often not have been used and the design drawn instead directly on the panel. The scarcity of modelli may also indicate that they were only occasionally prepared, when a special circumstance of patronage or execution needed it. But we cannot account for the rarity of survival of the *invenzioni* — without which a picture could not come into being — except by assuming that Andrea himself did not think these worth saving, either for aesthetic reasons or for practical reasons of restudy, by himself or students, once they were superseded by the model studies and the finished work of art.

For Andrea, apparently, these *pensieri* had the value of their moment only, but for us they are precious revelations of another aspect of his draughtsmanship, different from the essential objectivity of the model studies. The *pensieri* are done with swift energy in a running hand, almost written down more than they are drawn. Barely defining any single form, they externalize a rough whole pattern or, still more simply, a sequence made entirely of swinging rhythms. Where the design is set down, in later stages, in more certain shape, its parts emerge with greater clarity, and in the few examples we have of a finished modello, their mode, in miniature, contains all the values of a painting save the color; and yet more than the paintings they are, in this scale, an index of the most astonishing resource of visual and manual subtlety.

In the modelli, Andrea uses, in addition to his normal chalk, the brush and wash, but only in these modelli. He never employs the pen; it is not a flexible enough instrument for his purposes. Chalk serves both for his notations of ideas and for his notes of actuality. By preference, he uses the softer, more resilient, red chalk, responsive to all the shades of pressure in the hand, and superbly adapted to make the *sfumature* that Andrea's extreme optical sensibility discerns in modelling. Black chalk is used more rarely and there seems to be no fixed rule that determines its substitution for the red. However, it tends to occur more often among finished model studies, where Andrea may wish to exploit its more probing sharpness of accent of line and light. More notable than any differences that come about in the course of time in the technique of Andrea's drawings, is the remarkable variety, at any time, of his techniques. Any moment from the process of preparation of a single picture may yield a dozen different shades of style; each, however, precisely answering the draughtsman's intention for the specific sheet. Once past the hesitations of his immaturity (and before the latest years, when there are moment of weariness or wavering) Andrea's tools of draughtsmanship could not be subject to a more exact control. A strict economy determines the manner and the degree of finish of each sheet. It tells Andrea what he needs to know in this moment, and no more; there are no wasted strokes. At best there may be a dozen drawings in the whole large *oeuvre* in which it would seem that Andrea may have been carried beyond the limits of such an economy of purpose, enough enchanted by his subject and what he had done with it to give a sheet the character of an independent aesthetic object.

It would not be possible, with Andrea's mastery, to draw without pleasure, but it would seem, from the evidence we have, that Andrea almost never drew merely for his private satisfaction. There are a few sheets only that we may be able to class as random exercises, not intended for the preparation of a painting. As interesting and as informative as we may find Andrea's drawing *oeuvre*, to him it was an incident only in the creative process of a painting. His drawing may reveal aspects of personality that are more shaded in the finished work, but Andrea's own estimation of the matter was correct: there is hardly an accomplishment of importance in his draughtsmanship that his painter's brush does not transcribe.

* * *

It is this painter's brush that gives Andrea, at once, his surpassing virtue and his signal flaw. He is the "faultless" painter, able absolutely to match his hand to the purpose of his eye and mind. The hand, the eye, and the mind, in the sense of what we have defined as an aesthetic intelligence, are all of them of the highest order that can be attained in art, but the dimension of the spirit that controls all these is not. Vasari's estimate of Andrea's art (V, 6) is still just: " . . . se fusse stato Andrea d'animo alquanto più fiero ed ardito, sì come era d'ingegno e giudizio profondissimo in questa arte, sarebbe stato, senza dubitazione alcuna, senza pari. Ma una certa timidità d'animo, ed una sua certa natura dimessa e semplice, non lasciò mai vedere in lui un certo vivace ardore, nè quella fierezza che, aggiunta all'altre sue parti, l'arebbe fatto essere nella pittura veramente divino . . ." * In Andrea's works the force of human content may not always be enough to command our primary attention, and we may be left to see, too much, the workings of the other resources that Andrea does possess. These express themselves most strongly in devices of form: in painterly technique and in an ordering of design not less faultless than this technique. But it is the technique that most compels the spectator, and the experience of the picture may become, on occasion, primarily an experience of paint: admirable, of ultimate mastery, but not the whole of art. Where a picture has more to say, more urgently than is Andrea's wont, faultless painting and an equally faultless apparatus of design seem less memorable than they are in him, and less deserving of remark. The familiar label is ambivalent; there is stigma, as well as praise in it.

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* "Had Andrea been of a somewhat bolder and more daring temper, matching the skill and profoundest judgment he showed in this art, he would have been, without any doubt, without peers. But a certain timidity of spirit, and a certain diffidence and simplicity of his nature, never let there be seen in him that kind of lively ardor that, joined to his other qualities, would have made him, in painting, truly divine . . ."

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ILLUSTRATIONS

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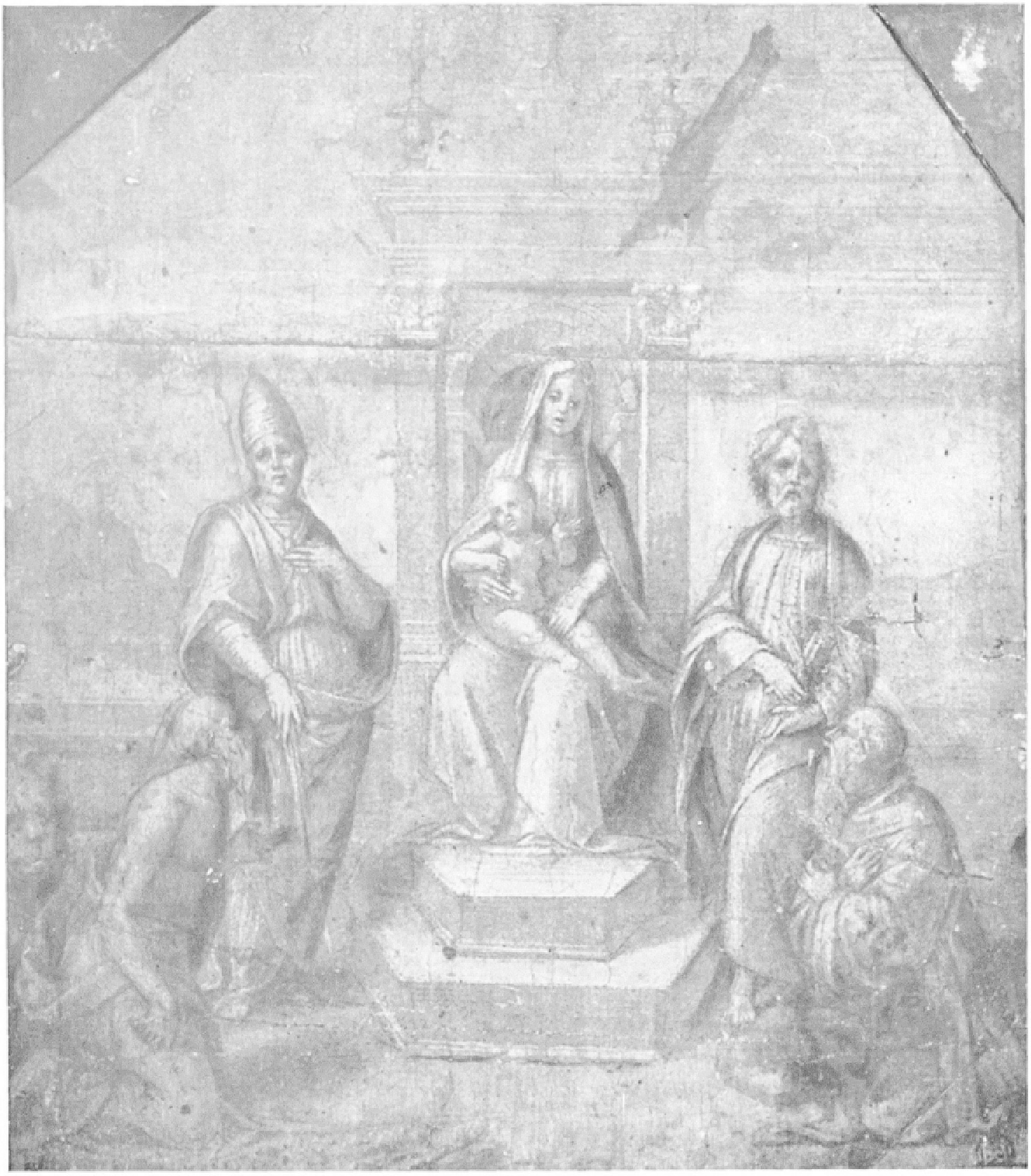
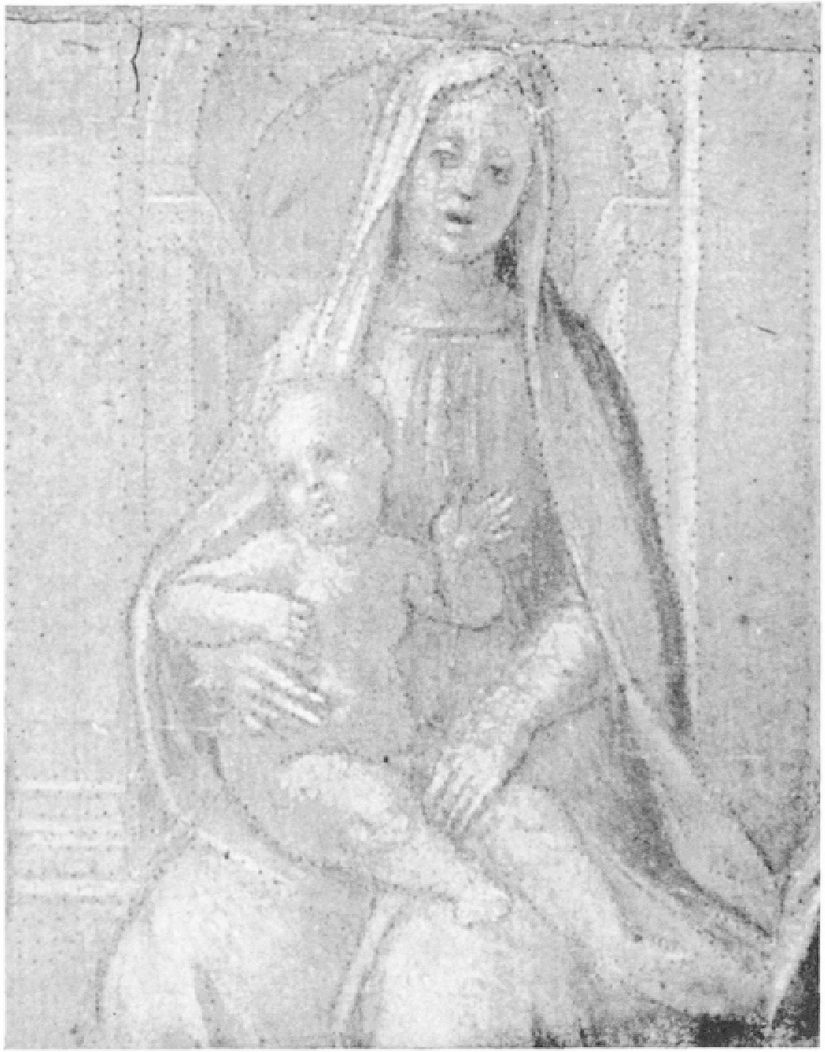
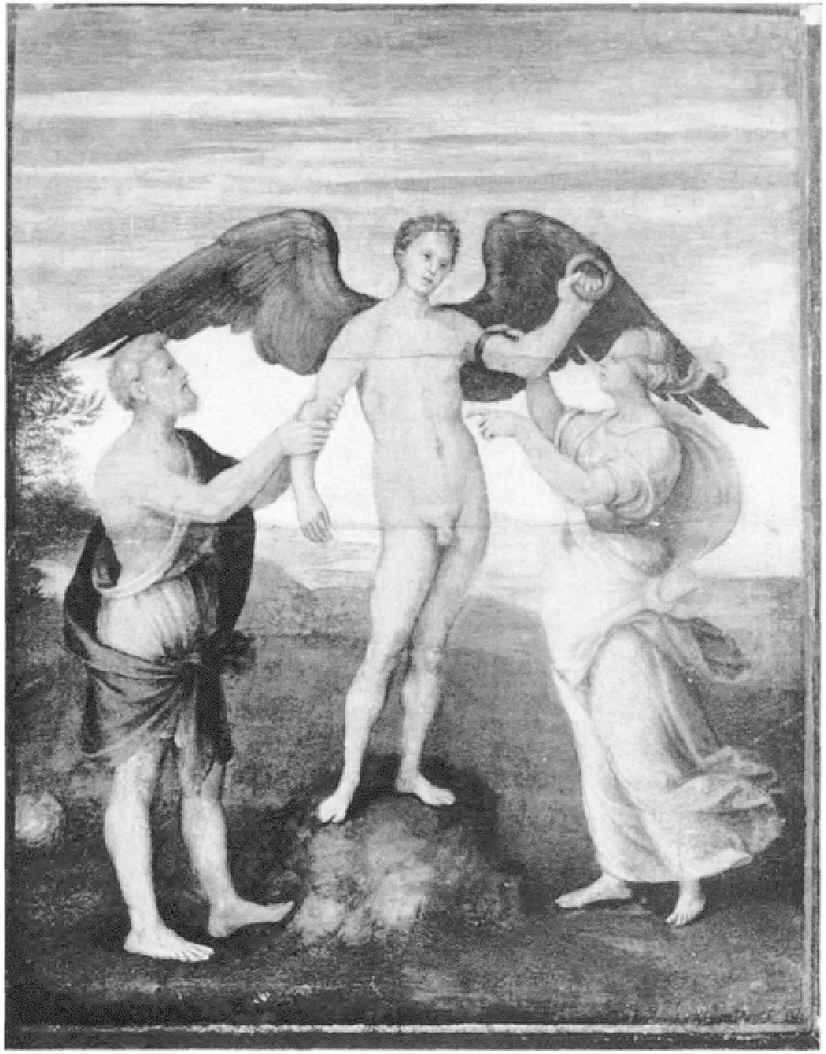


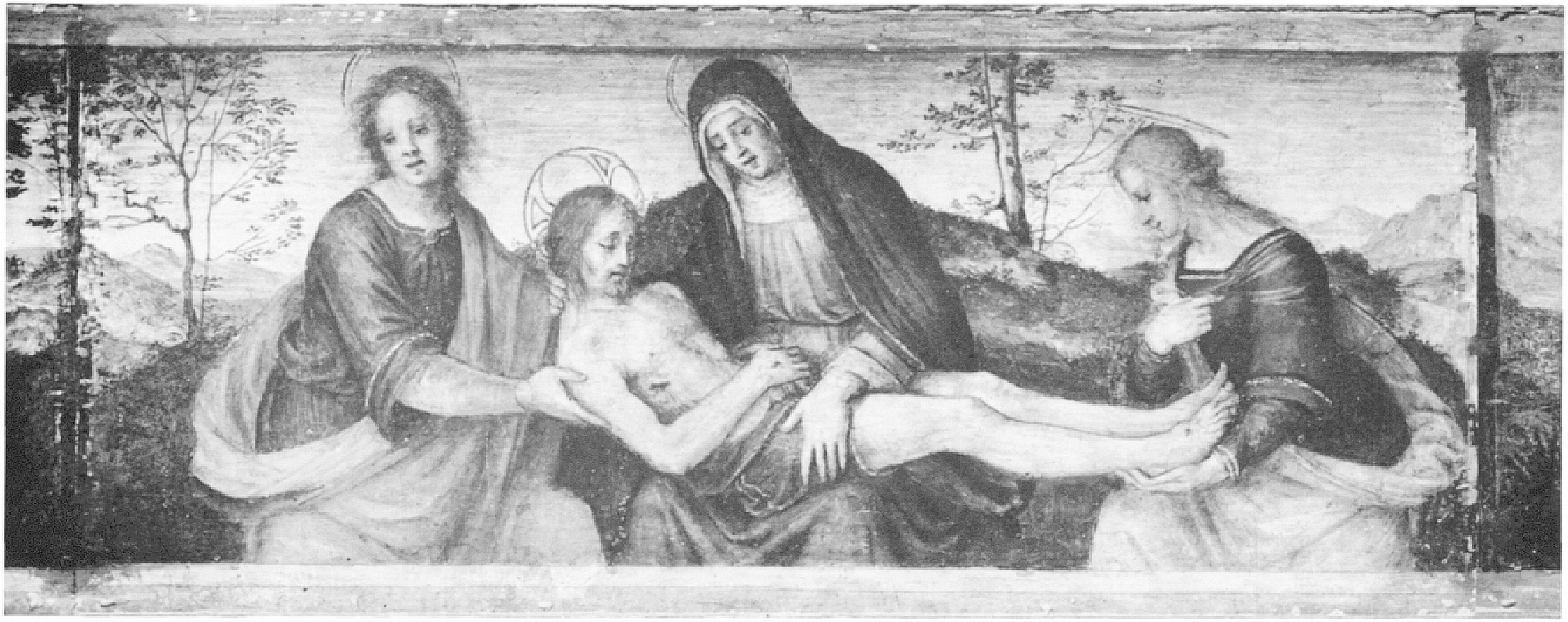
1. MADONNA ENTHRONED WITH FOUR SAINTS, *modello*. Paris, Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins no. 231



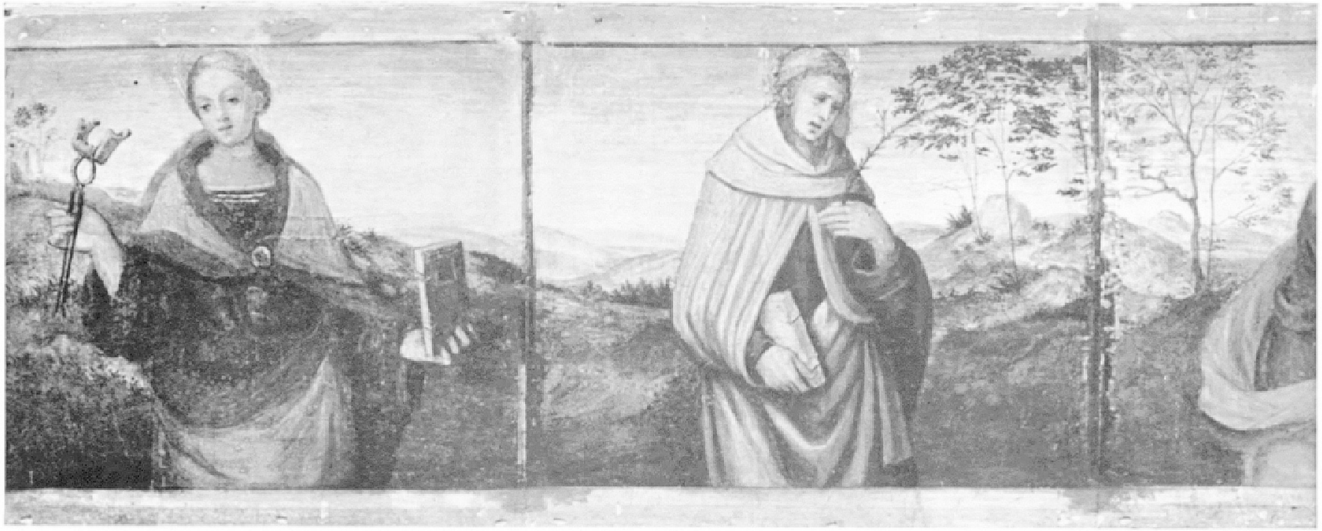
2. Detail of fig. 1, the Madonna and Child



3. ICARUS. Florence, Palazzo Davanzati



4. PIETÀ WITH ATTENDANT SAINTS, detail of predella. Rome, Galleria Borghese inv. no. 375



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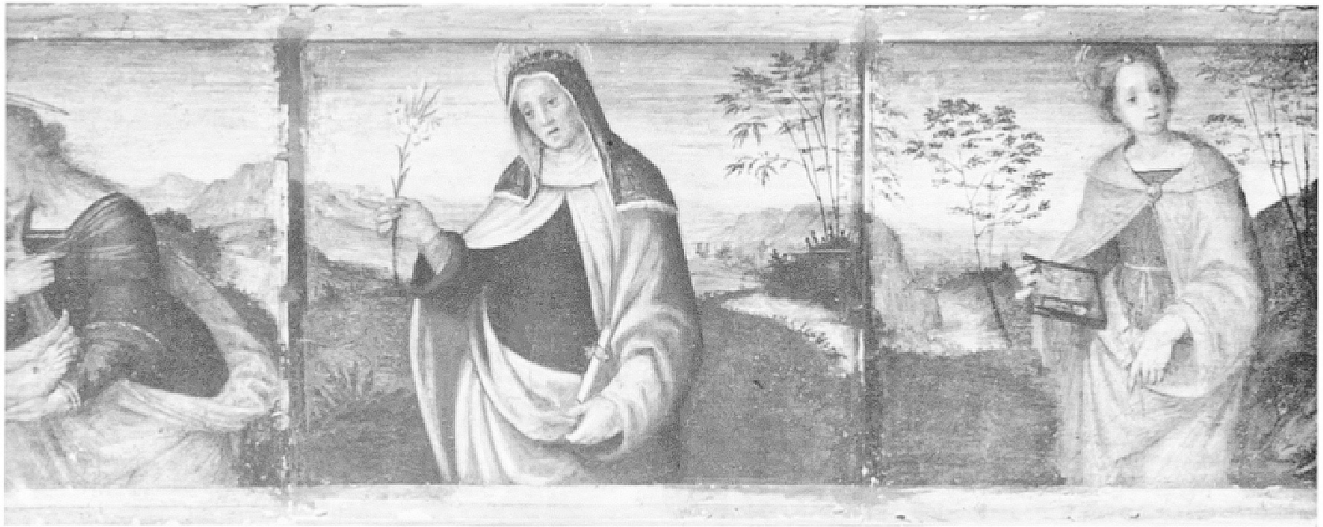

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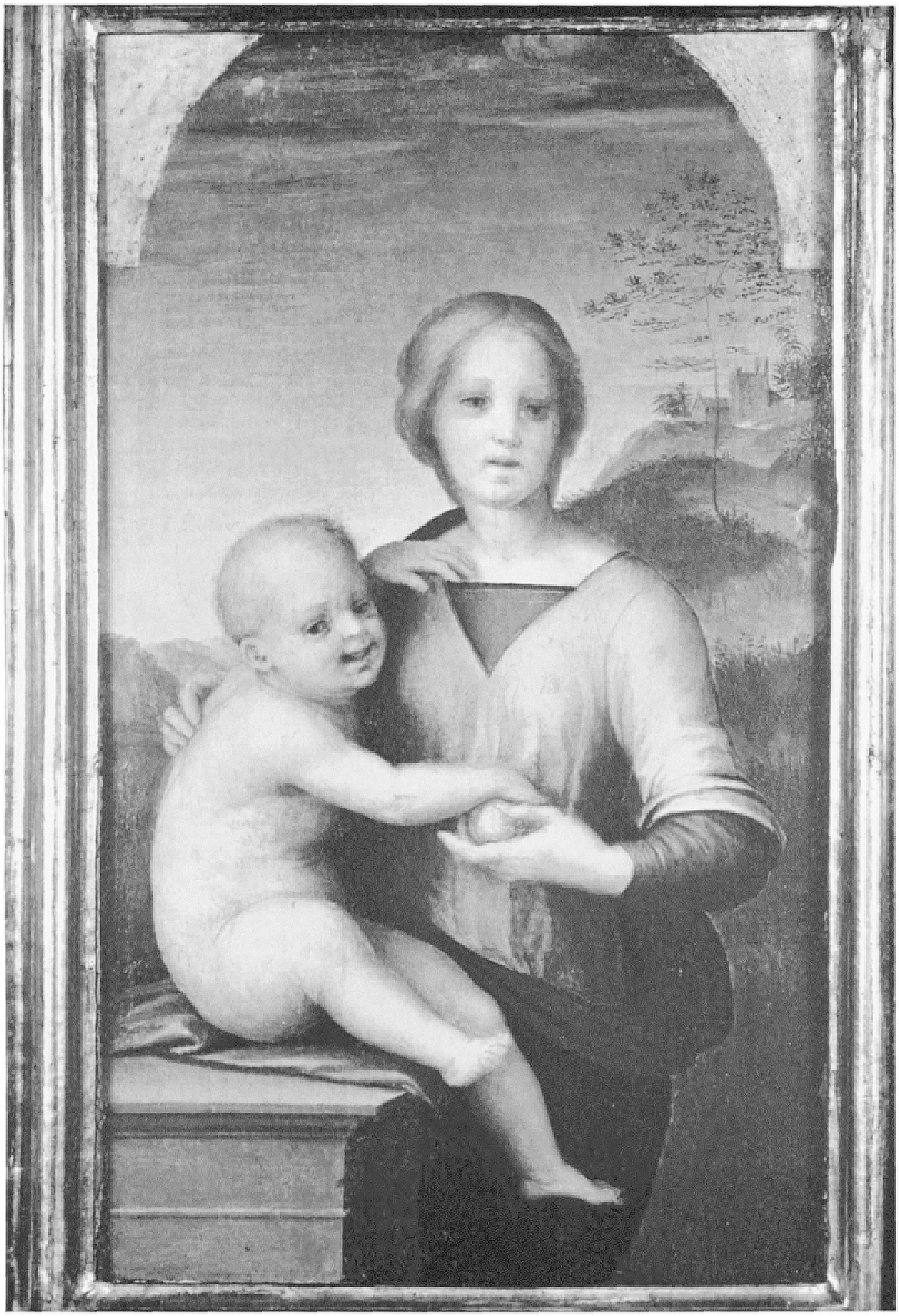
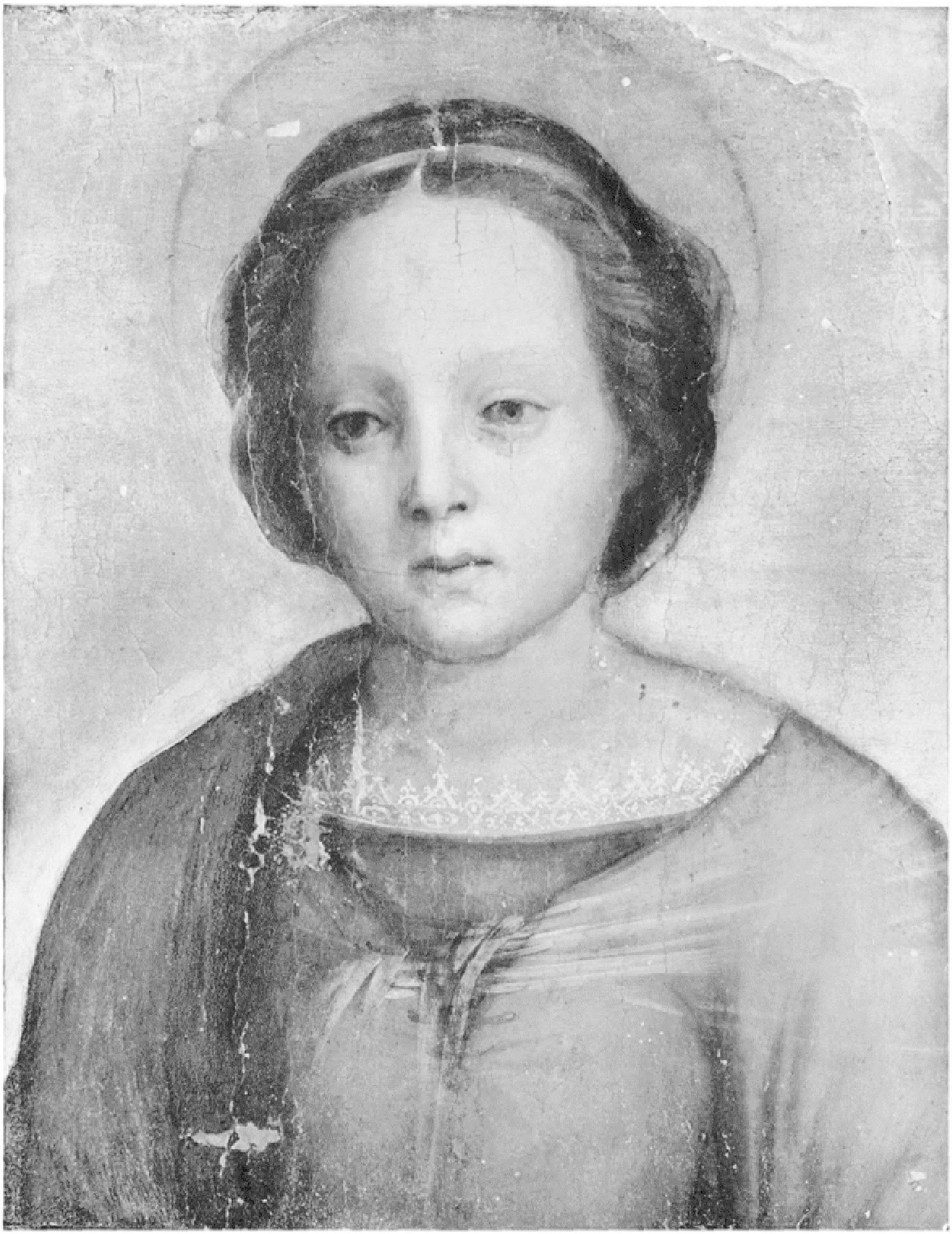
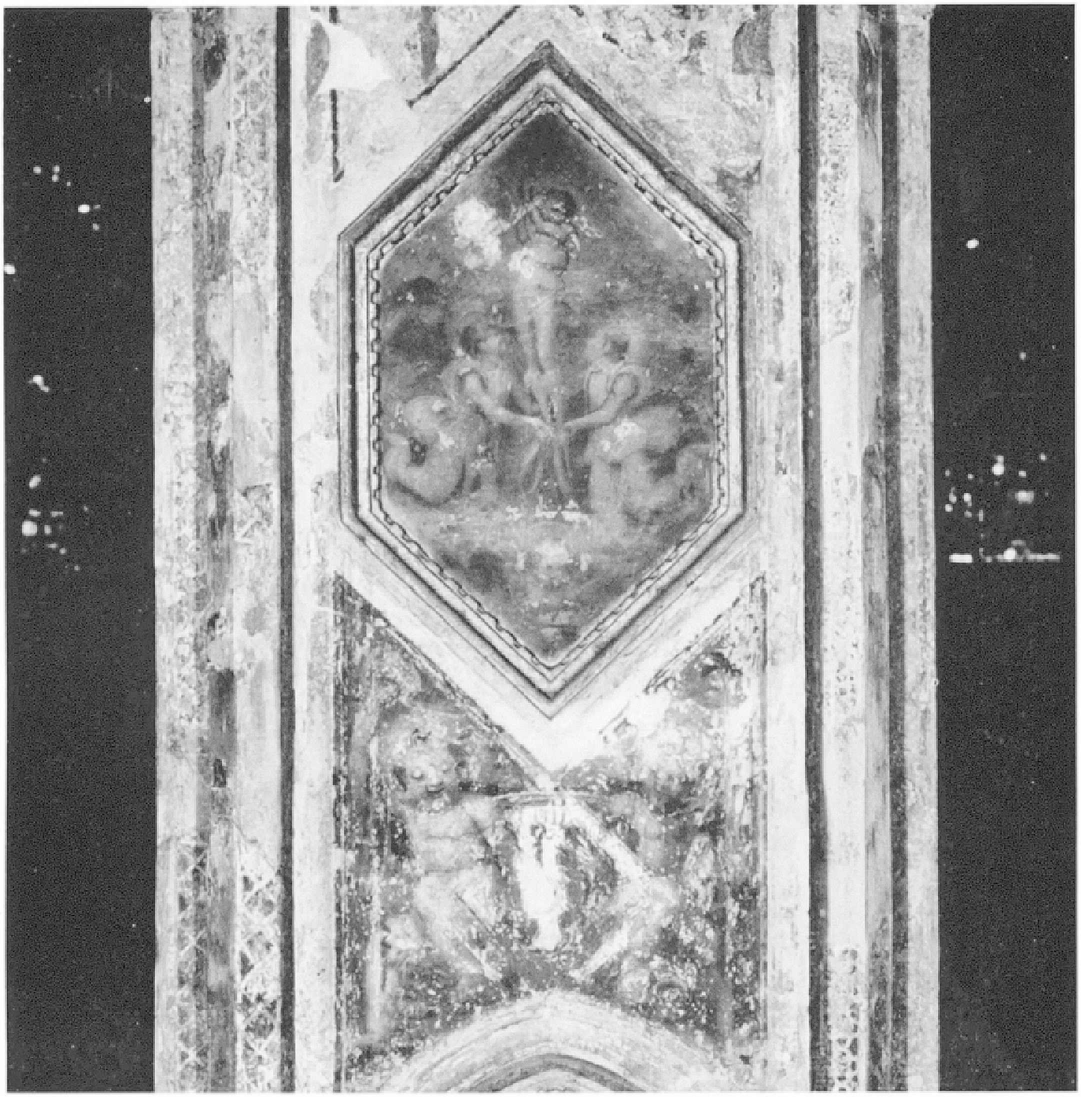


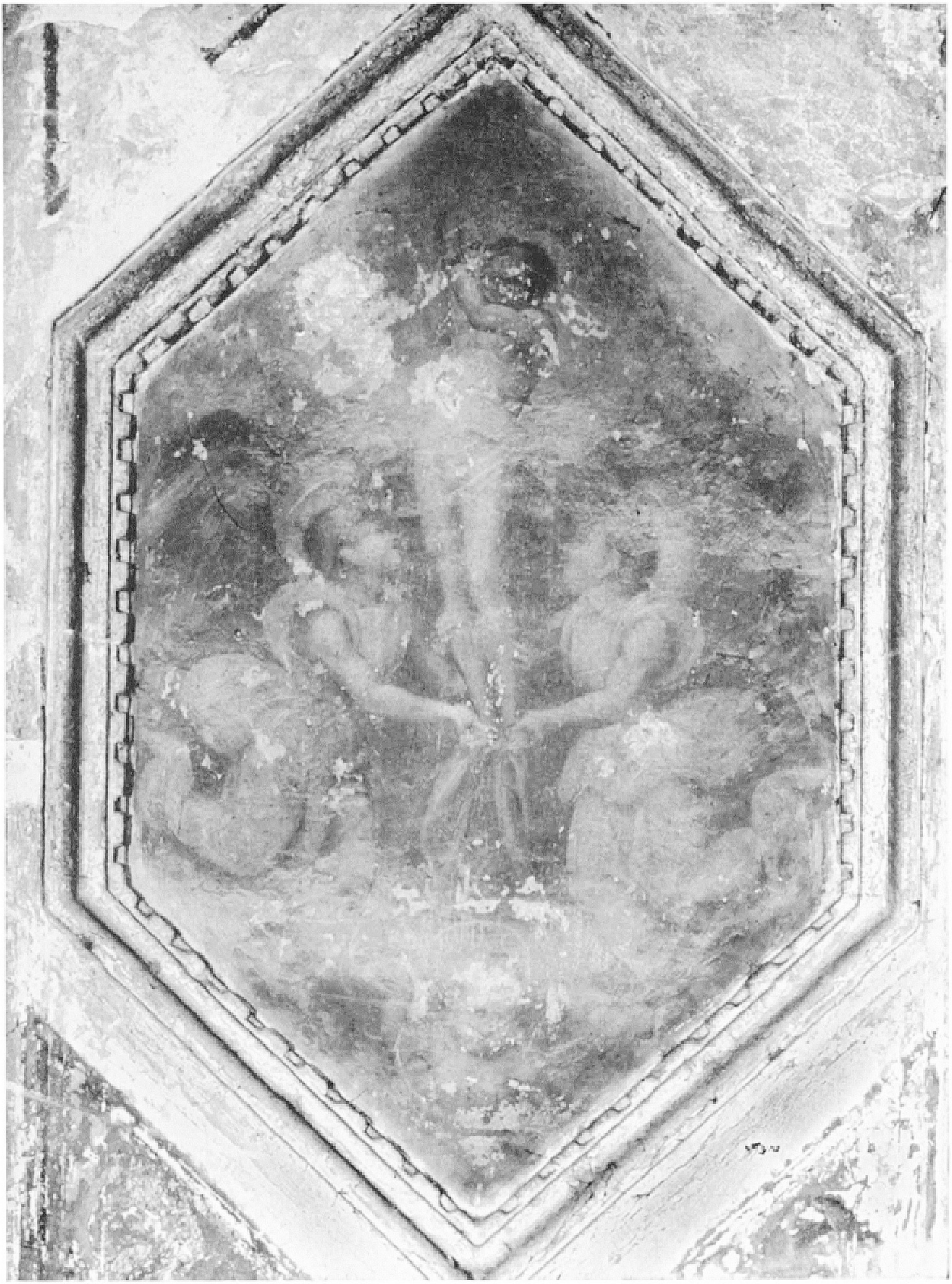
7. MADONNA. Rome, Galleria Nazionale no. 570



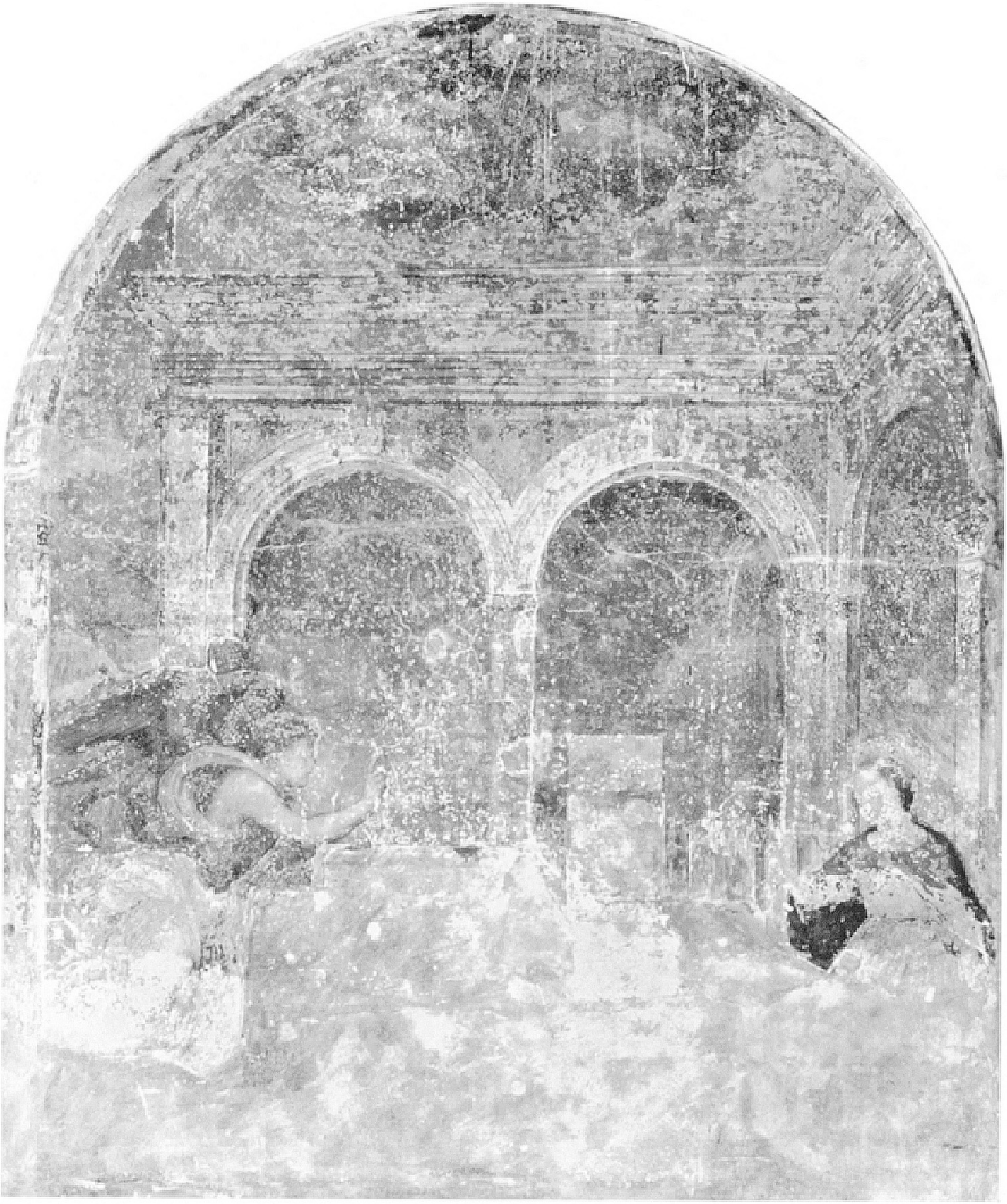
8. FEMALE SAINT, fragment. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art



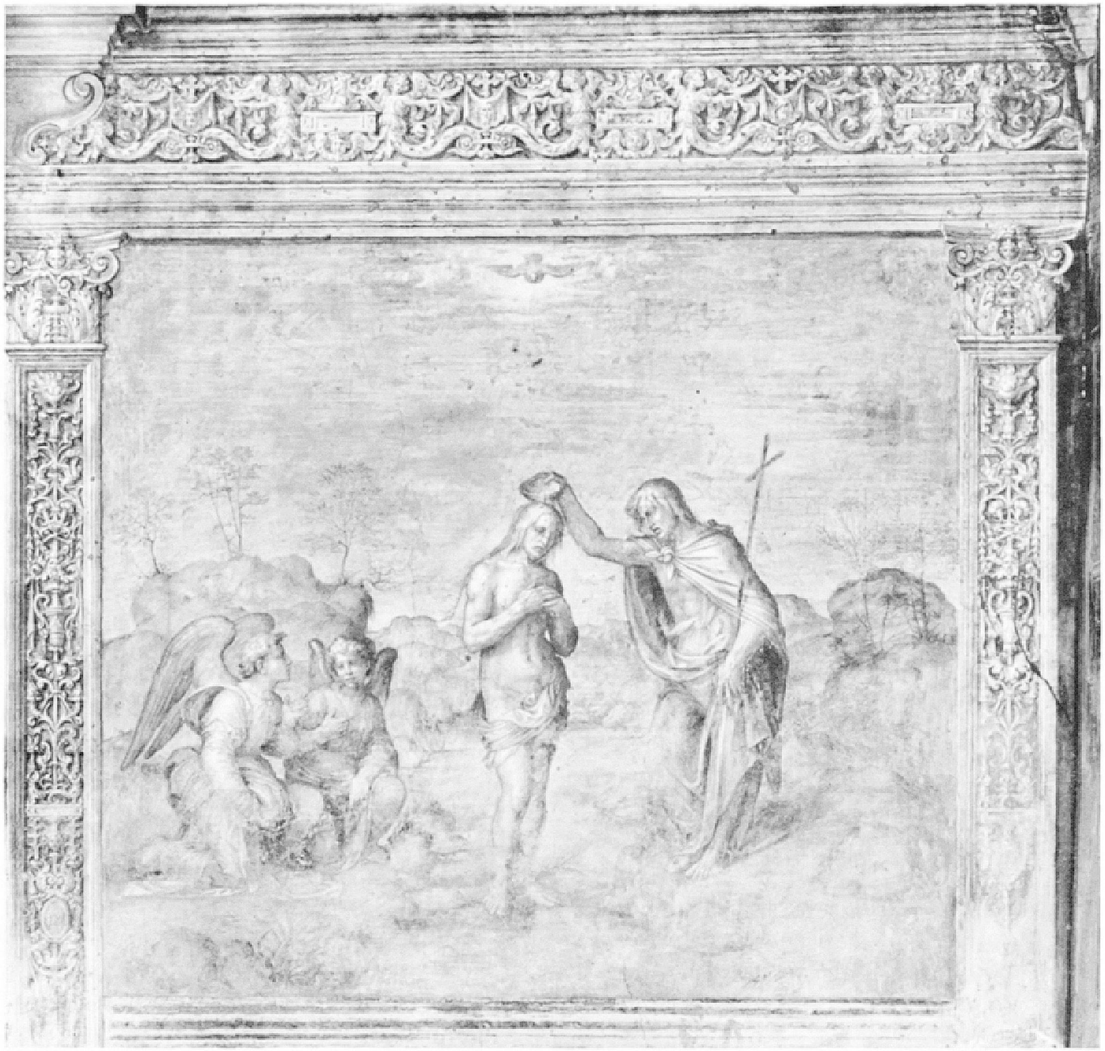
9. TRANSLATION OF ST. MARY MAGDALEN (with two putti below, holding a chalice, by Franciabigio?). Florence, Or San Michele



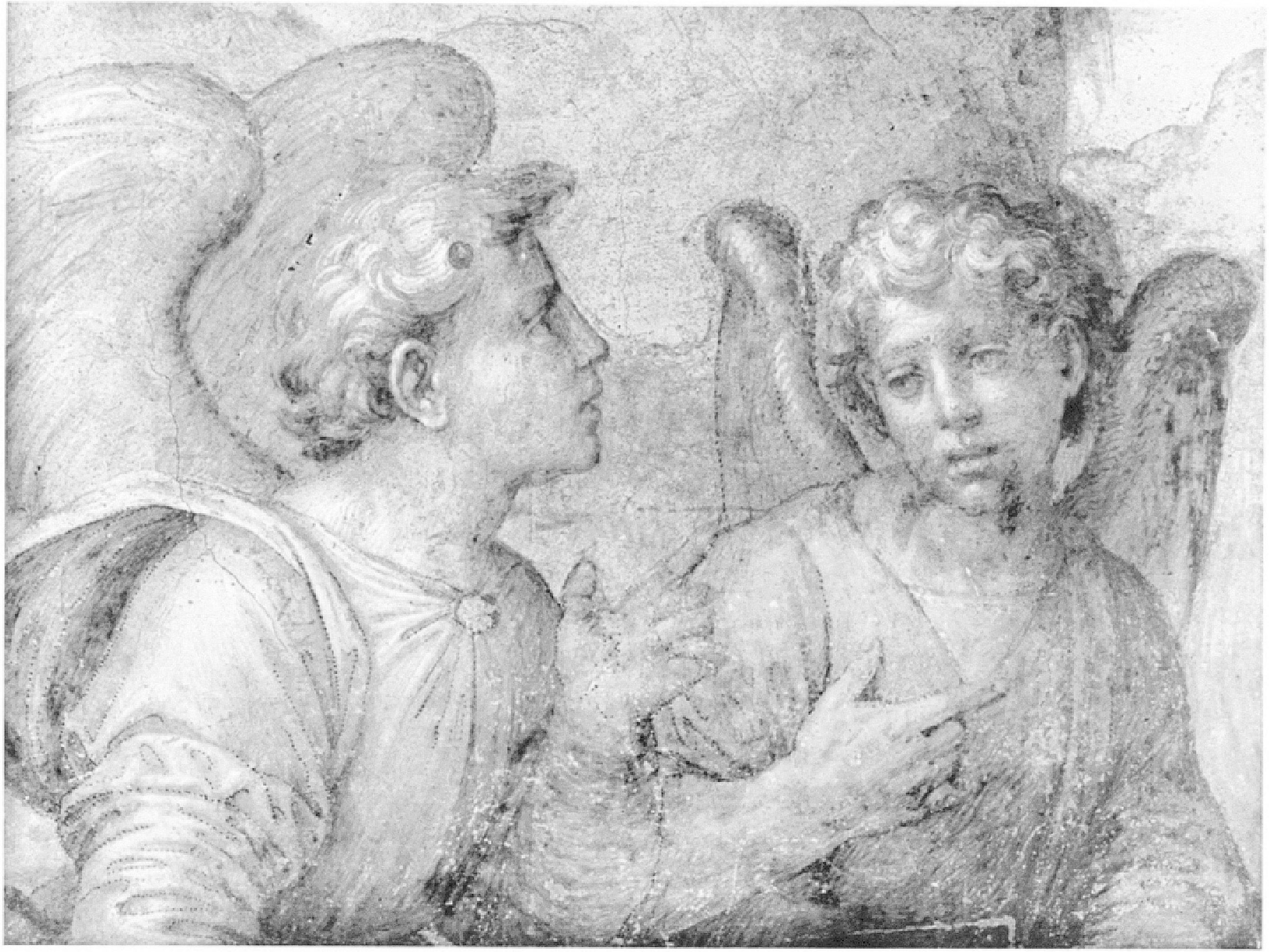
10. Detail of fig. 9, *Translation of St. Mary Magdalen*



11. ANNUNCIATION OF OR SAN MICHELE. Florence, S. Marco, Foresteria



12. BAPTISM OF CHRIST. Florence, Chiostro dello Scalzo



13. Detail of fig. 12, angels

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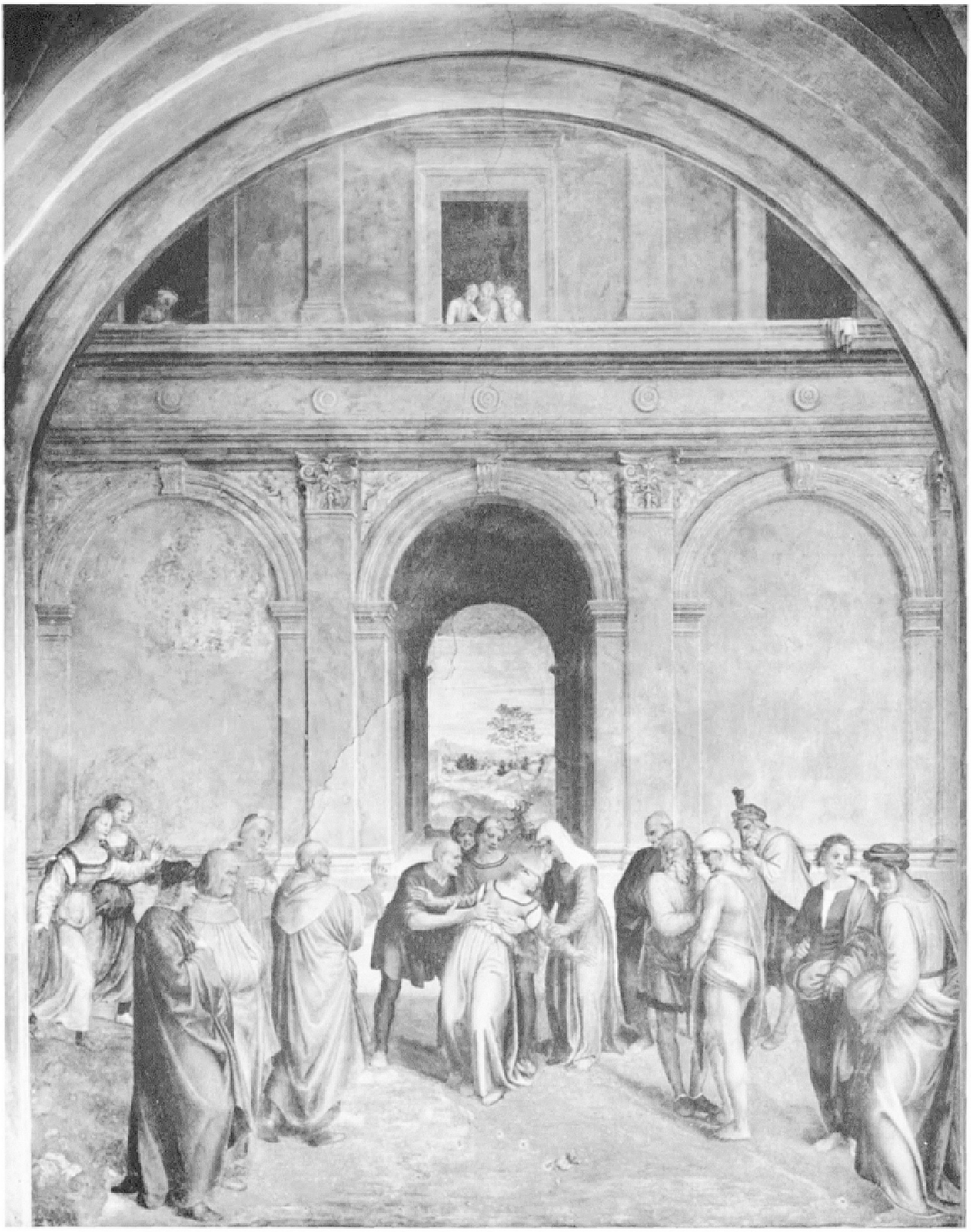
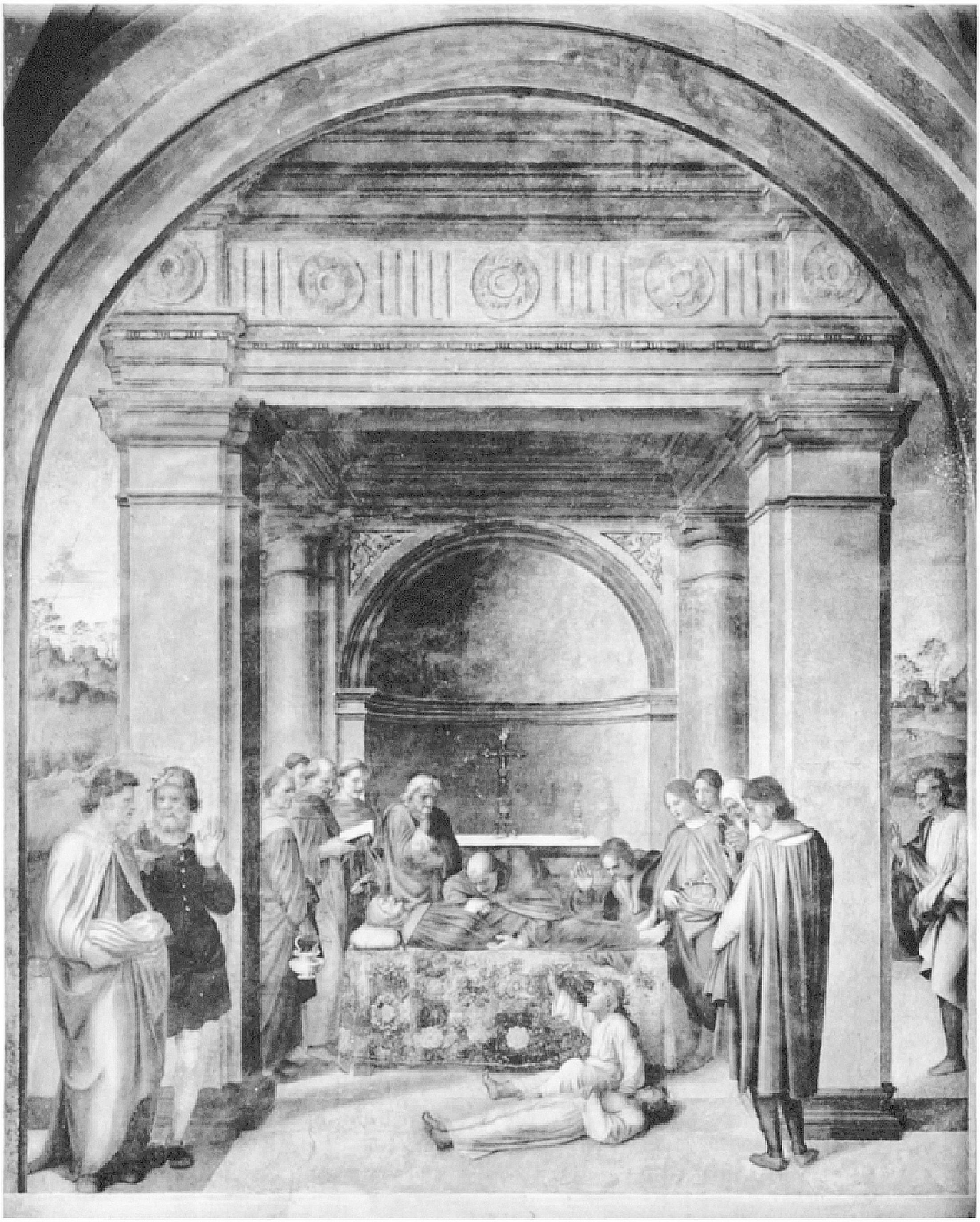
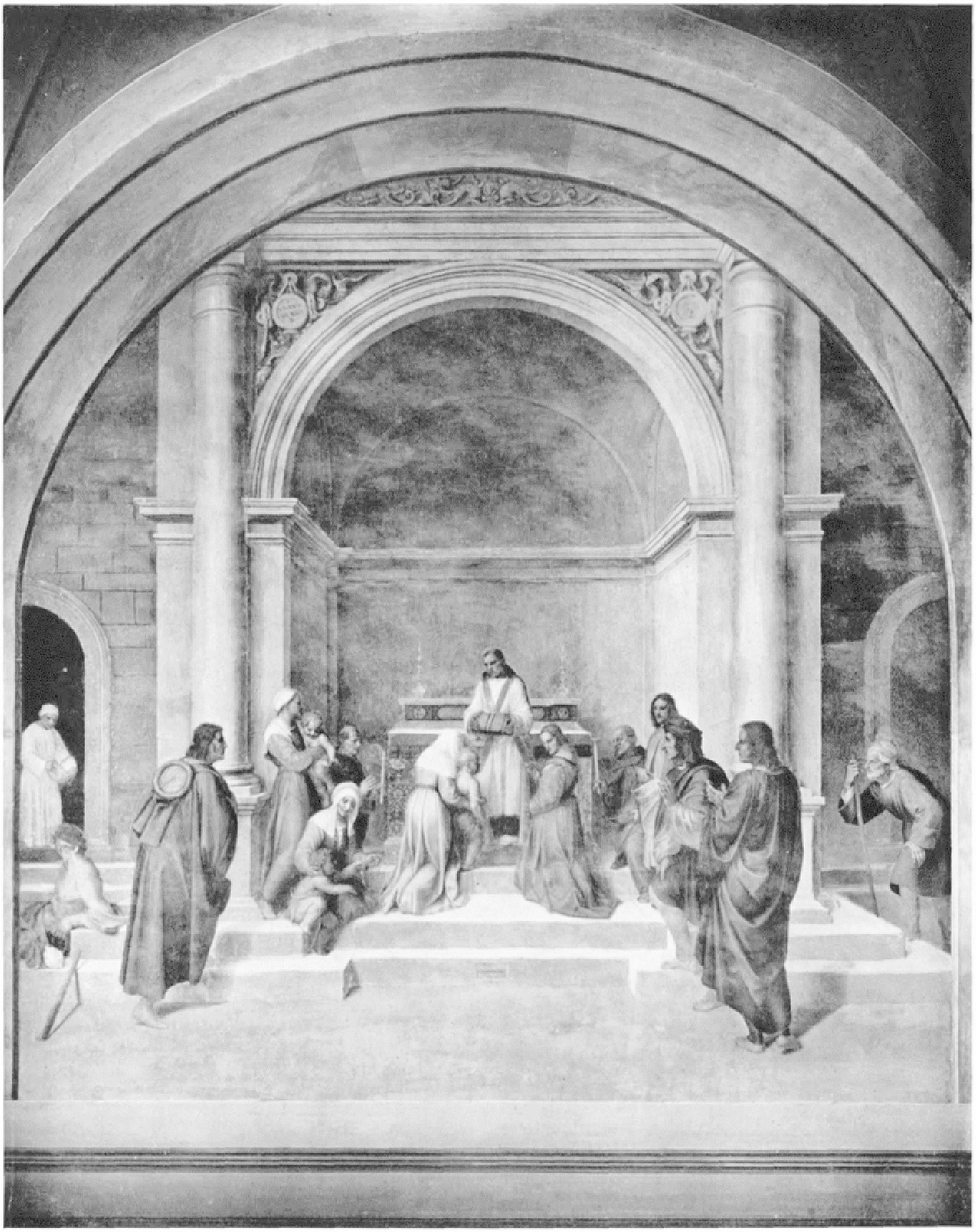


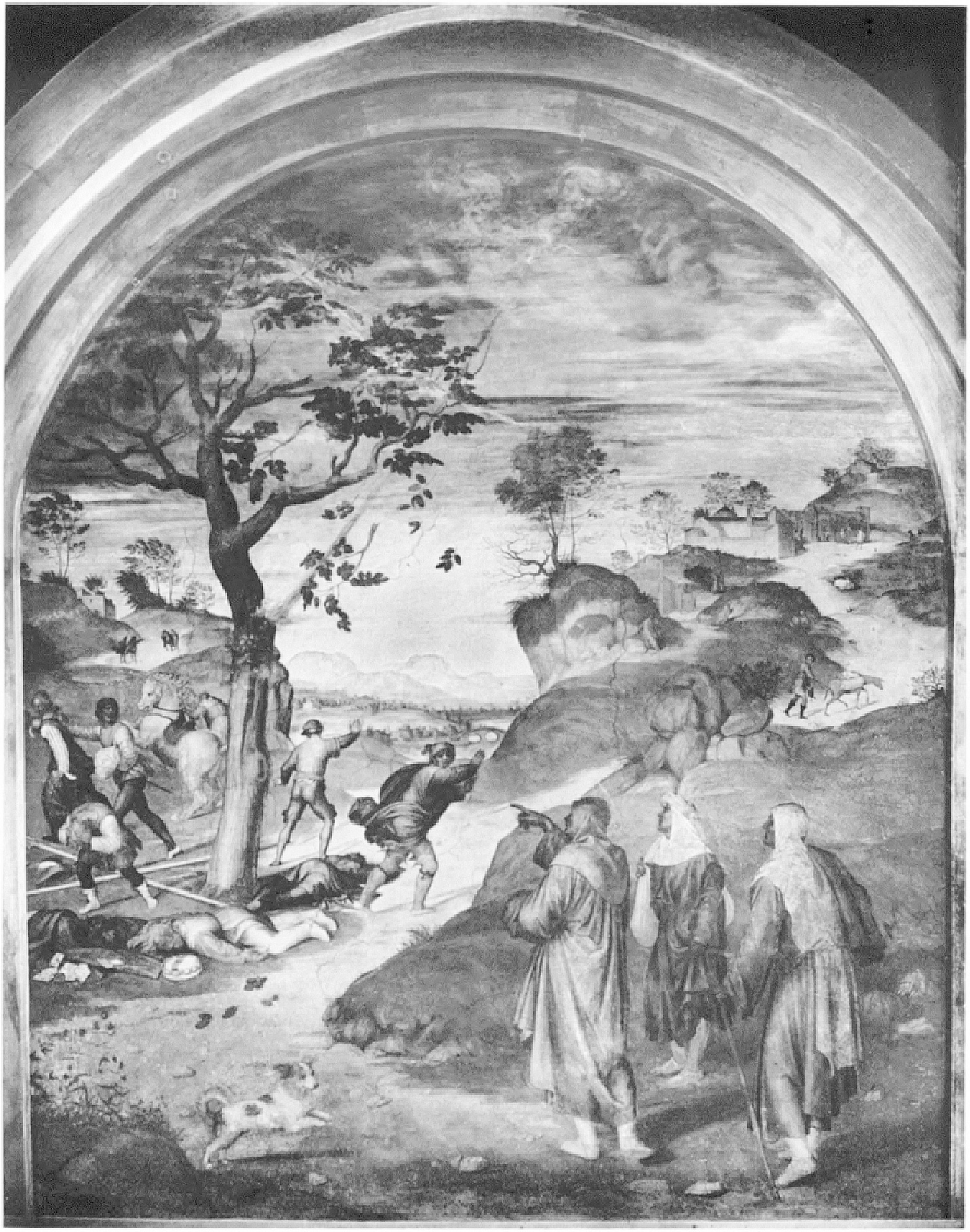
14. HEALING OF THE OBSESSED GIRL, Florence, SS. Annunziata



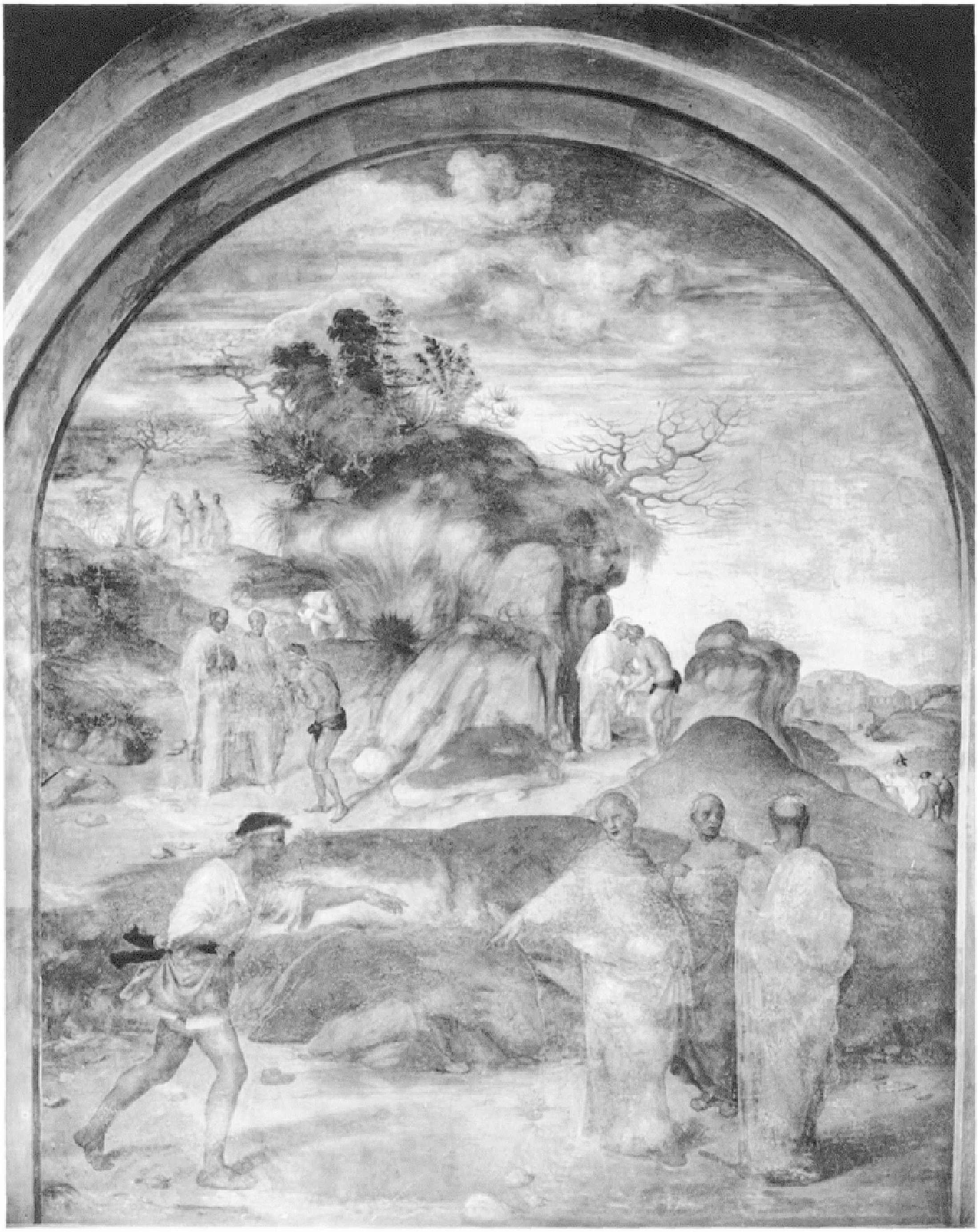
15. FUNERAL OF ST. PHILIP. Florence, SS. Annunziata



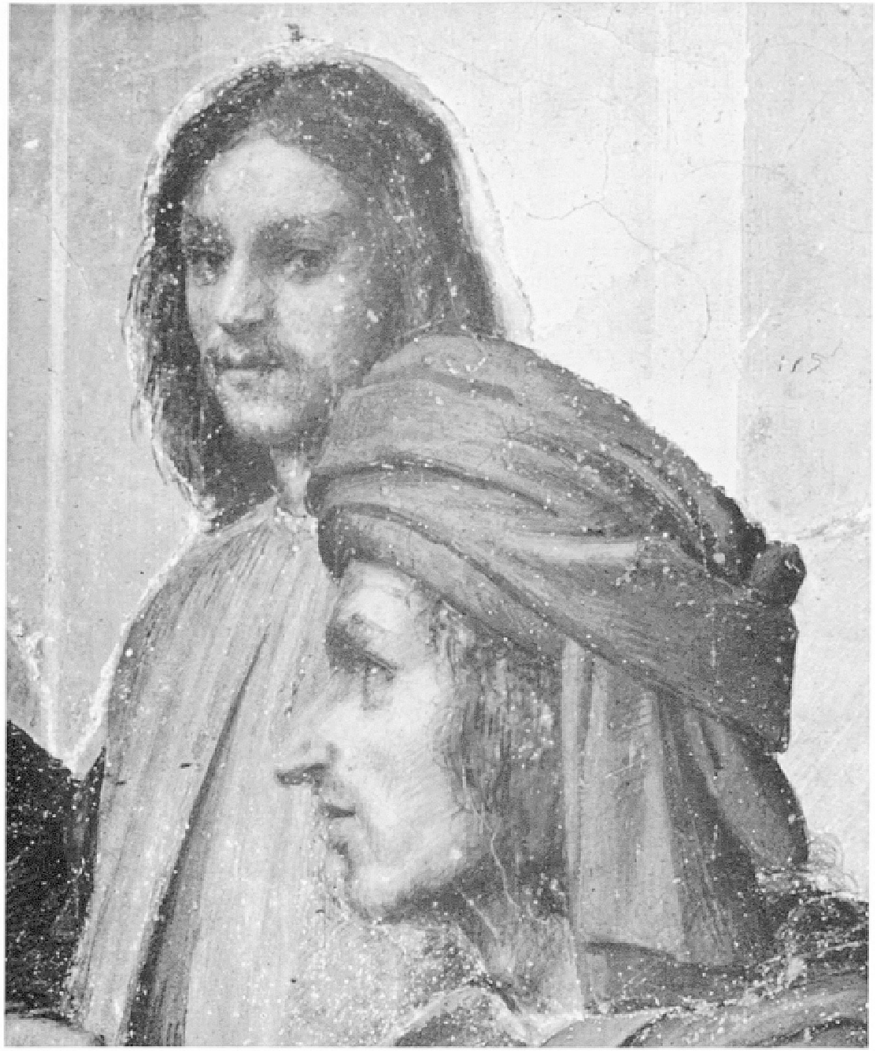
16. HEALING BY ST. PHILIP'S RELICS. Florence, SS. Annunziata



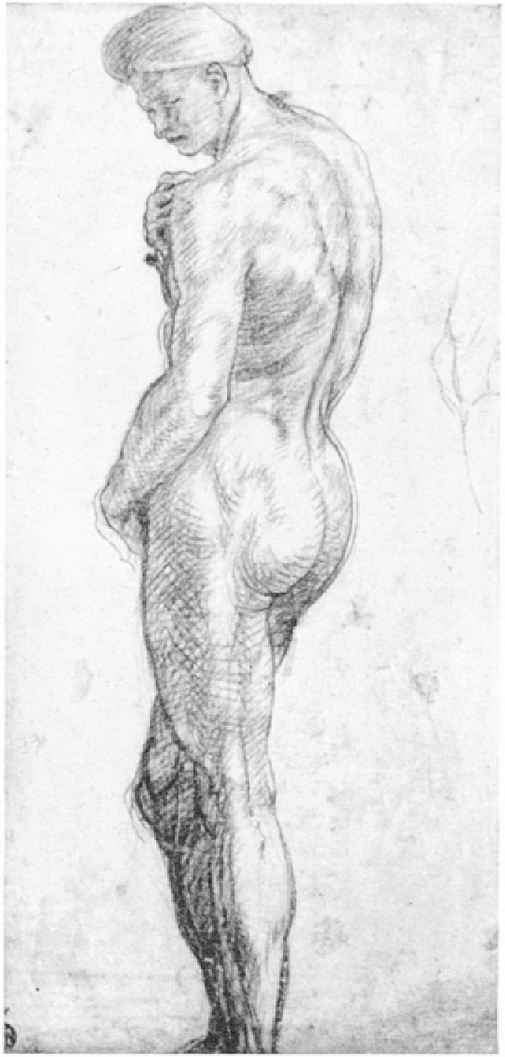
17. PUNISHMENT OF THE GAMBLERS. Florence, SS. Annunziata



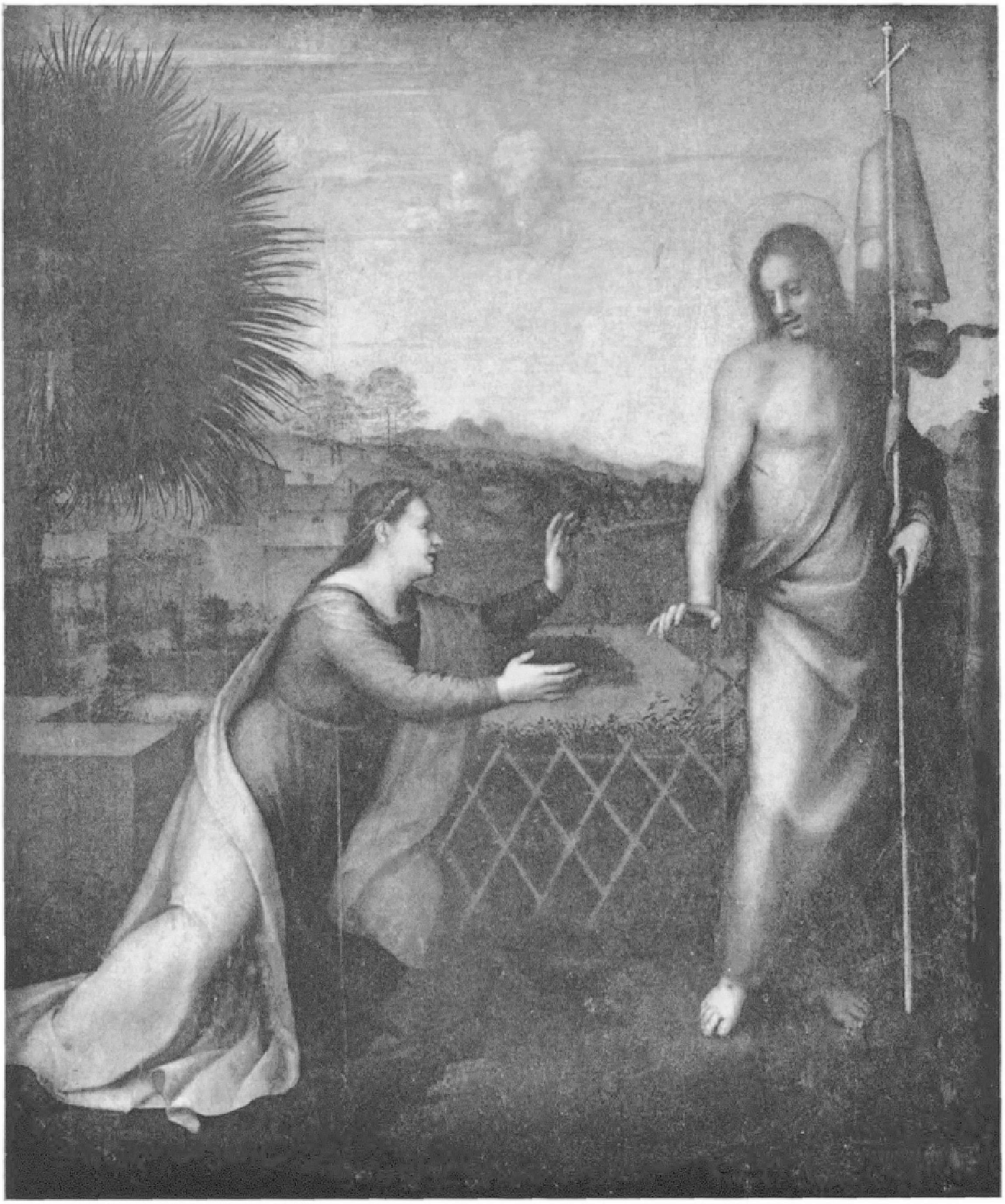
18. CLOTHING OF THE LEPER. Florence, SS. Annunziata



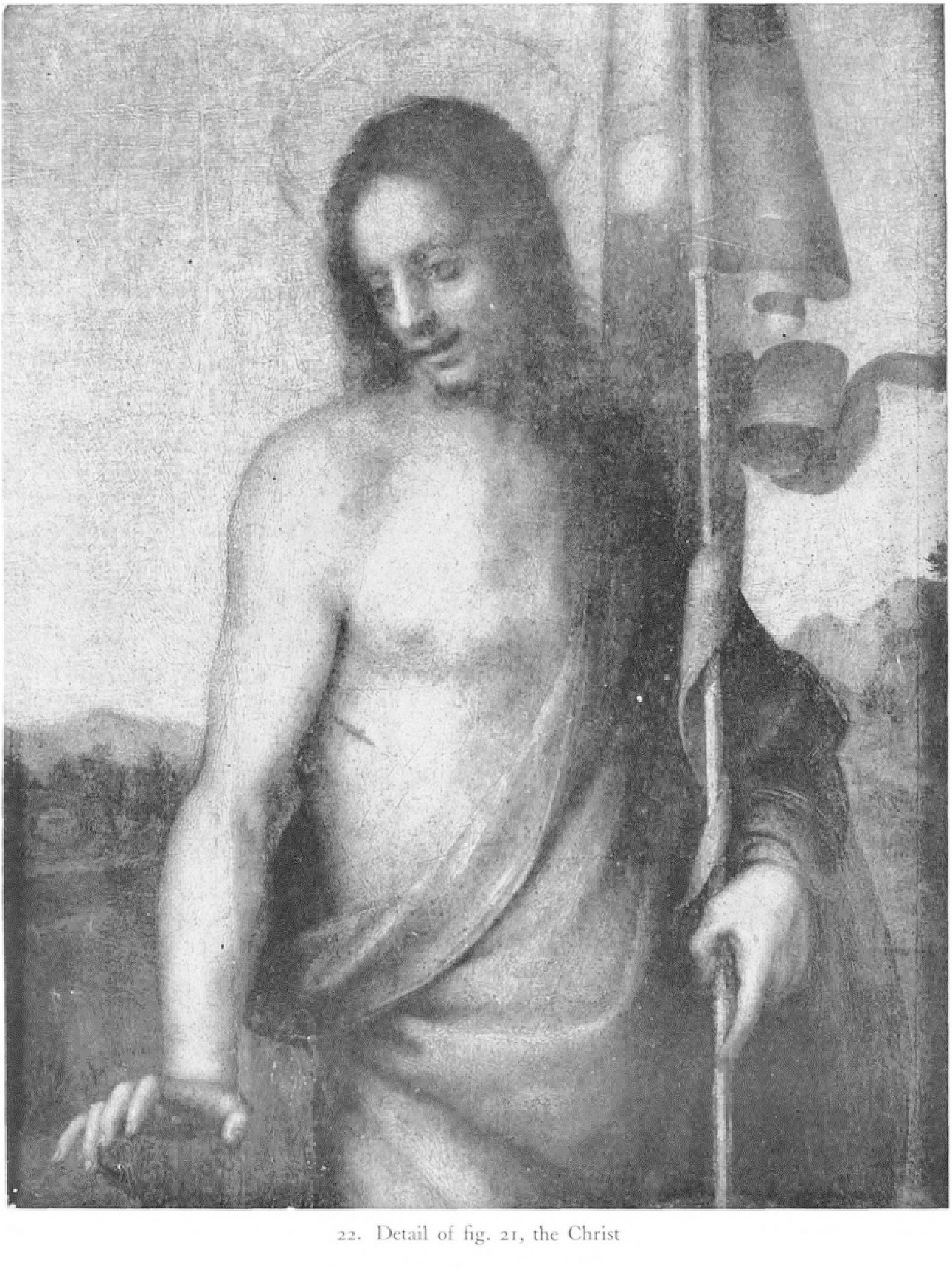
19. Detail from the *Healing by St. Philip's Relics*



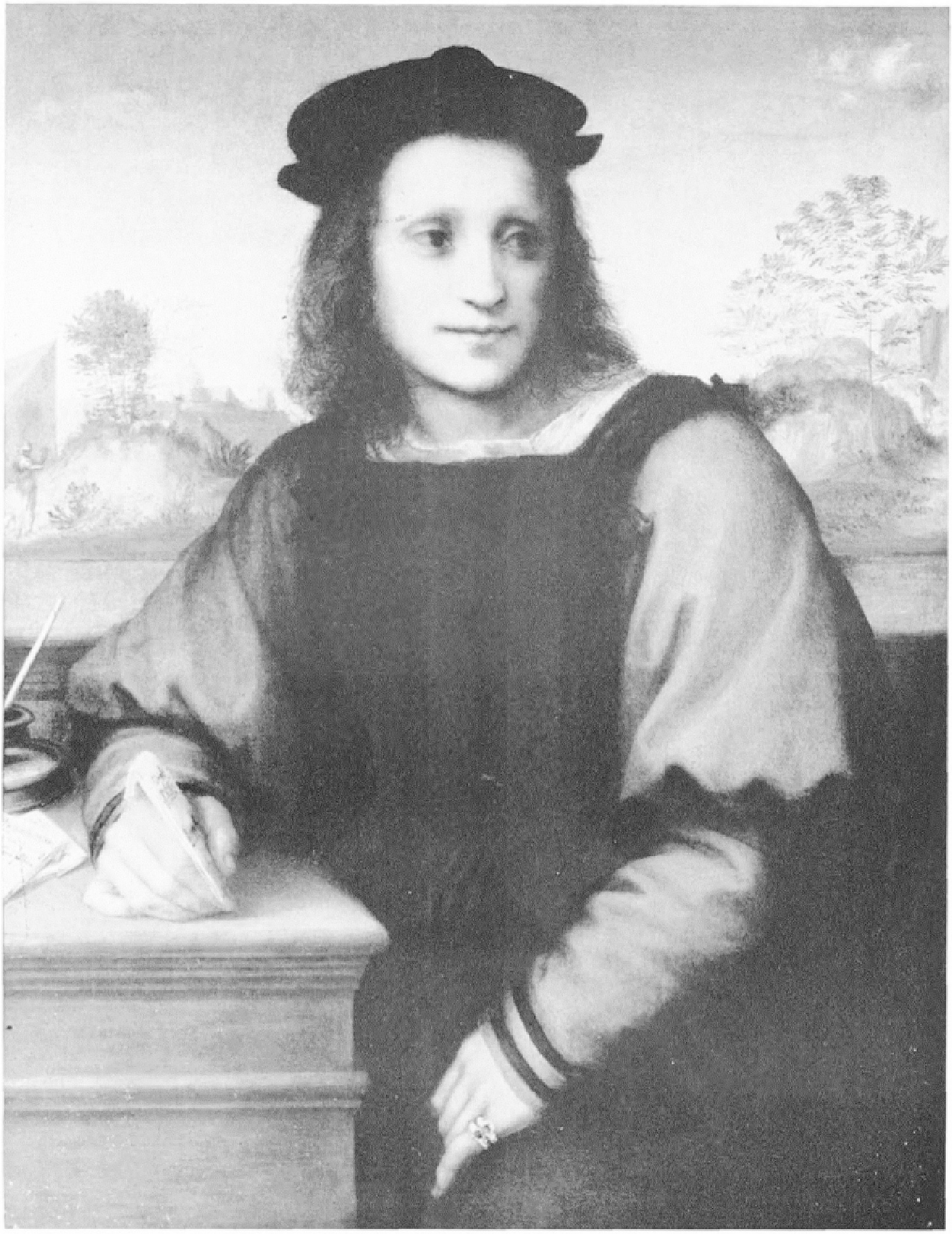
20. Study for the *Healing of the Obsessed Girl*. Paris, Louvre no. 1689



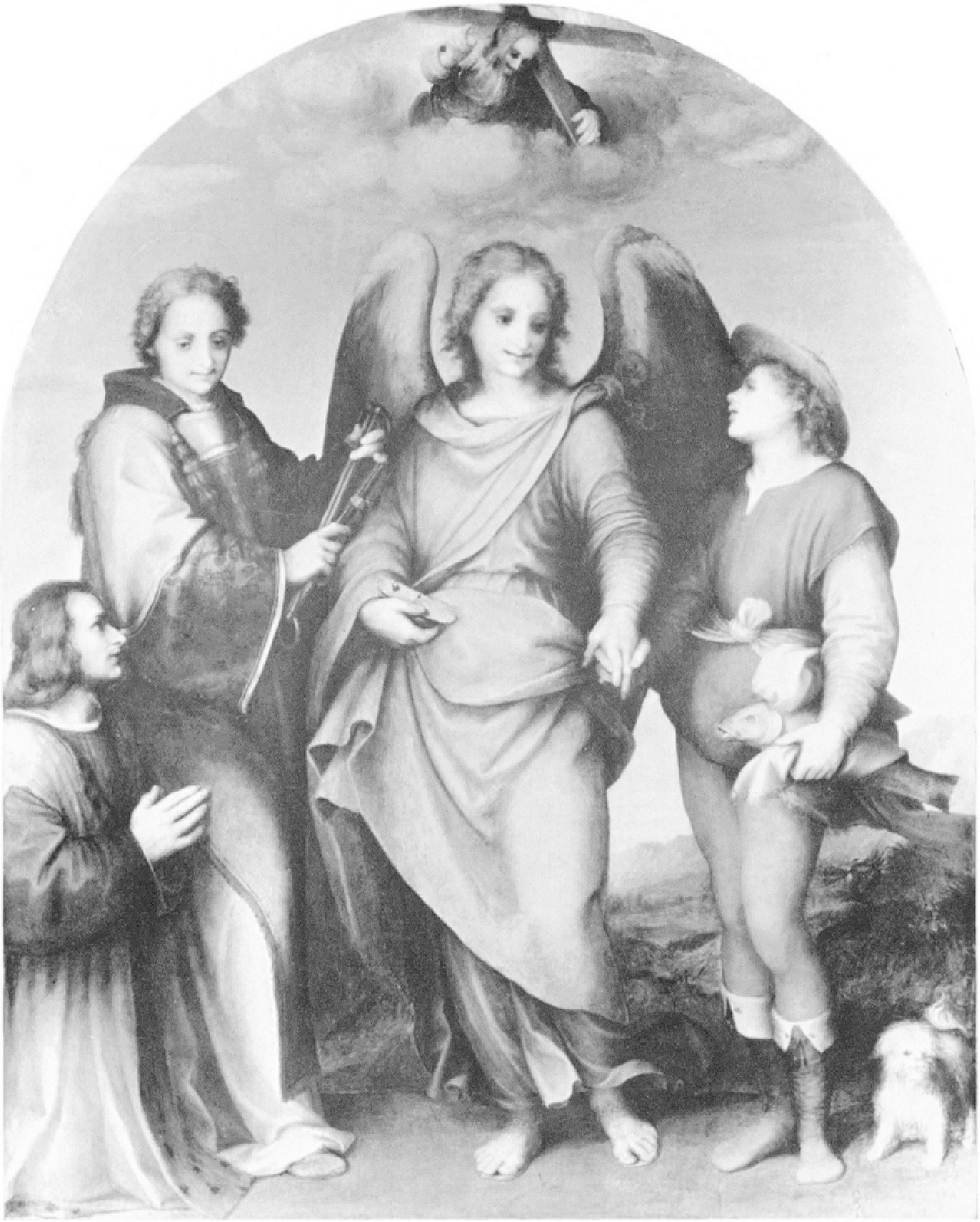
21. NOLI ME TANGERE, Florence, Uffizi no. 516



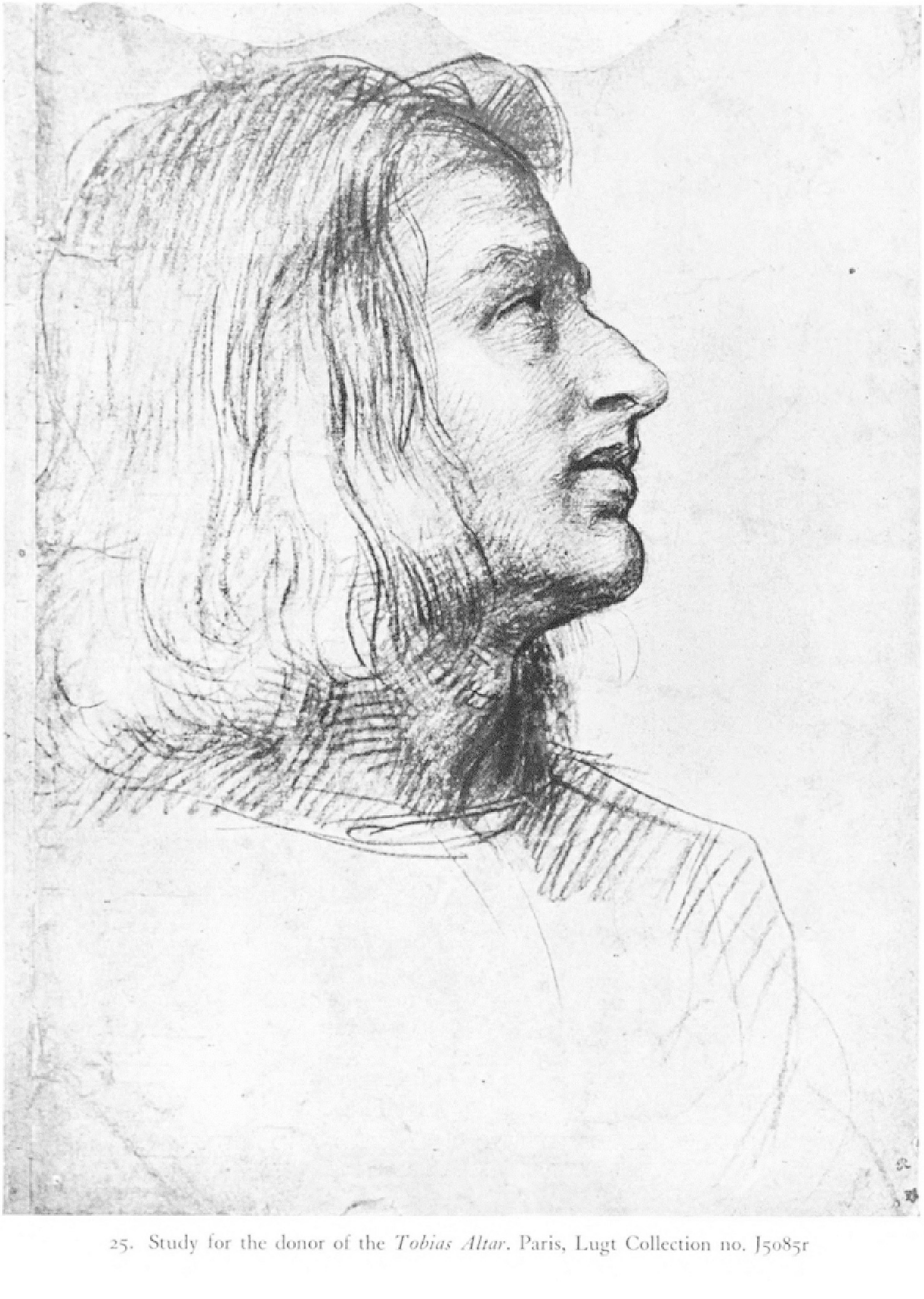
22. Detail of fig. 21, the Christ



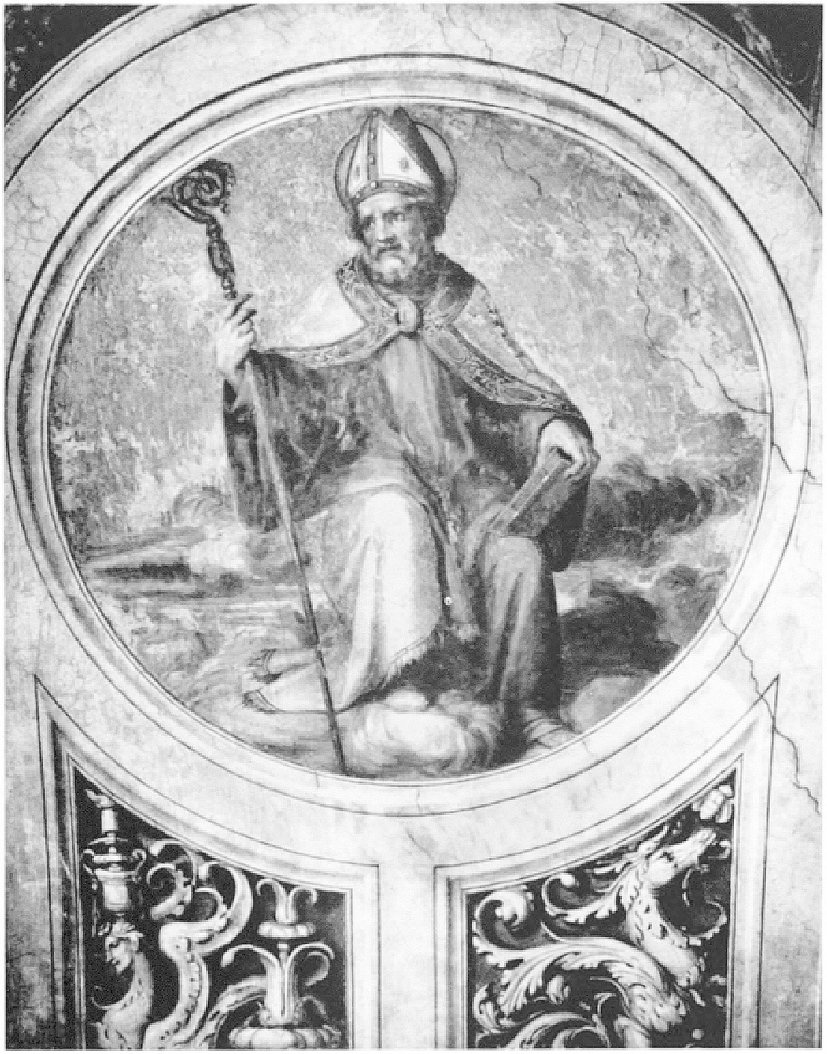
23. PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG MAN. Alnwick Castle, Duke of Northumberland



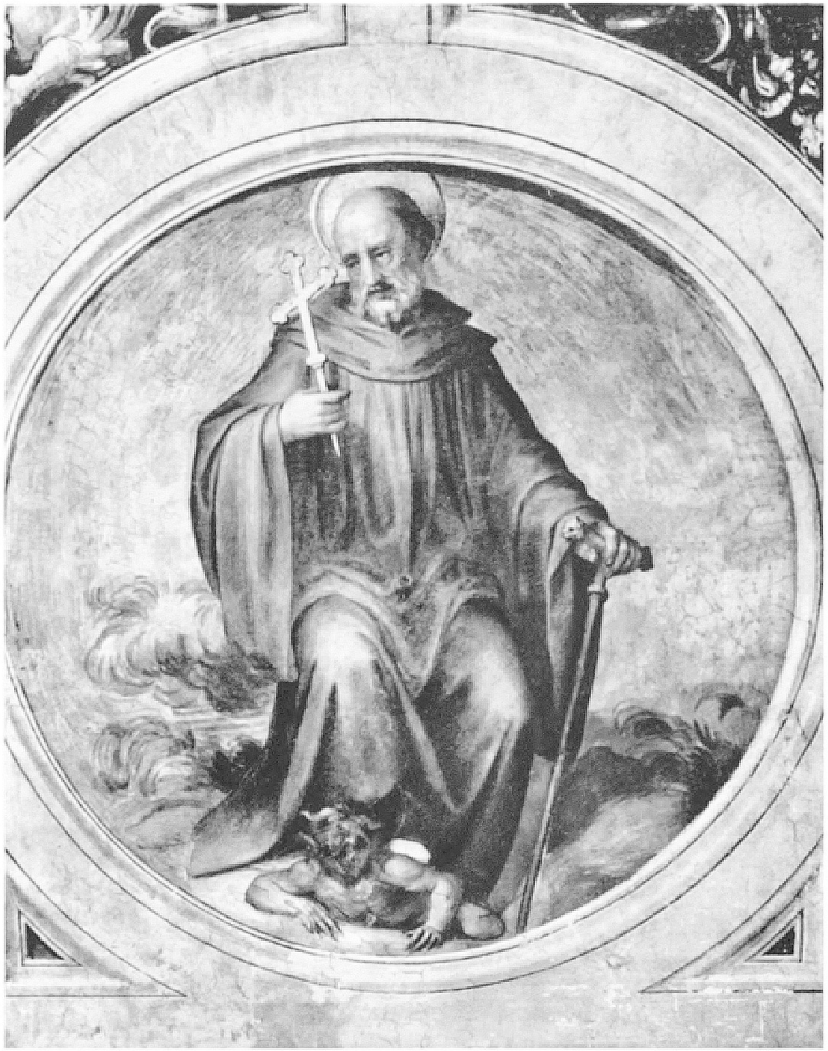
24. THE ARCHANGEL RAPHAEL, TOBIAS, ST. LEONARD, AND A DONOR (*Tobias Altar*).
Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum no. 650



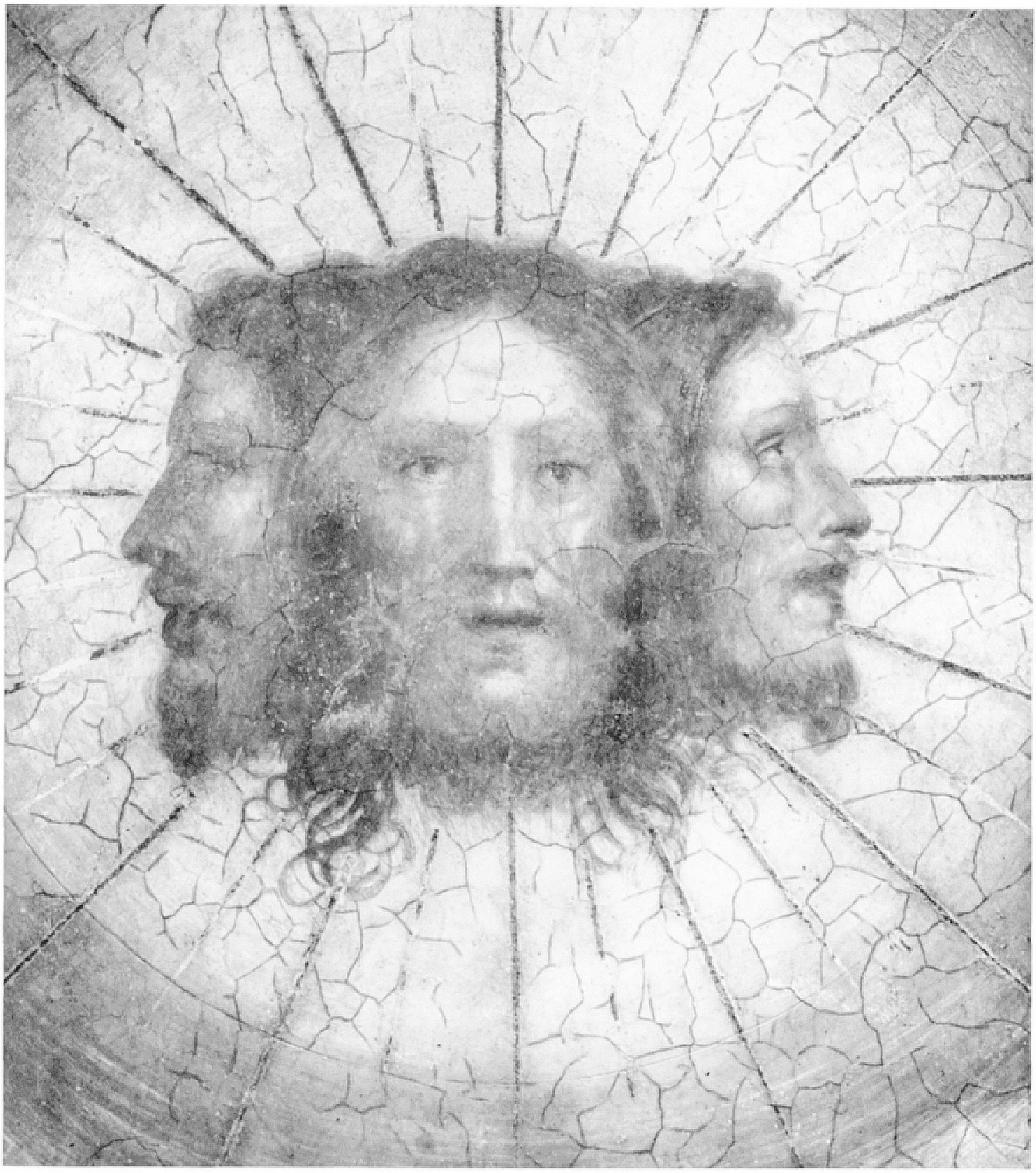
25. Study for the donor of the *Tobias Altar*. Paris, Lugt Collection no. J5085r



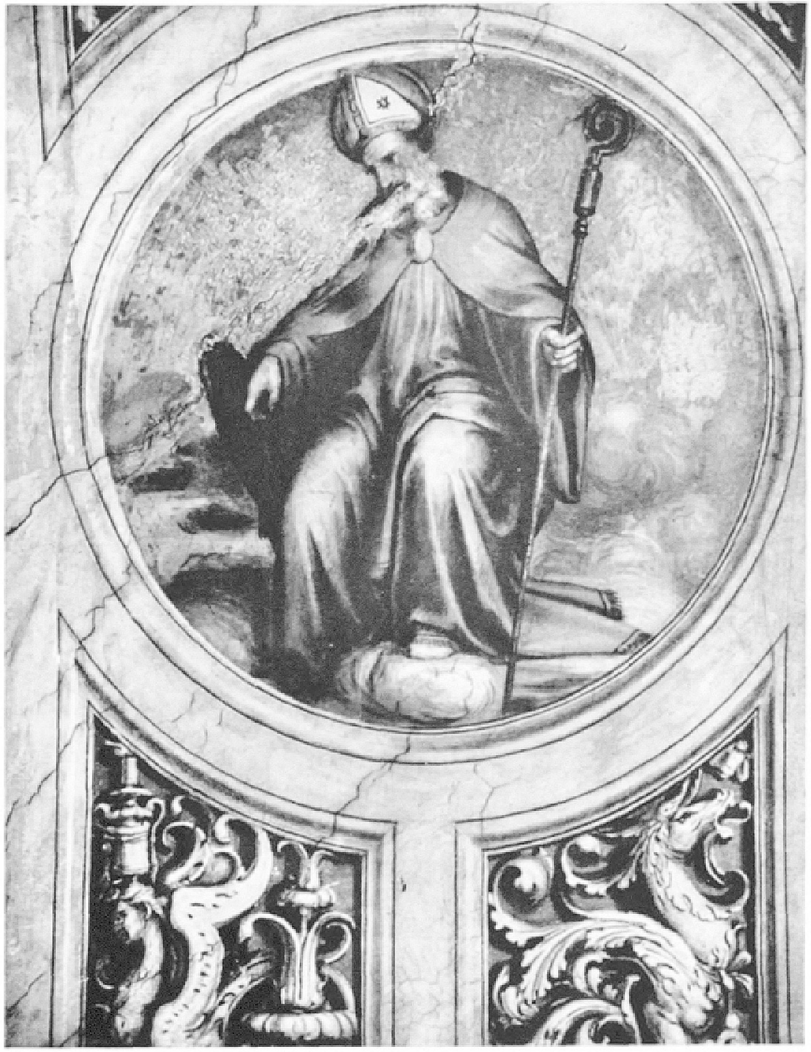
26. BERNARDINO DEGLI UBERTI. Florence, S. Salvi



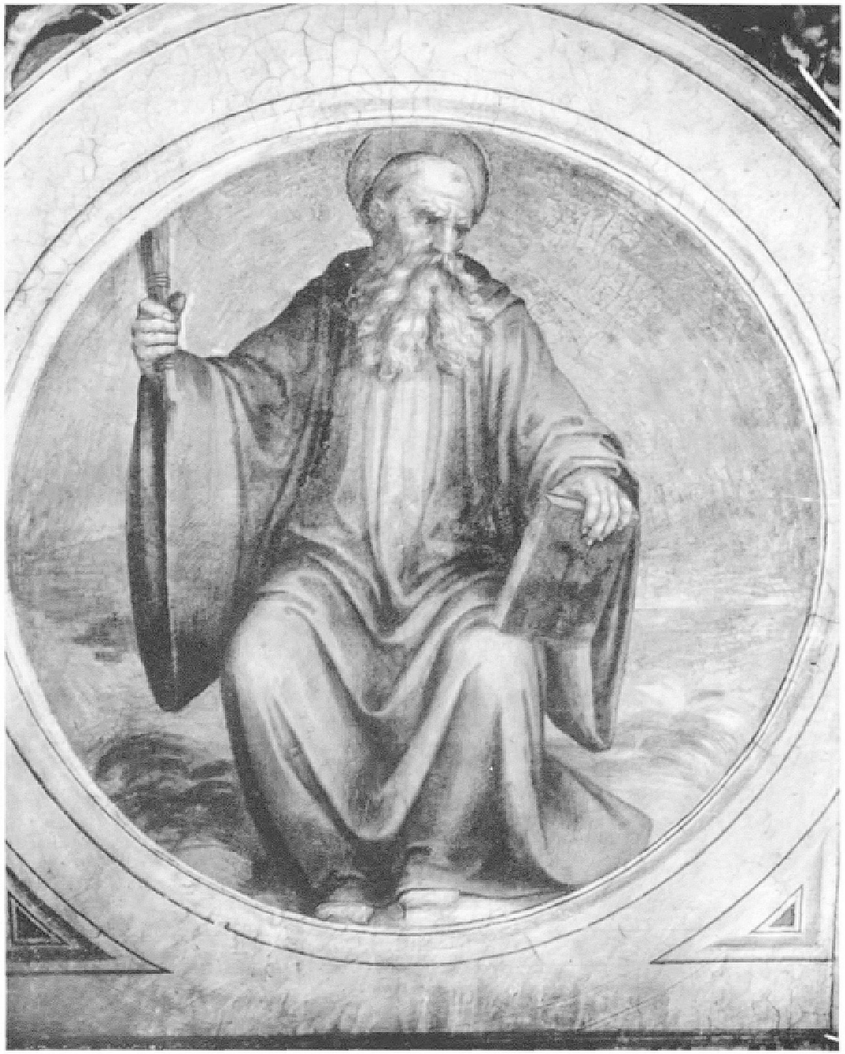
27. S. GIOVANNI GUALBERTO. Florence, S. Salvi



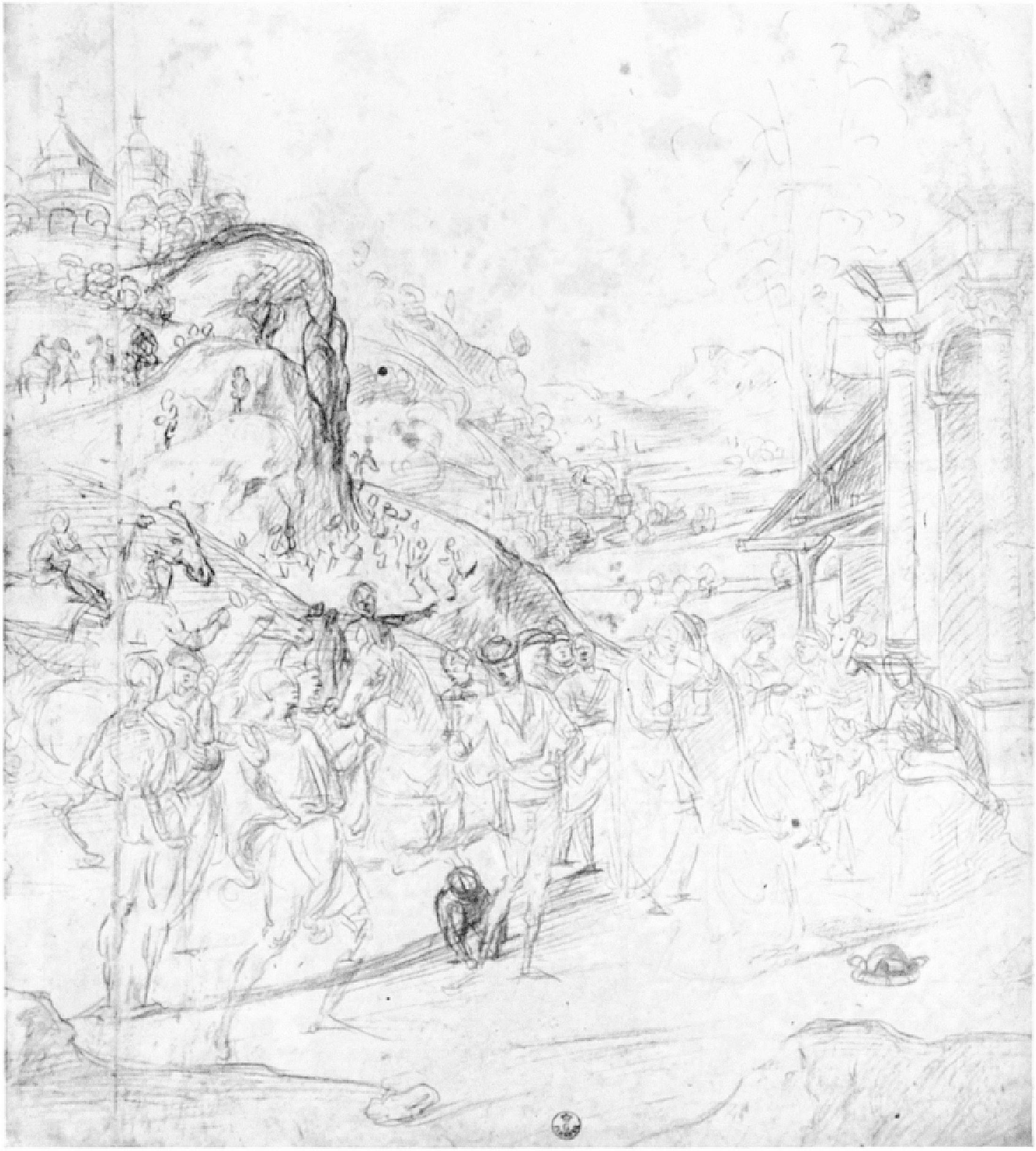
28. TRINITY. Florence, S. Salvi



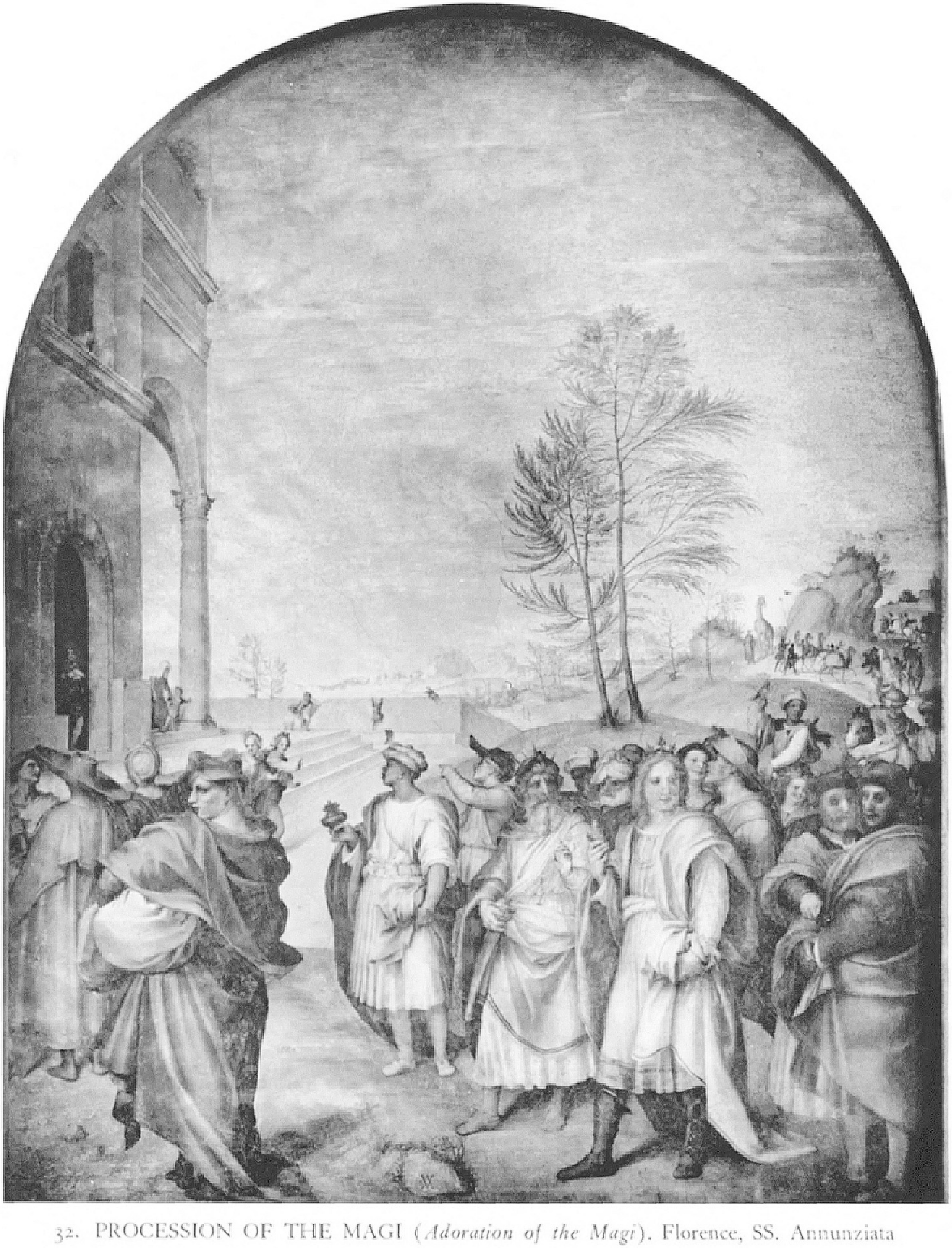
29. S. SALVI. Florence, S. Salvi



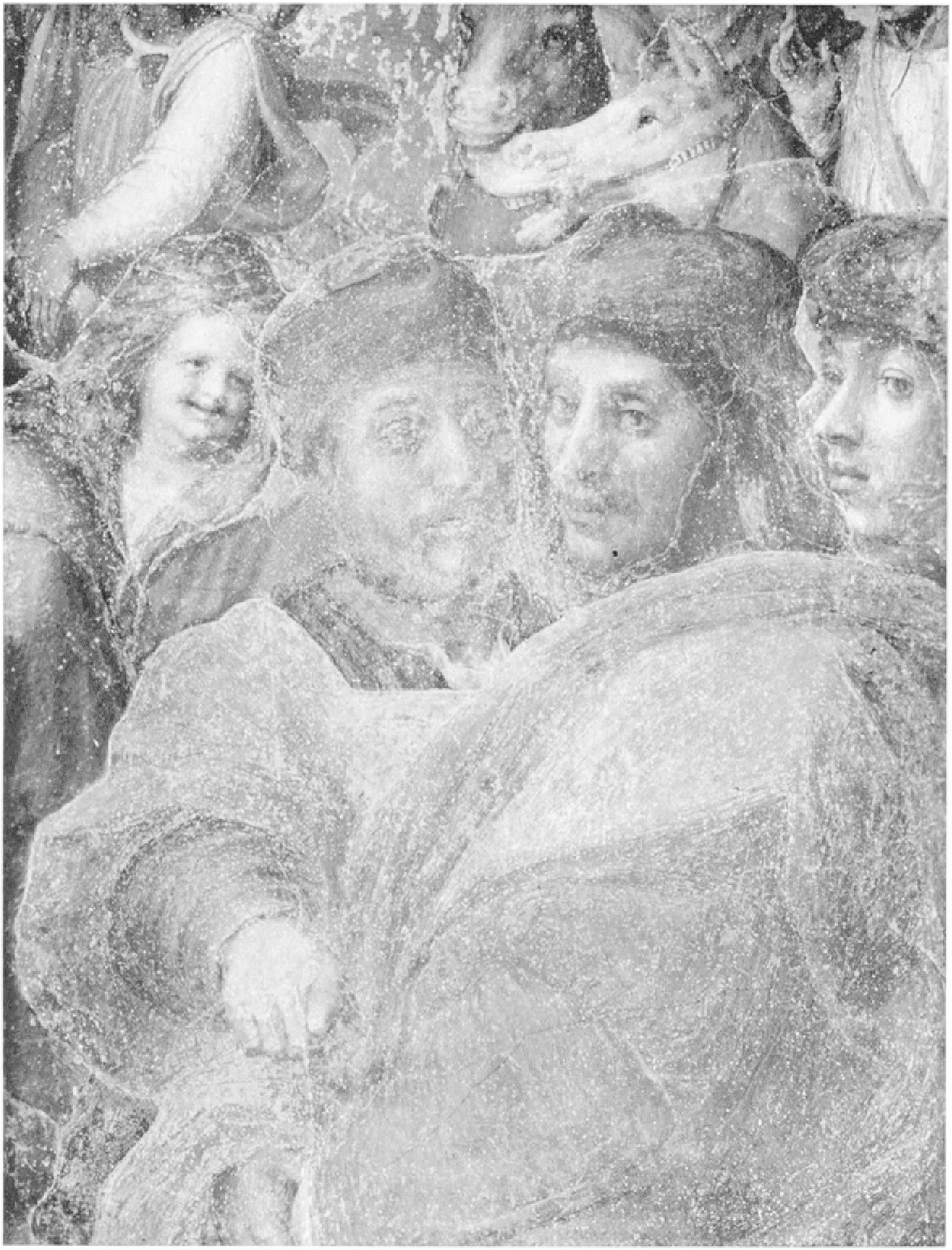
30. ST. BENEDICT. Florence, S. Salvi



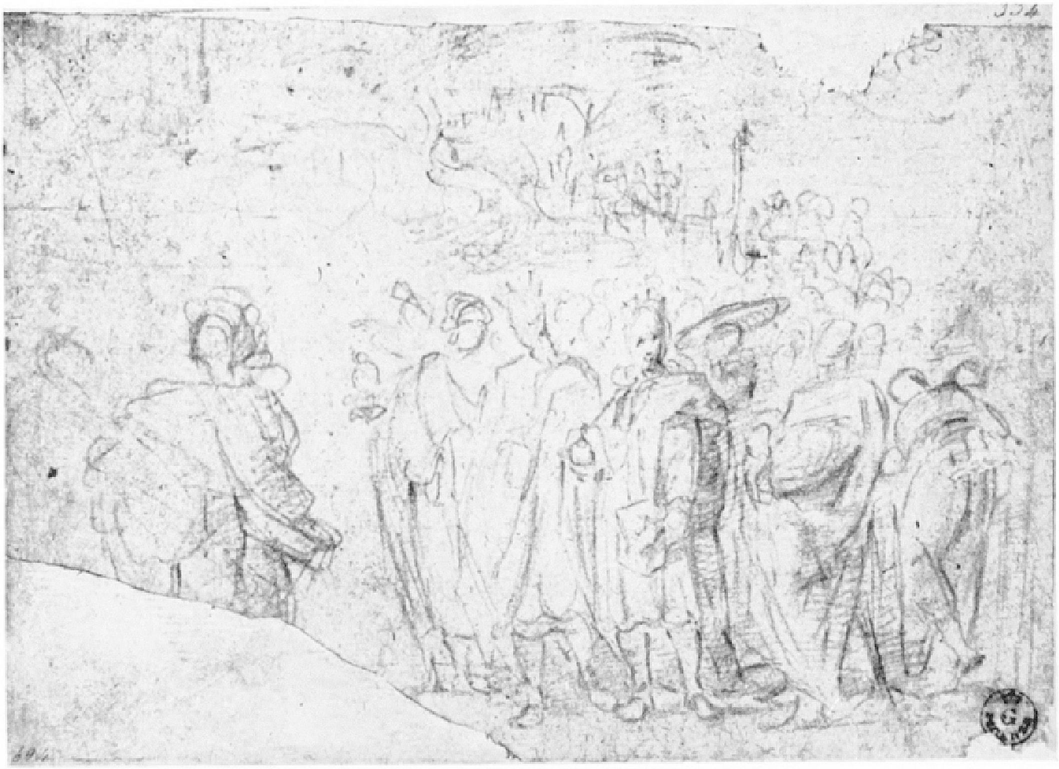
31. Study for an *Adoration of the Magi*. Florence, Uffizi no. 667E



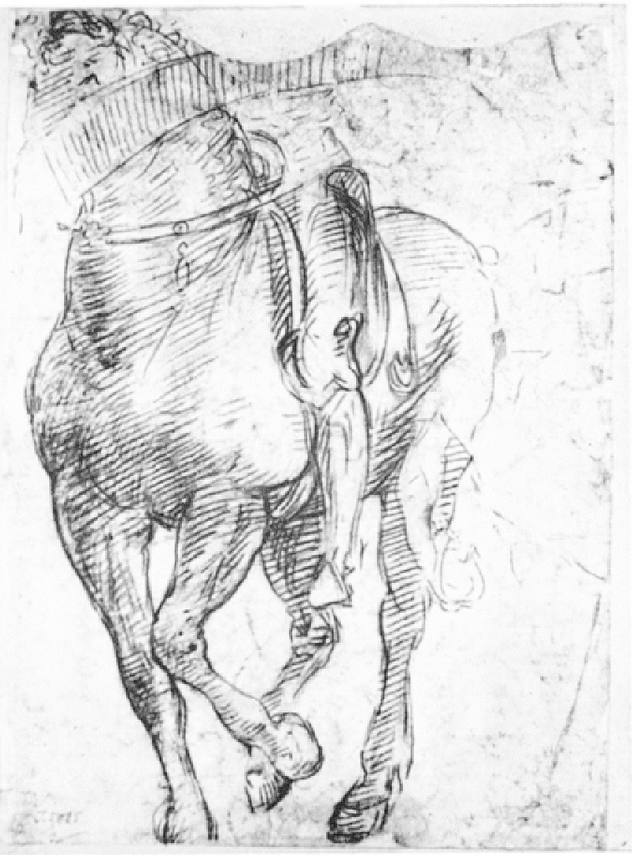
32. PROCESSION OF THE MAGI (*Adoration of the Magi*). Florence, SS. Annunziata



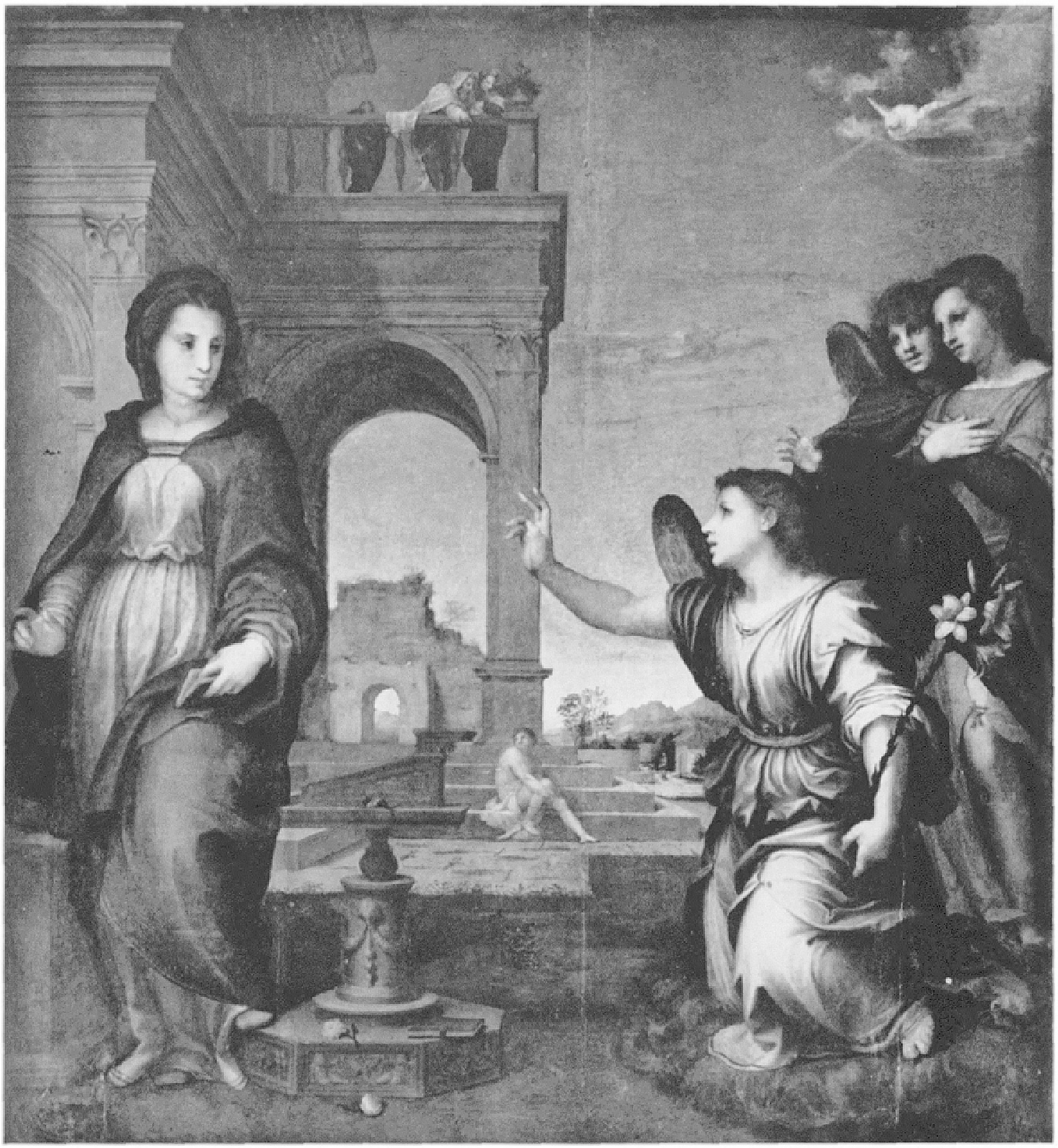
33. Detail of fig. 32, portraits of Andrea, Jacopo Sansovino, and Ajolle



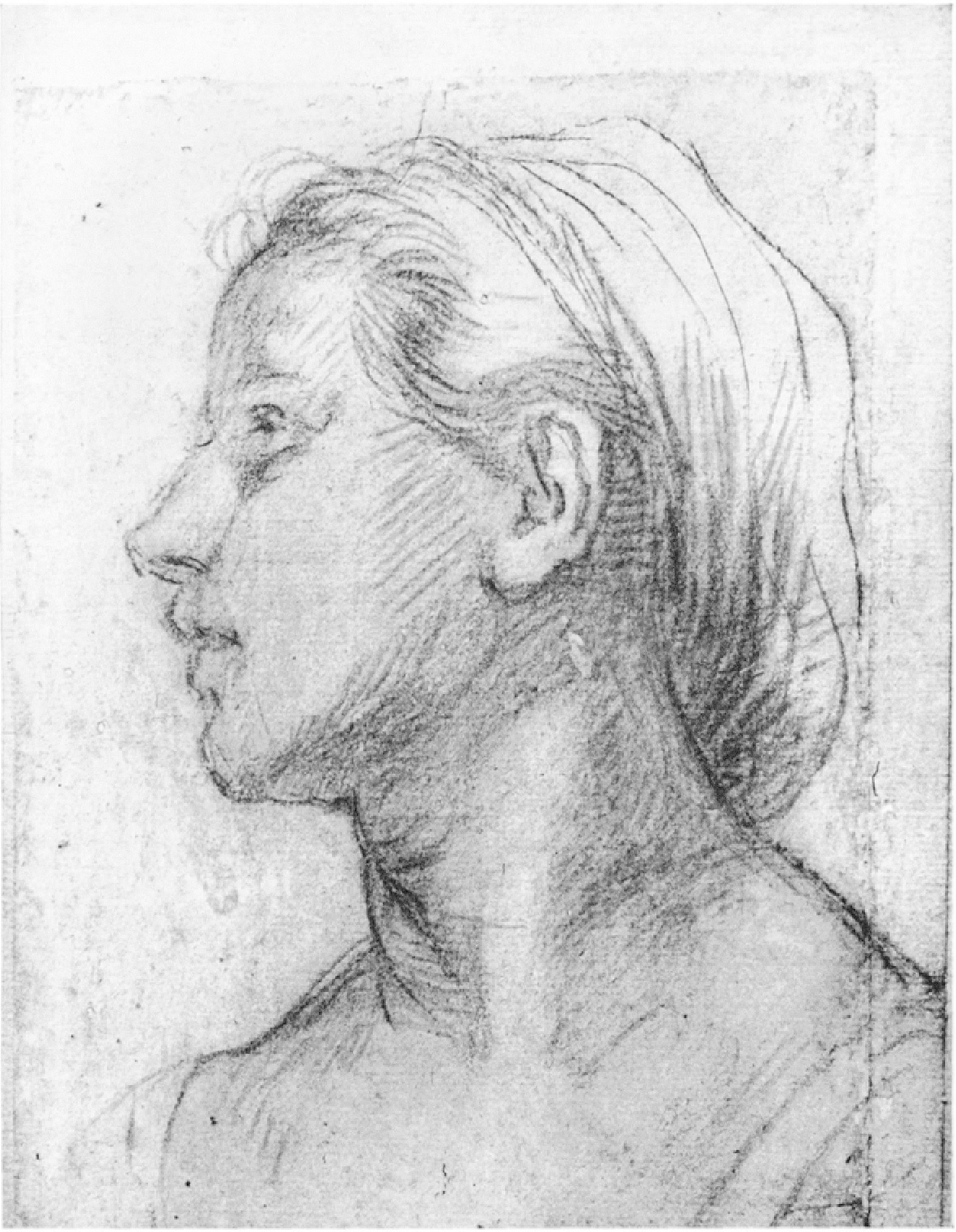
34. Study for the *Procession of the Magi*. Florence, Uffizi no. 334F



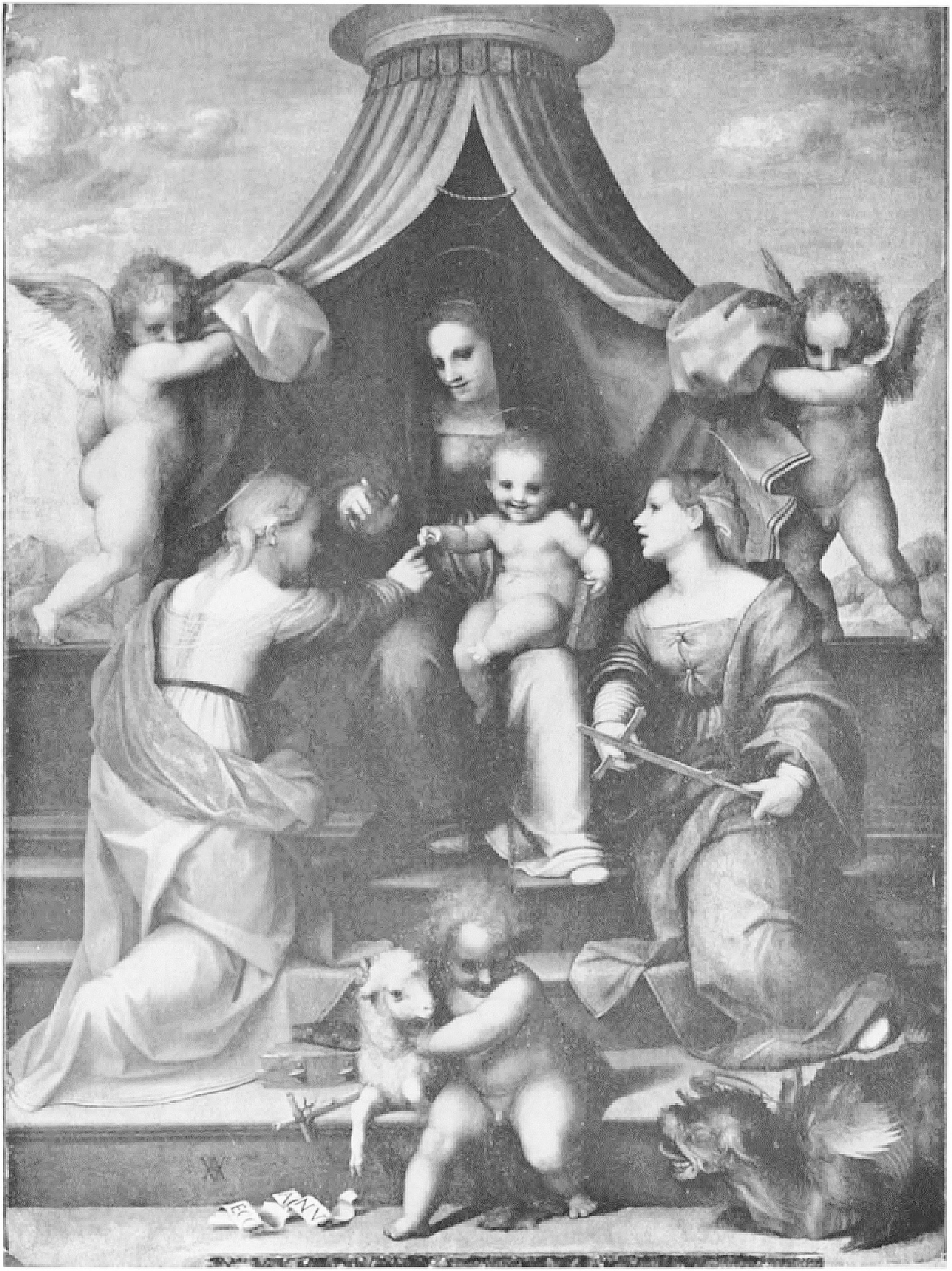
35. Study for the *Procession of the Magi*. Paris, Lugt Collection no. J5085v



36. ANNUNCIATION. Florence, Pitti no. 124

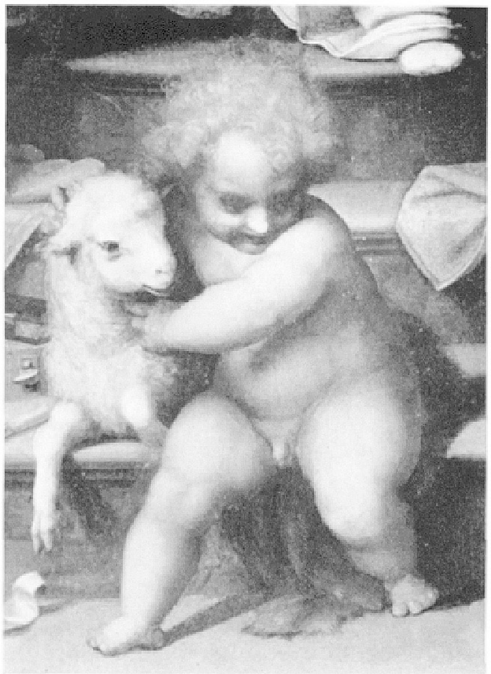


37. Study for Gabriel in the *Annunciation*. Plymouth, Art Gallery

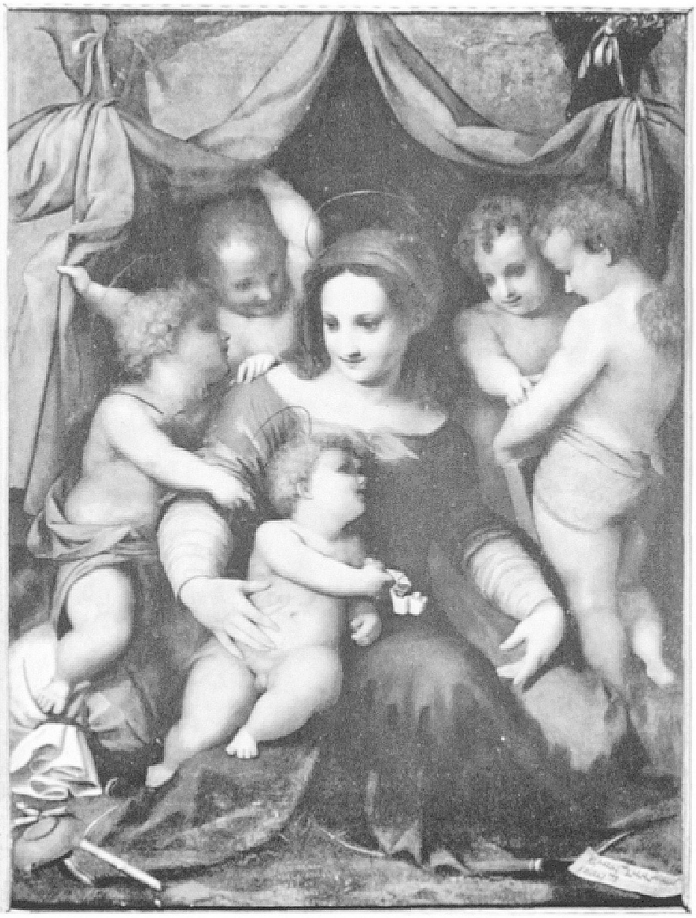


38. MARRIAGE OF ST. CATHERINE. Dresden, Gallery no. 76

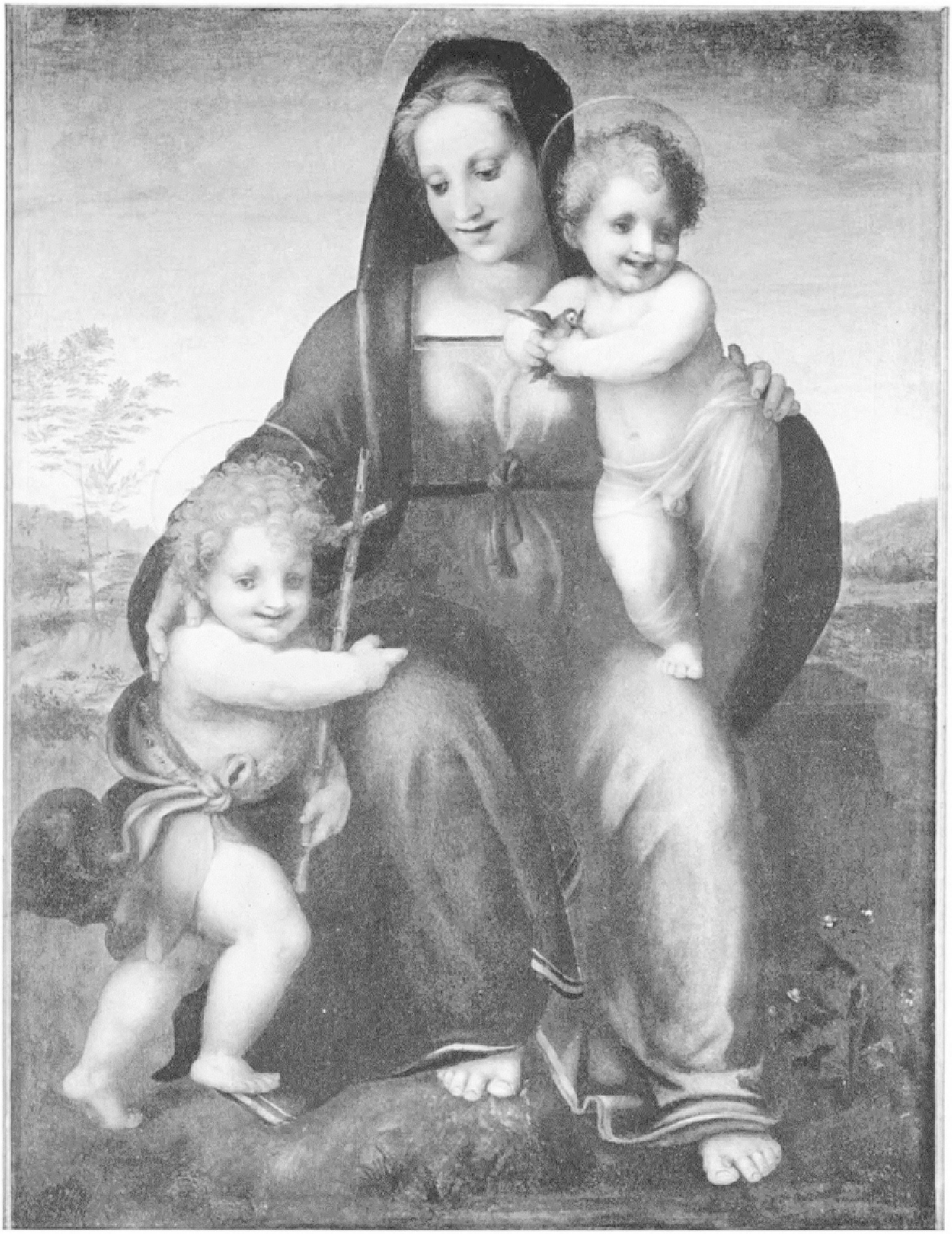
Freedberg, S. J. *Andrea Del Sarto: Text and Illustrations, Vol. 1.*
E-book, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb30523.0001.001.



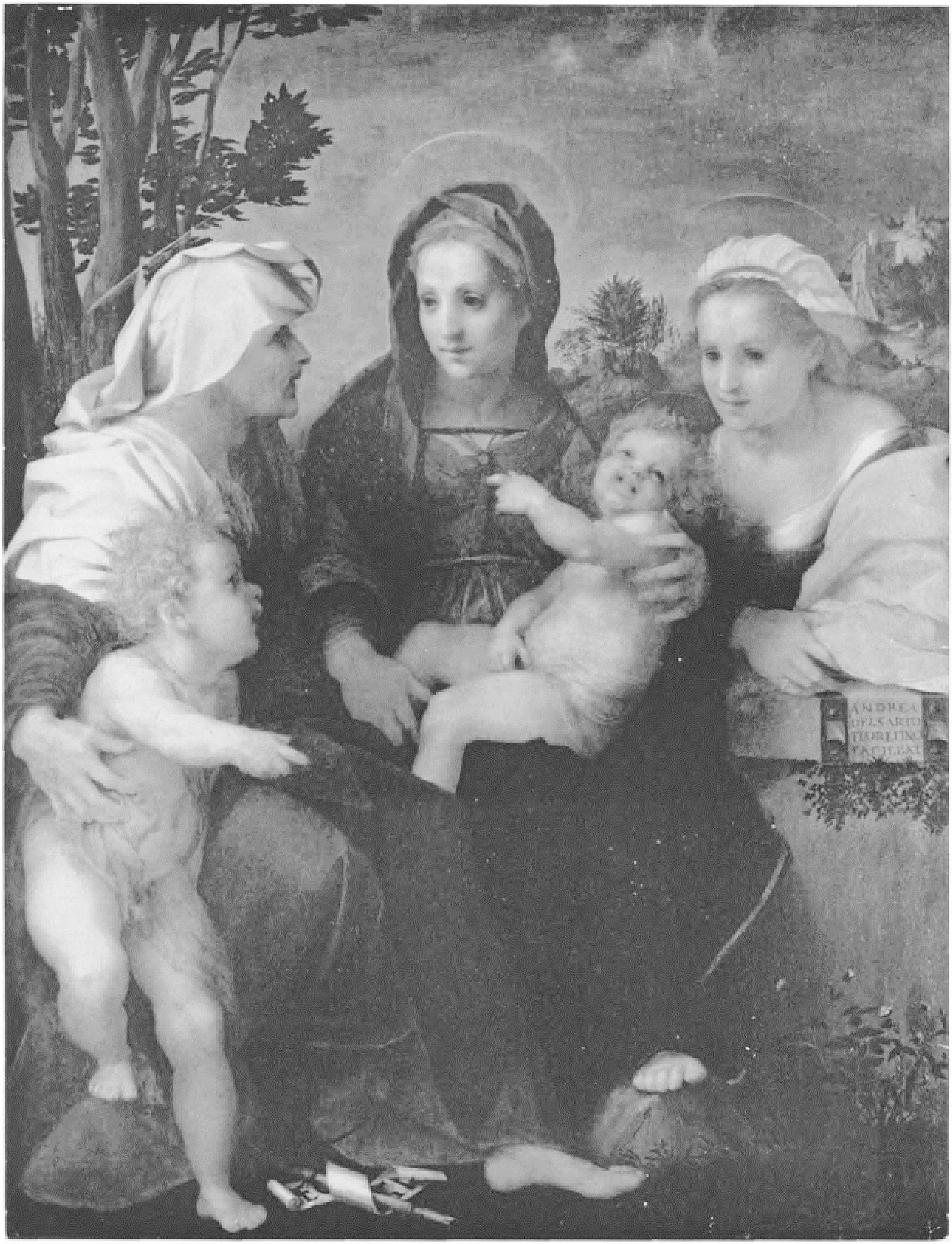
39. Detail of fig. 38, the Infant St. John



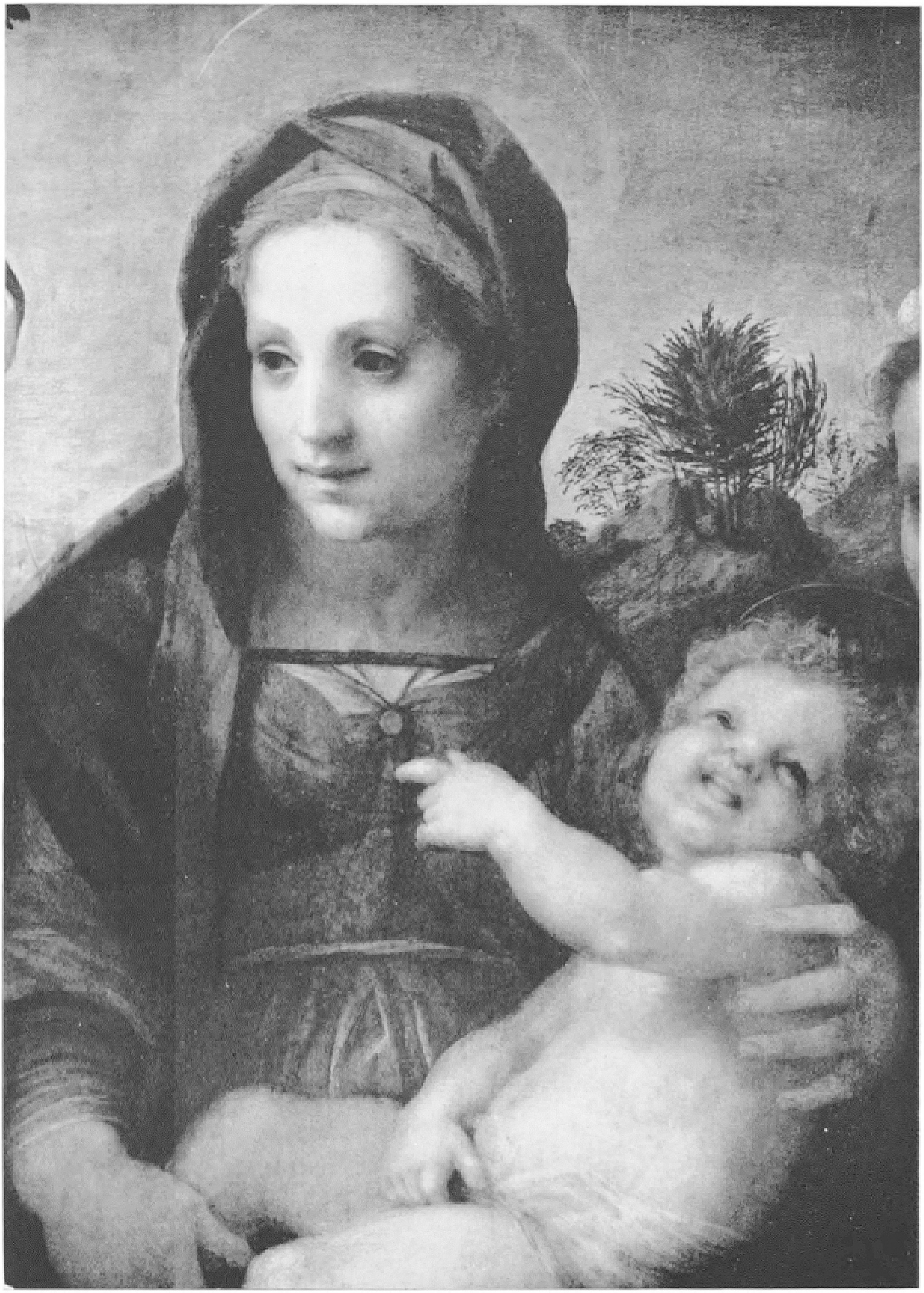
40. MADONNA WITH ST. JOHN AND THREE ANGELS (copy). Sussex, John Wyndham Esq., on loan to the Courtauld Institute of Art, London



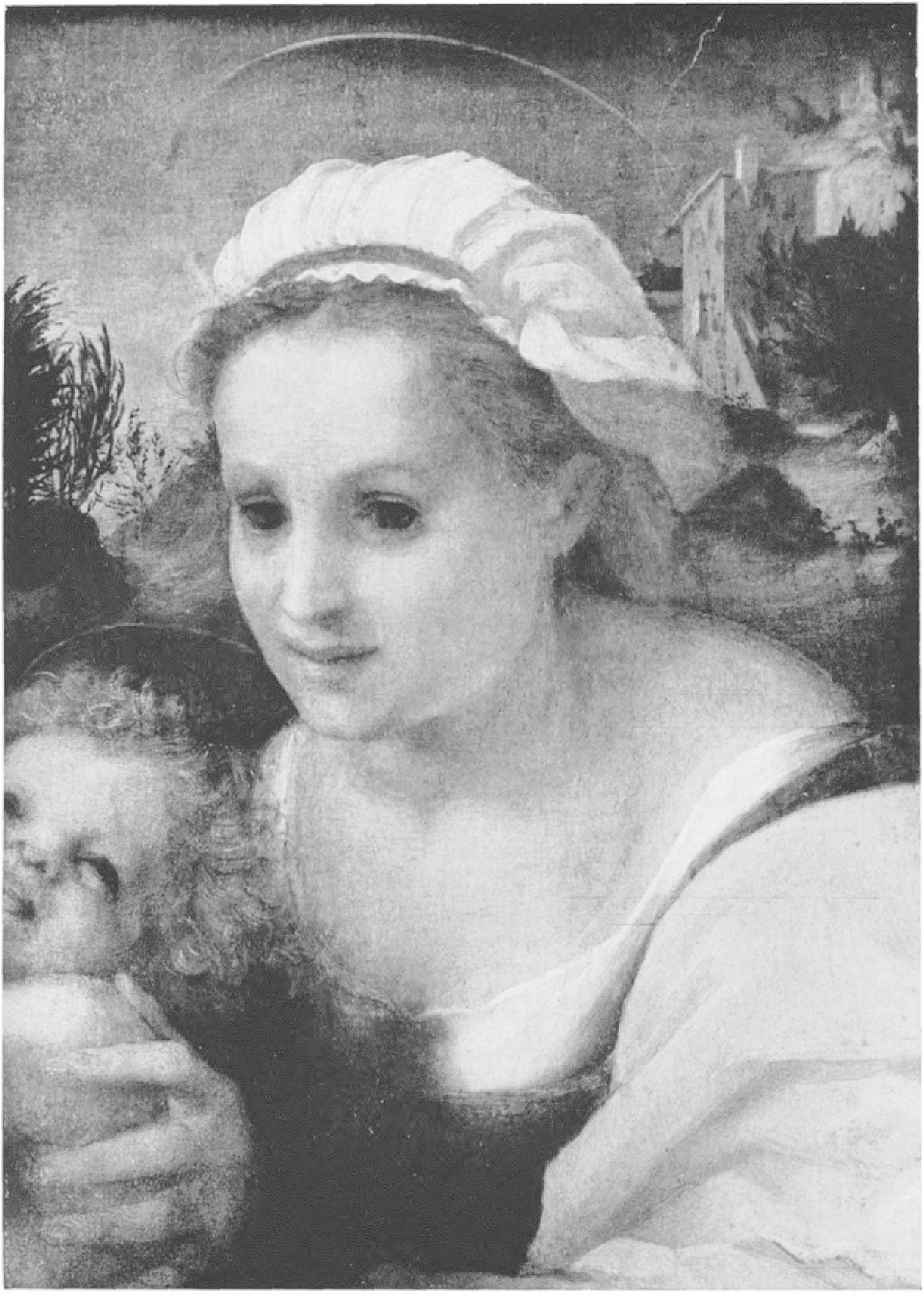
41. MADONNA AND CHILD WITH THE INFANT ST. JOHN. Rome, Galleria Borghese inv. no. 336



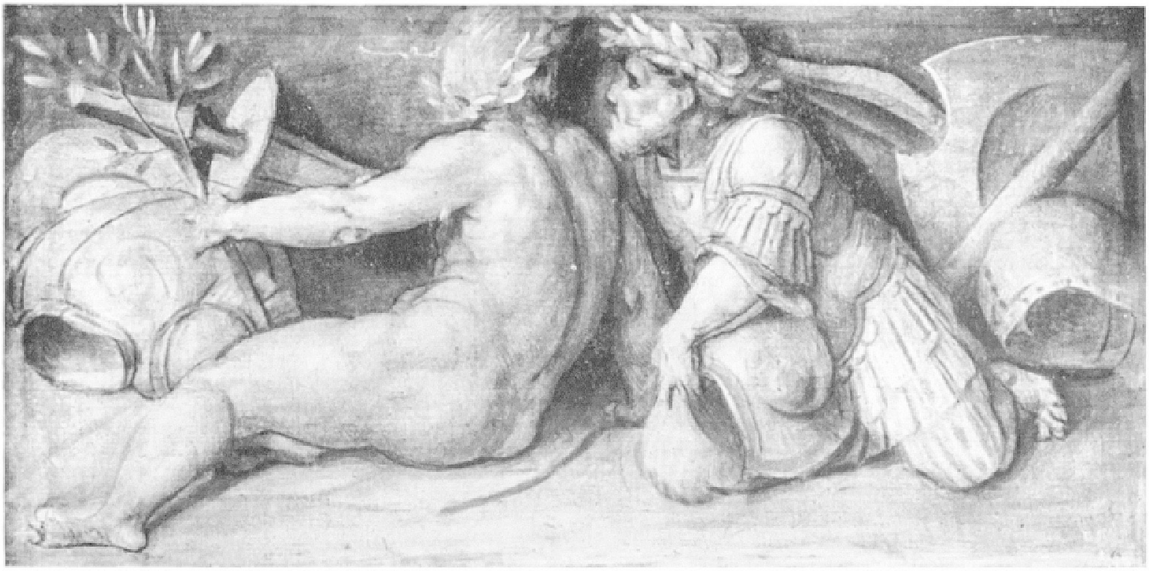
42. HOLY FAMILY WITH ST. CATHERINE. Leningrad, Hermitage no. 62



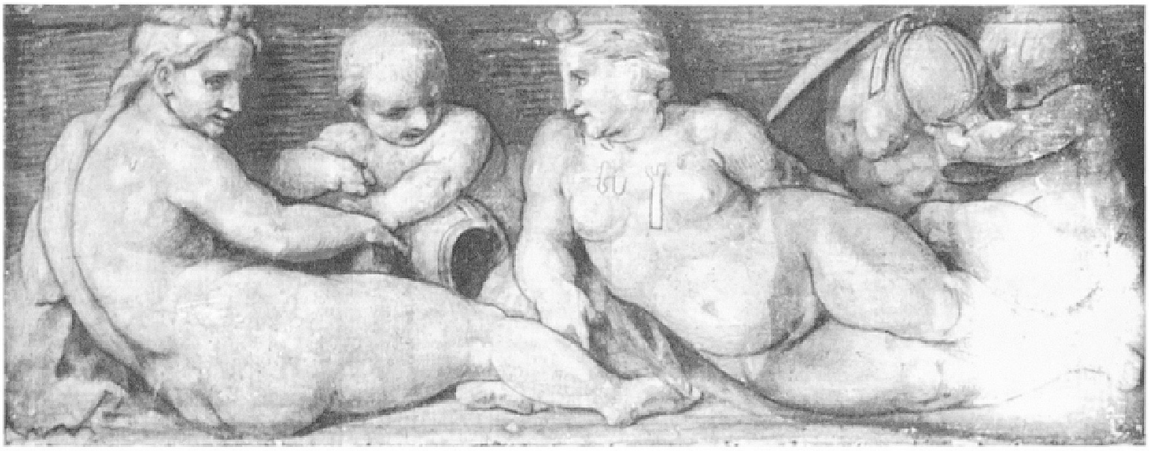
43. Detail of fig. 42, the Madonna and Child



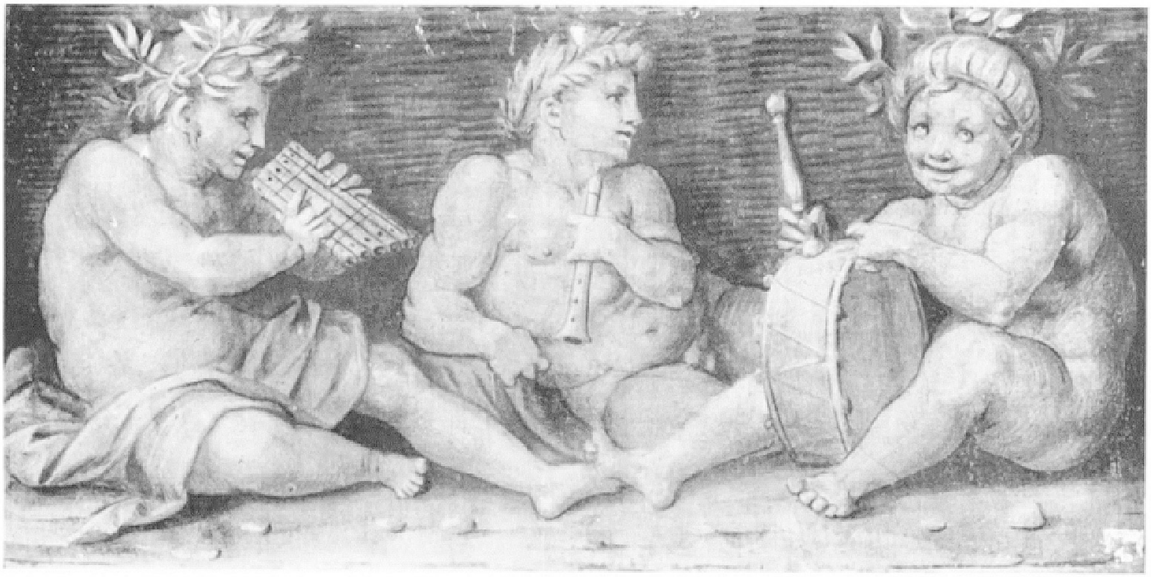
44. Detail of fig. 42, St. Catherine



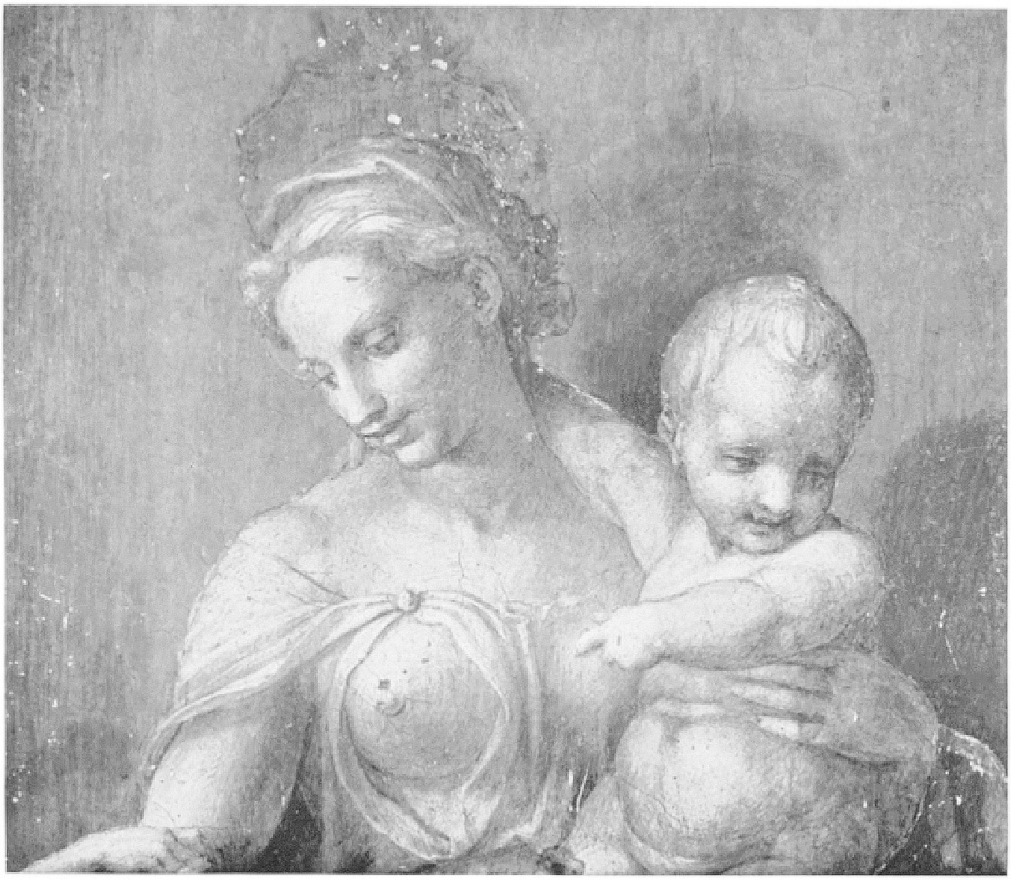
45. Grisaille Canvas. Florence, Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni no. 91464



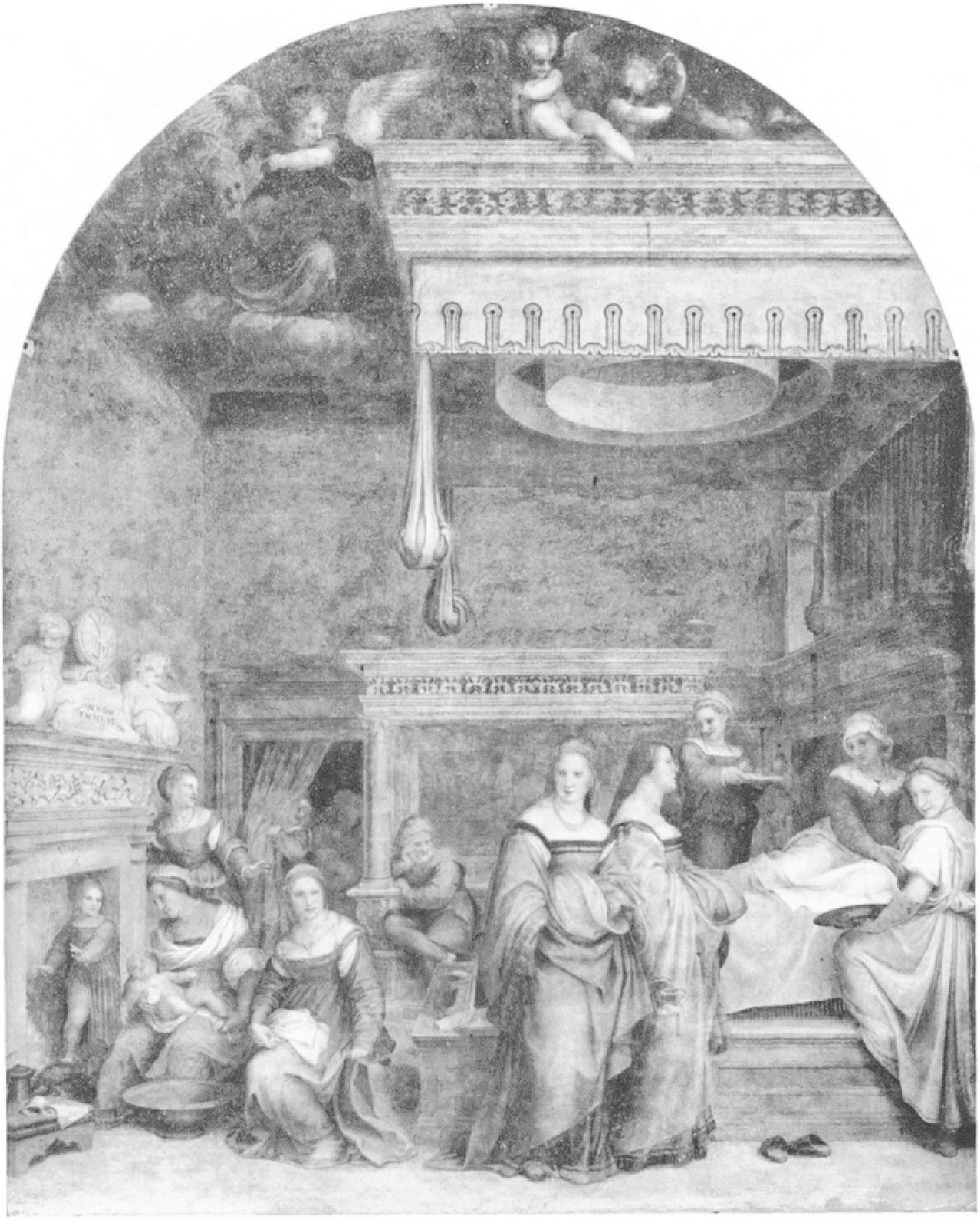
46. Grisaille Canvas. Florence, Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni, no. 91461



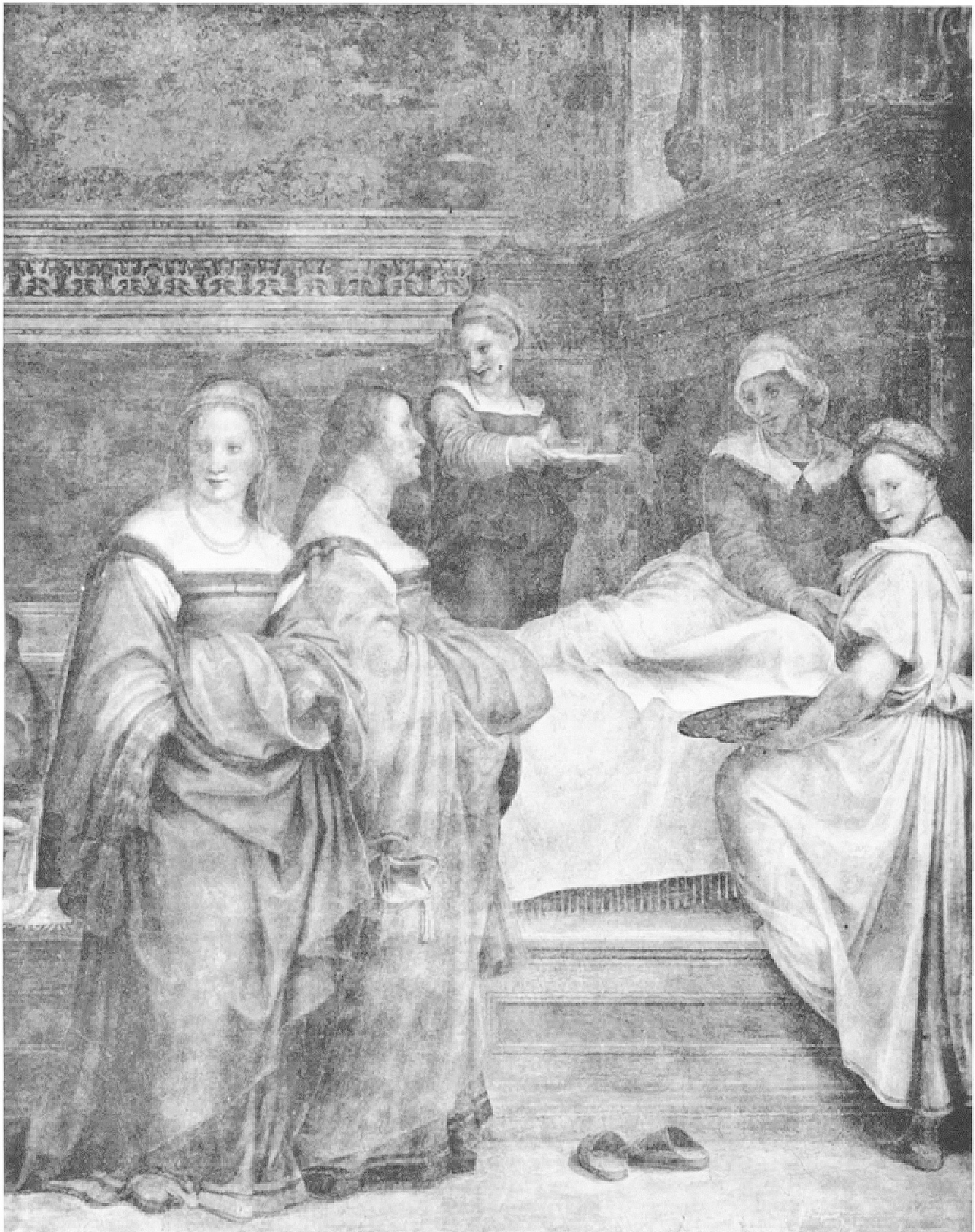
47. Grisaille Canvas. Florence, Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni no. 91462



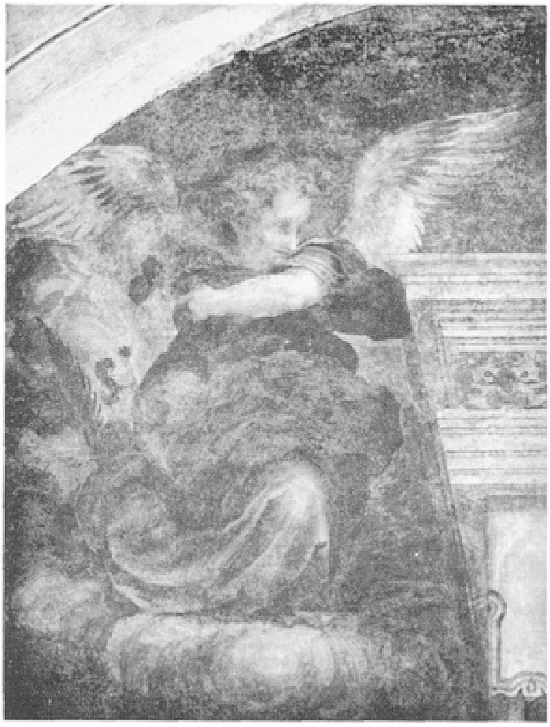
48. Detail of fig. 55, head of Charity. Florence, Chiostro dello Scalzo



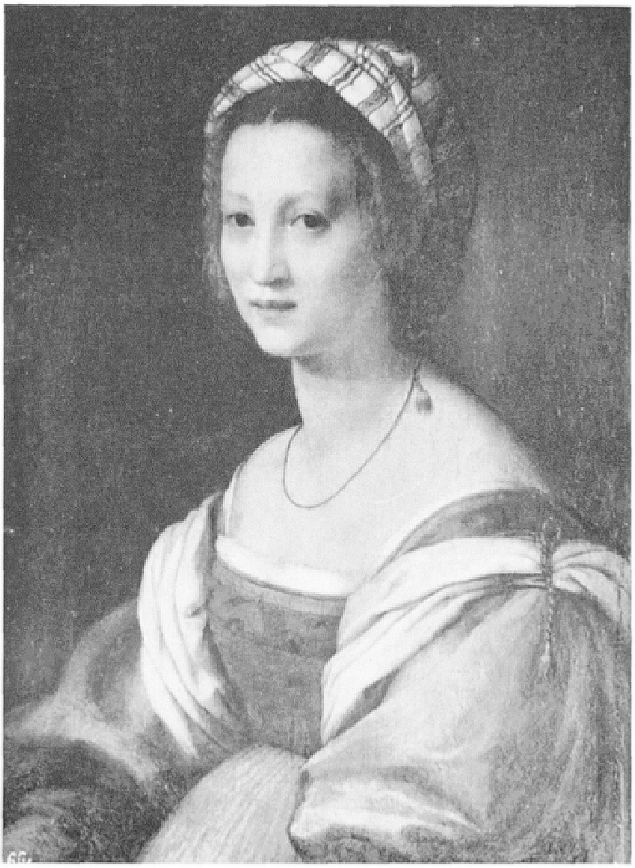
49. BIRTH OF THE VIRGIN. Florence, SS. Annunziata



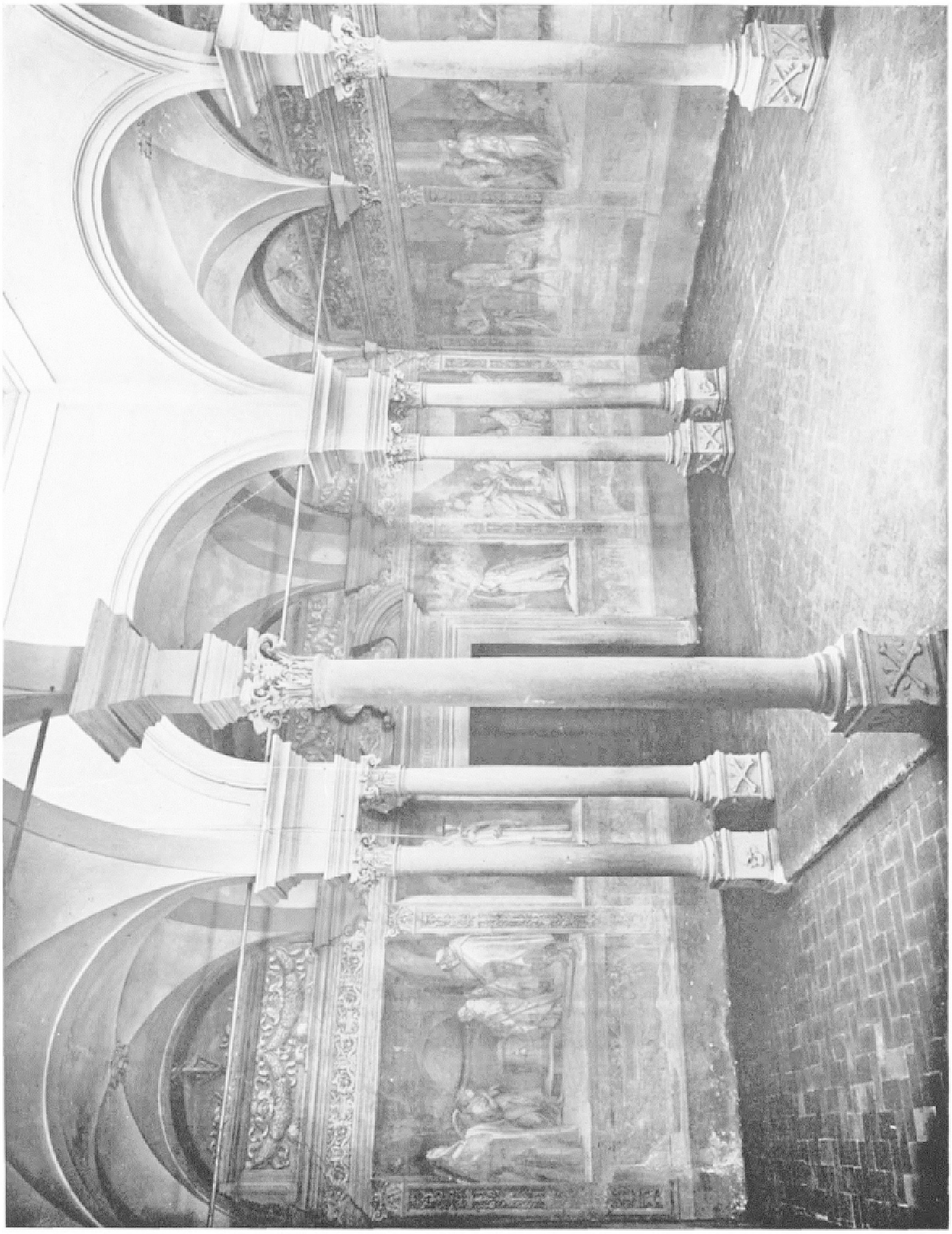
50. Detail of fig. 49



51. Detail of fig. 49, angel

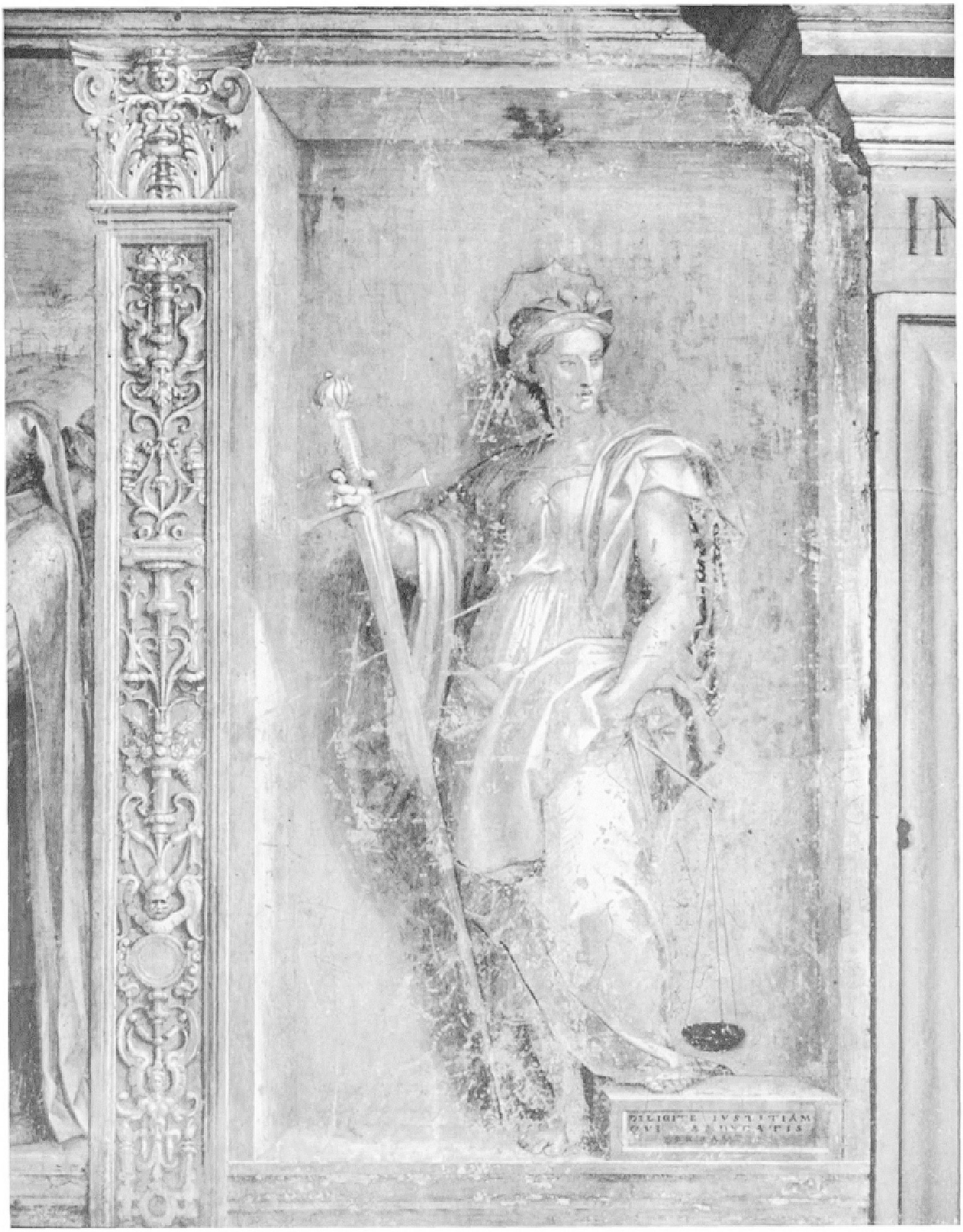


52. PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG WOMAN
(Lucrezia del Fede). Madrid, Prado no. 332



53. Chiostro dello Scalzo, Florence, view toward the entrance

Freedberg, S. J. *Andrea Del Sarto: Text and Illustrations, Vol. 1.*
E-book, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb30523.0001.001.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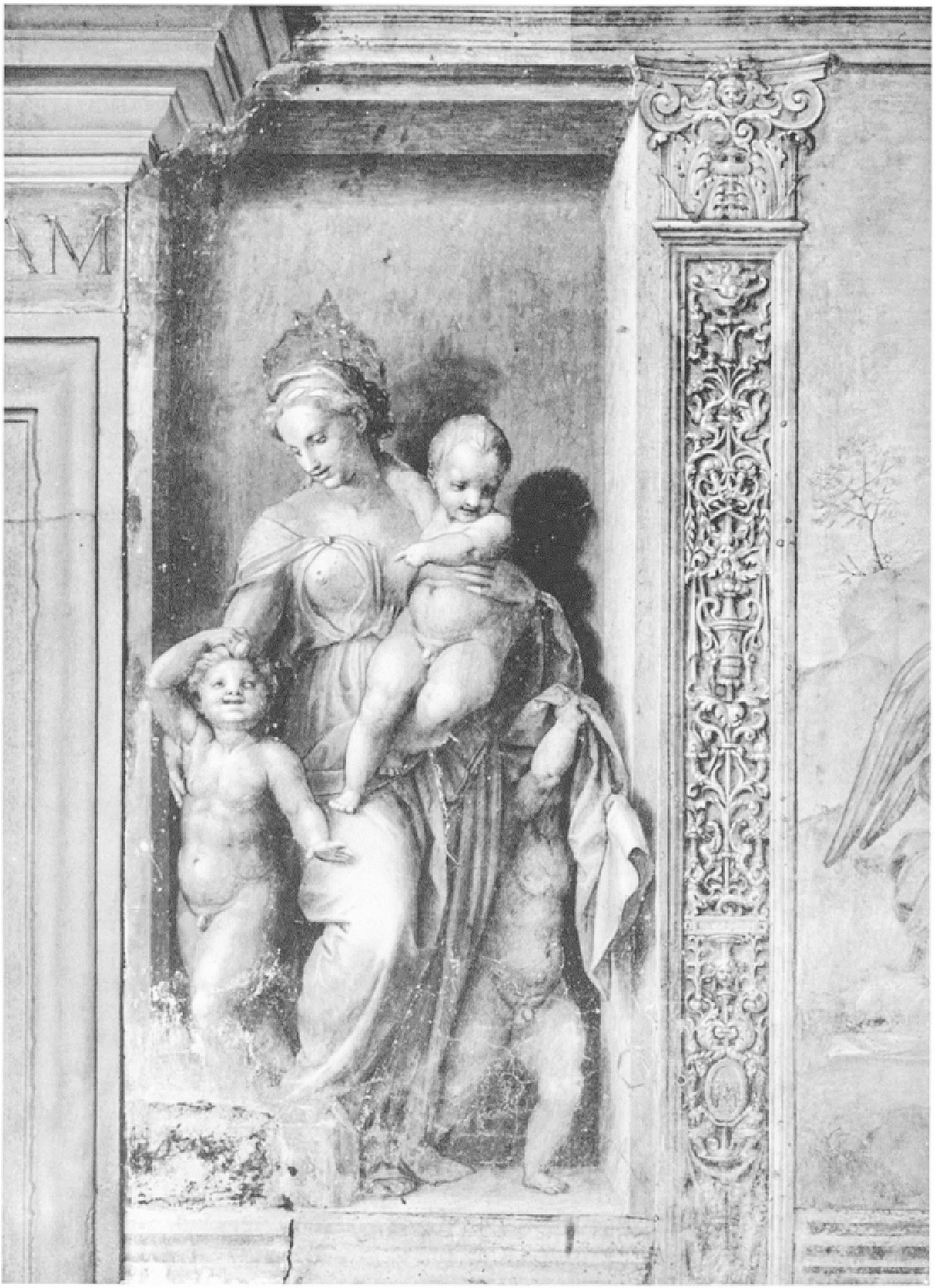
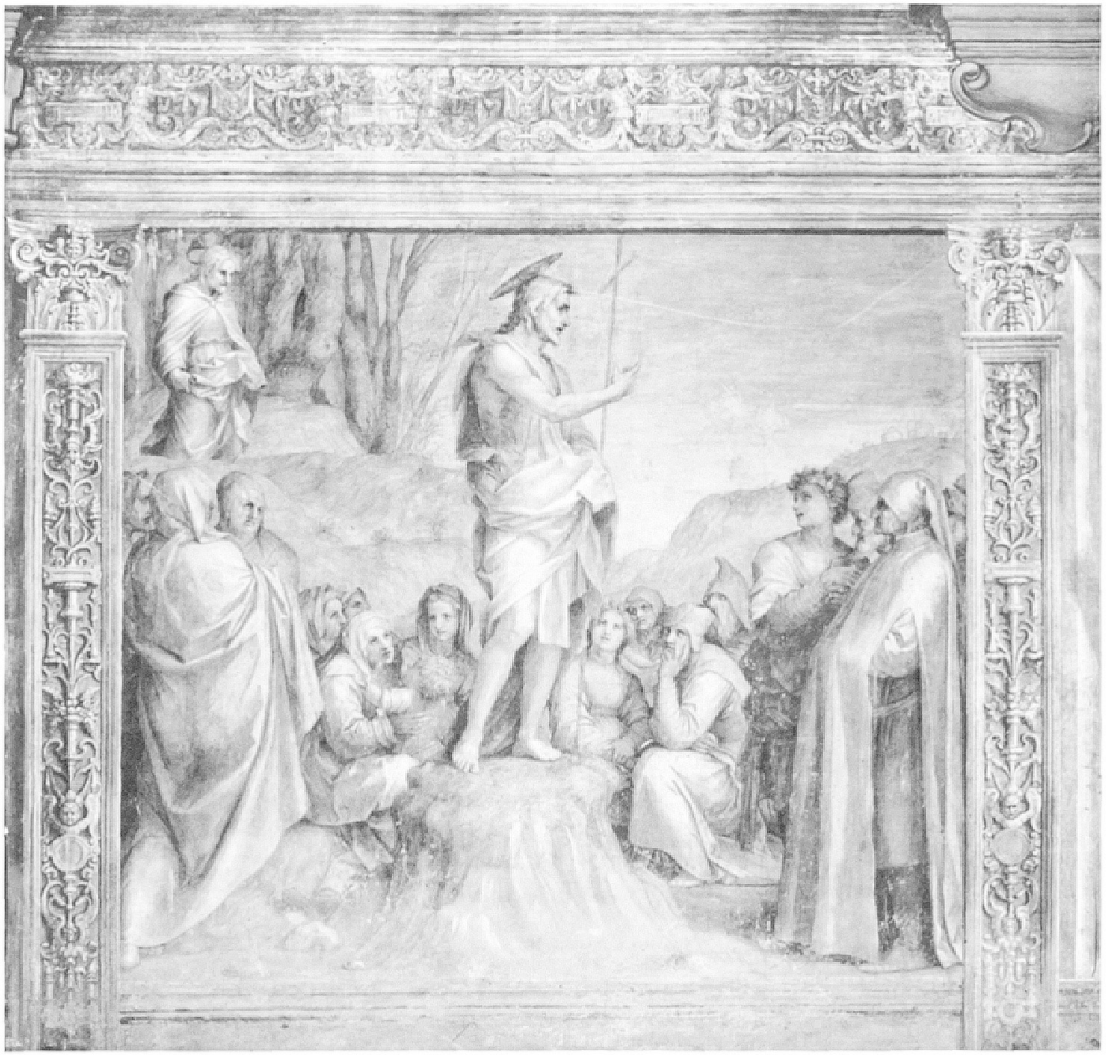
54. JUSTICE. Florence, Chiostro dello Scalzo

Freedberg, S. J. *Andrea Del Sarto: Text and Illustrations, Vol. 1.*
E-book, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb30523.0001.001.

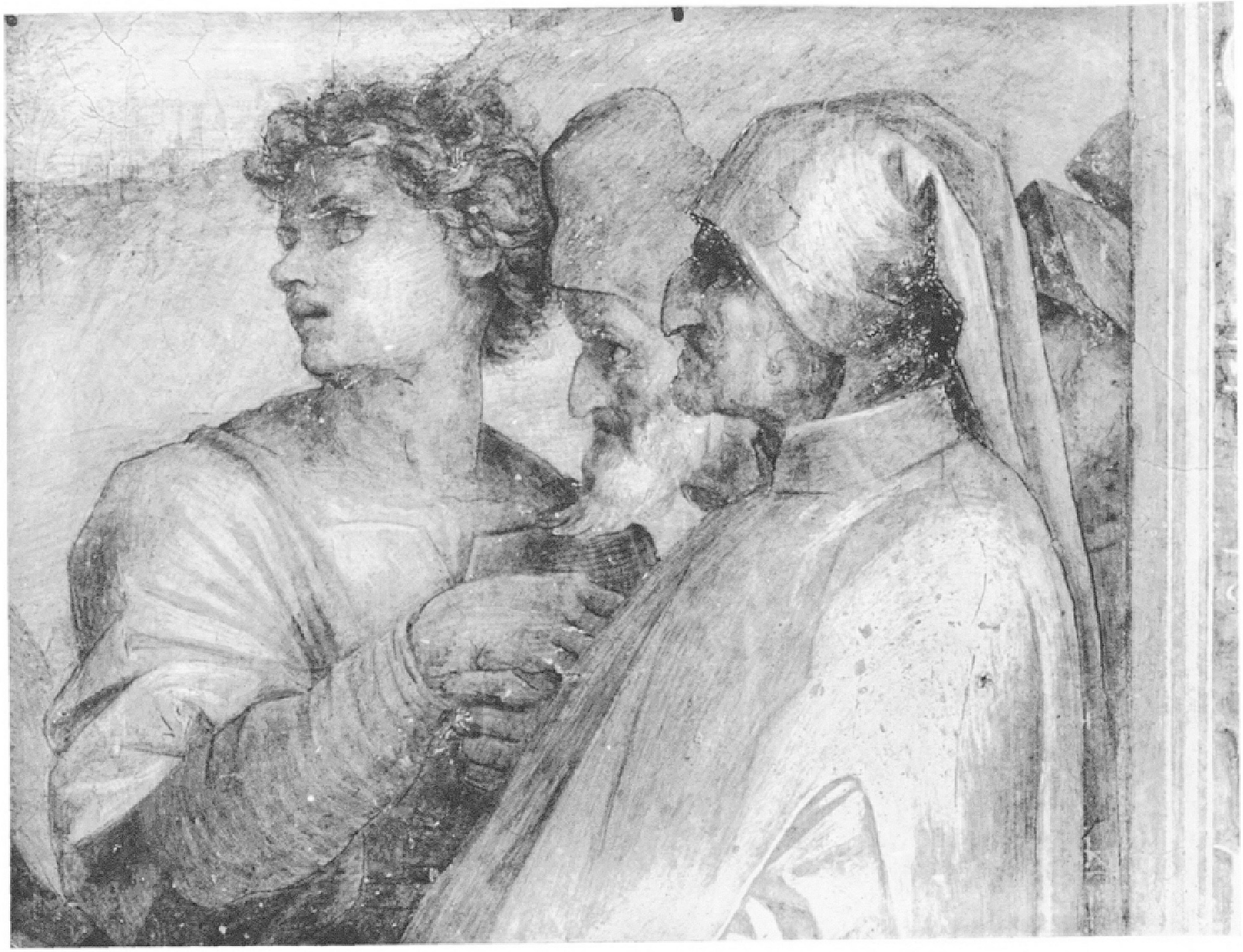


55. CHARITY. Florence, Chiostro dello Scalzo

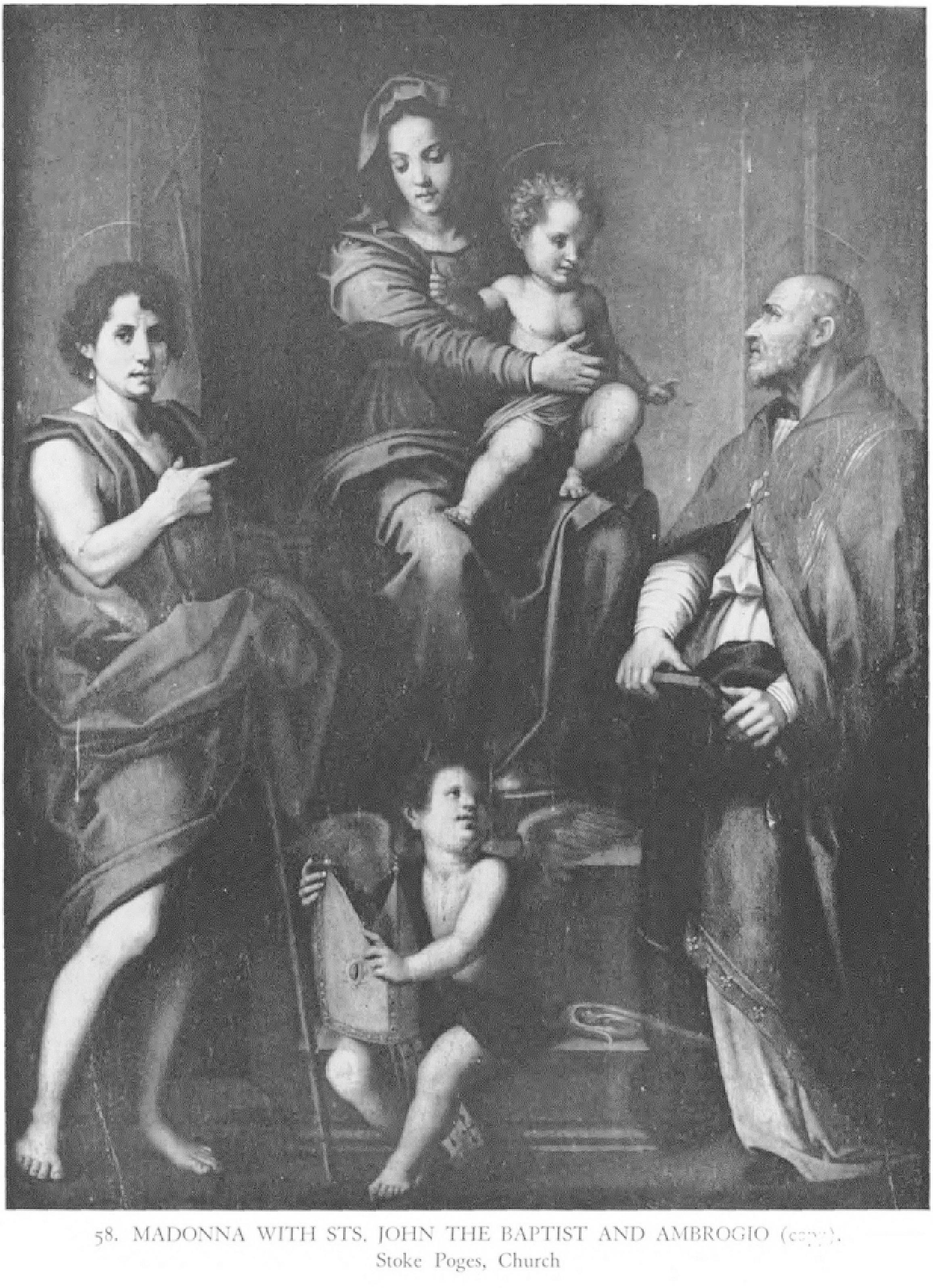


56. PREACHING OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST. Florence, Chiostro dello Scalzo

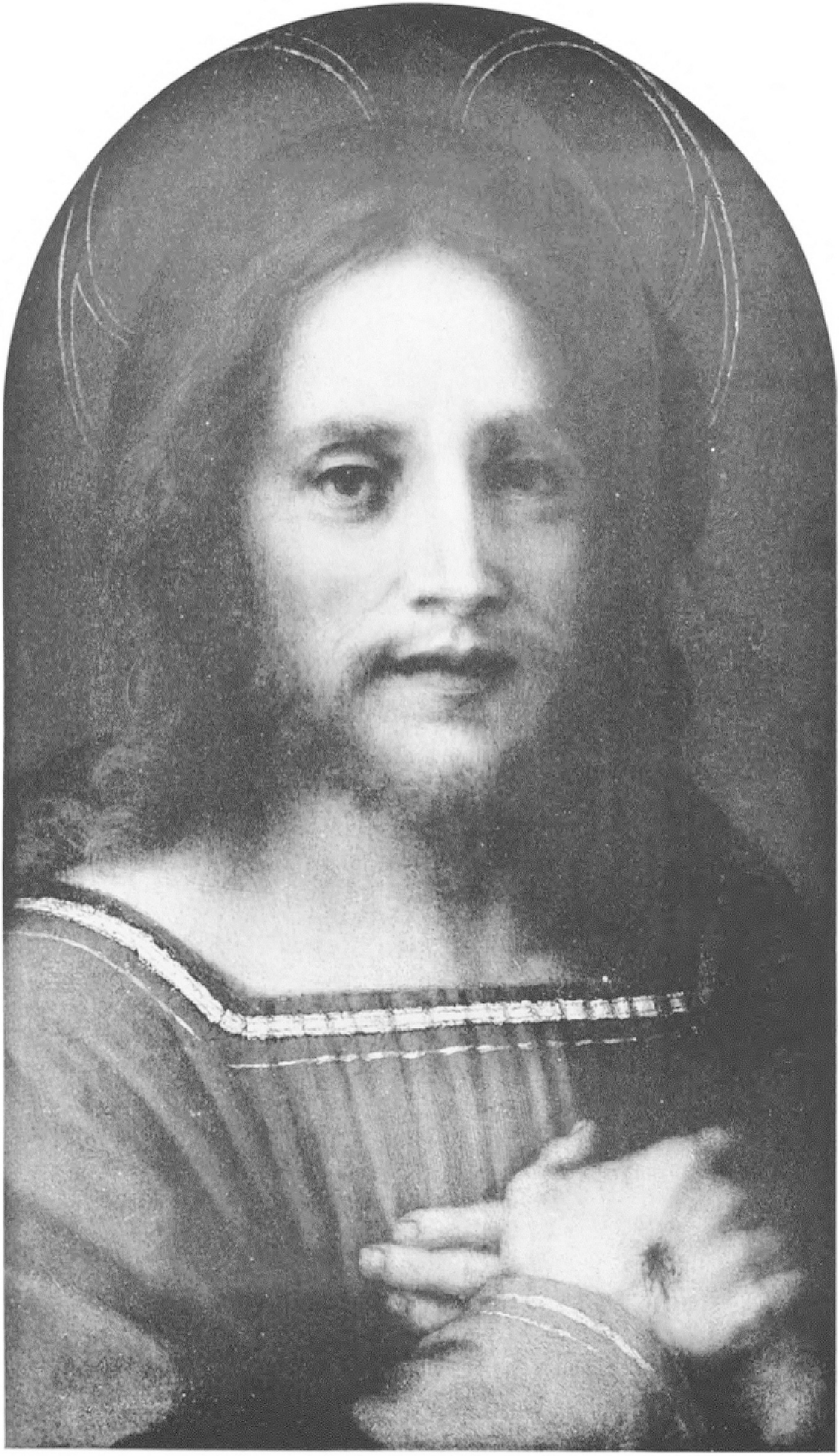
Freedberg, S. J. *Andrea Del Sarto: Text and Illustrations, Vol. 1.*
E-book, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb30523.0001.001.



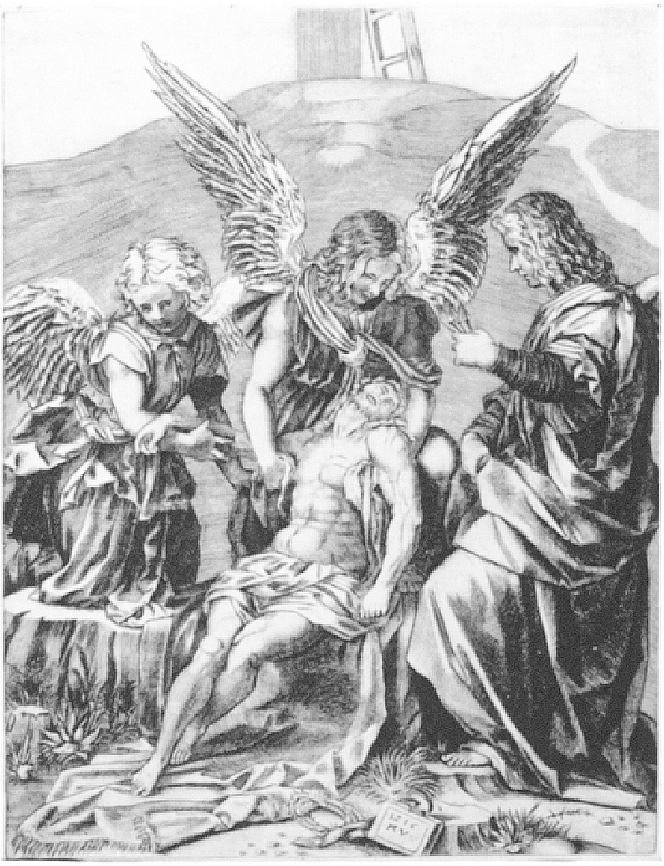
57. Detail of fig. 56



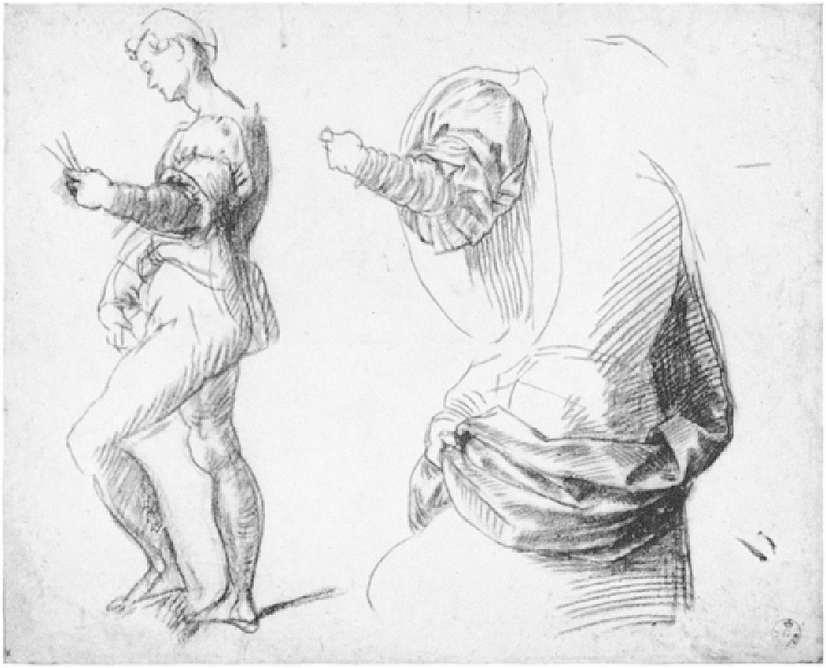
58. MADONNA WITH STS. JOHN THE BAPTIST AND AMBROGIO (copy).
Stoke Poges, Church



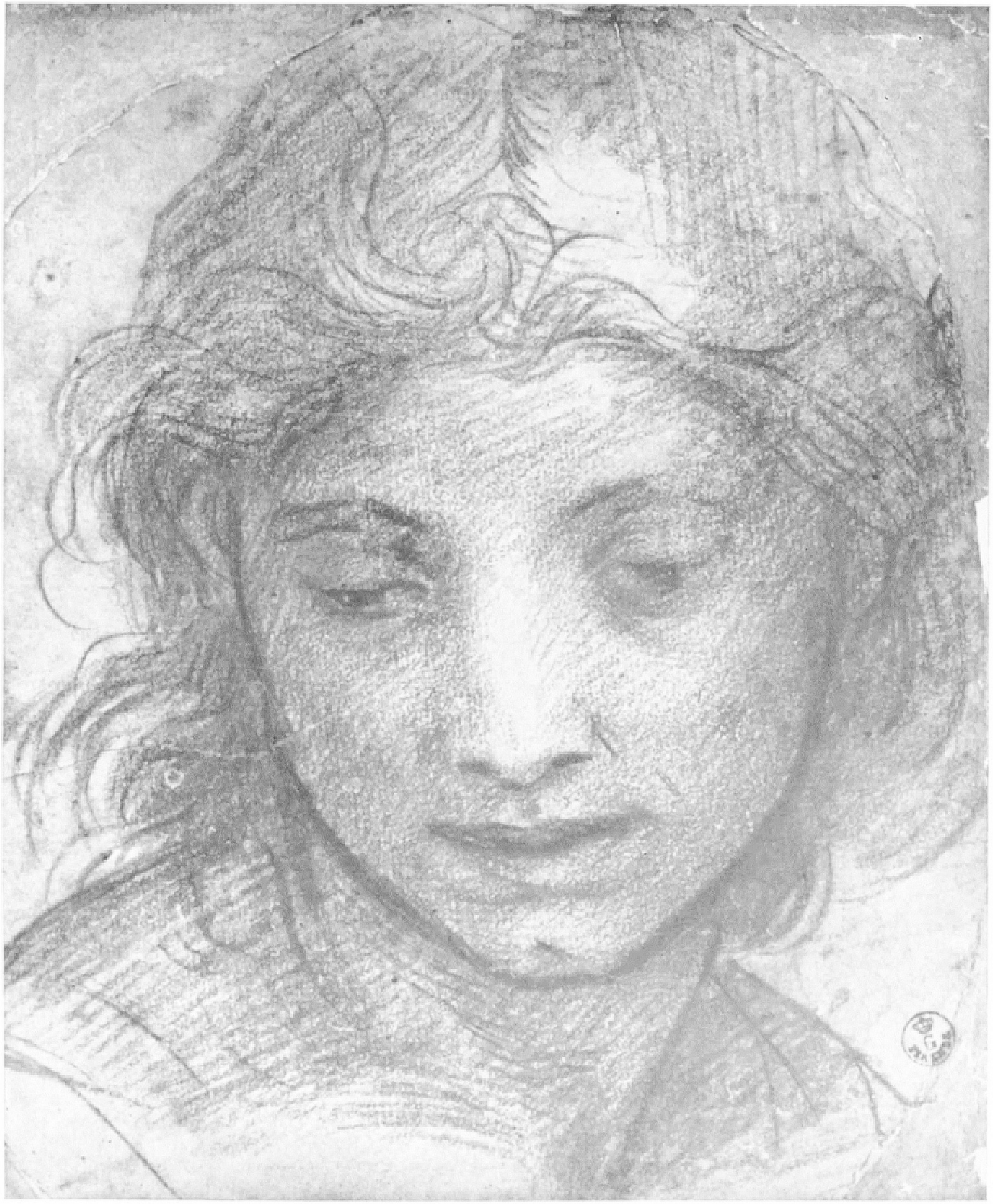
59. CHRIST REDEEMER. Florence, SS. Annunziata



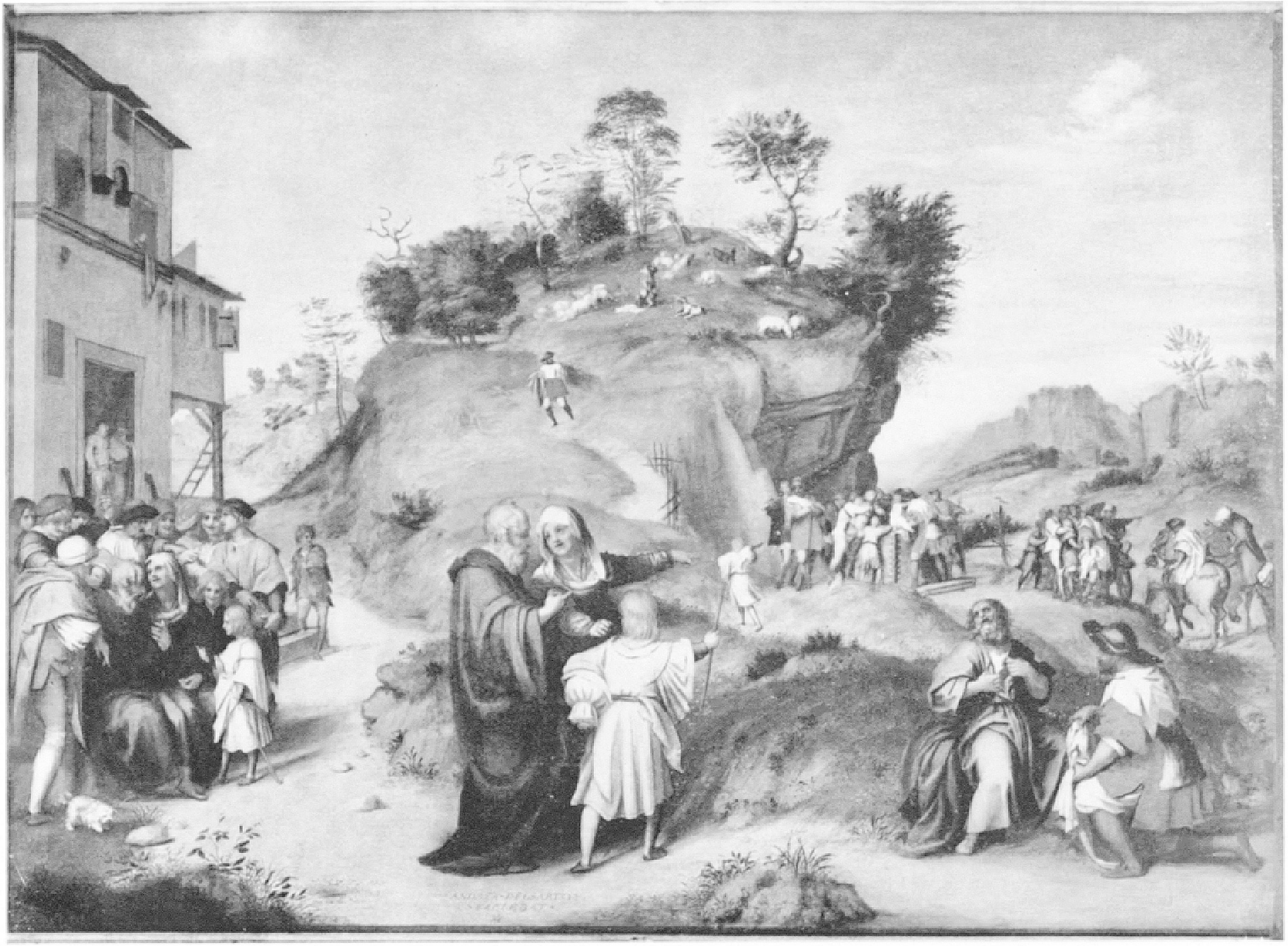
60. PIETÀ, engraving by A. Veneziano after Andrea del Sarto. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art



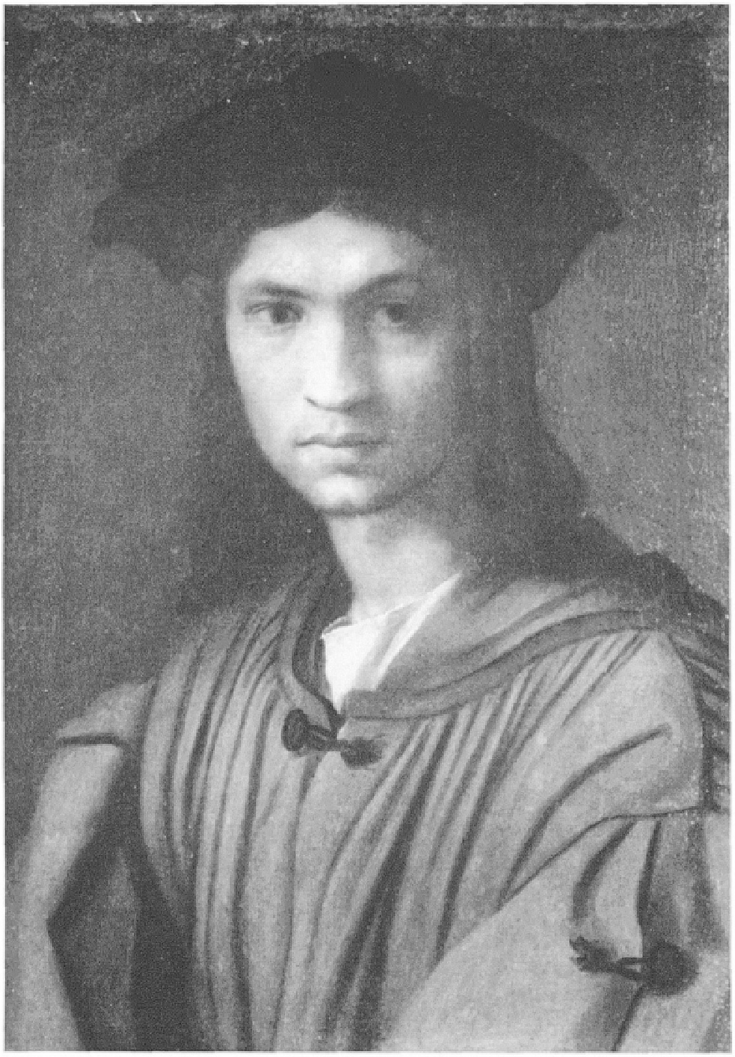
61. Study for a lost *Pietà*. Florence, Uffizi no. 307F



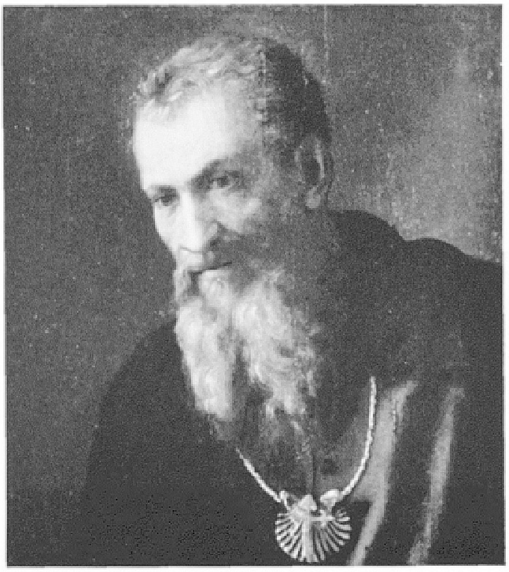
62. Study for a lost *Pietà*. Florence, Uffizi no. 639Er



63. STORY OF JOSEPH [1]. Florence, Pitti no. 87

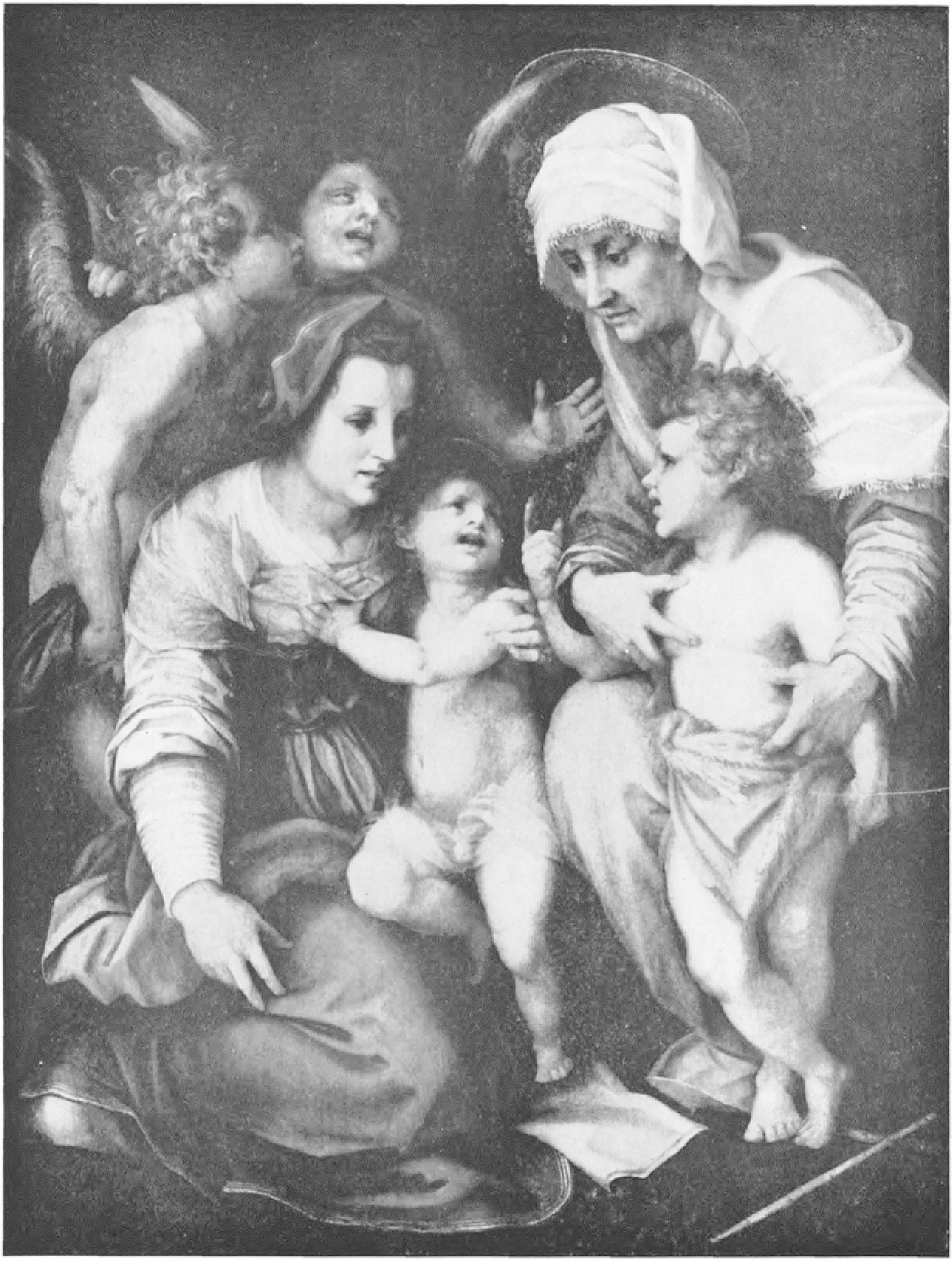


64. PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG MAN.
Florence, Uffizi, Galleria degli Autoritratti no. 1486

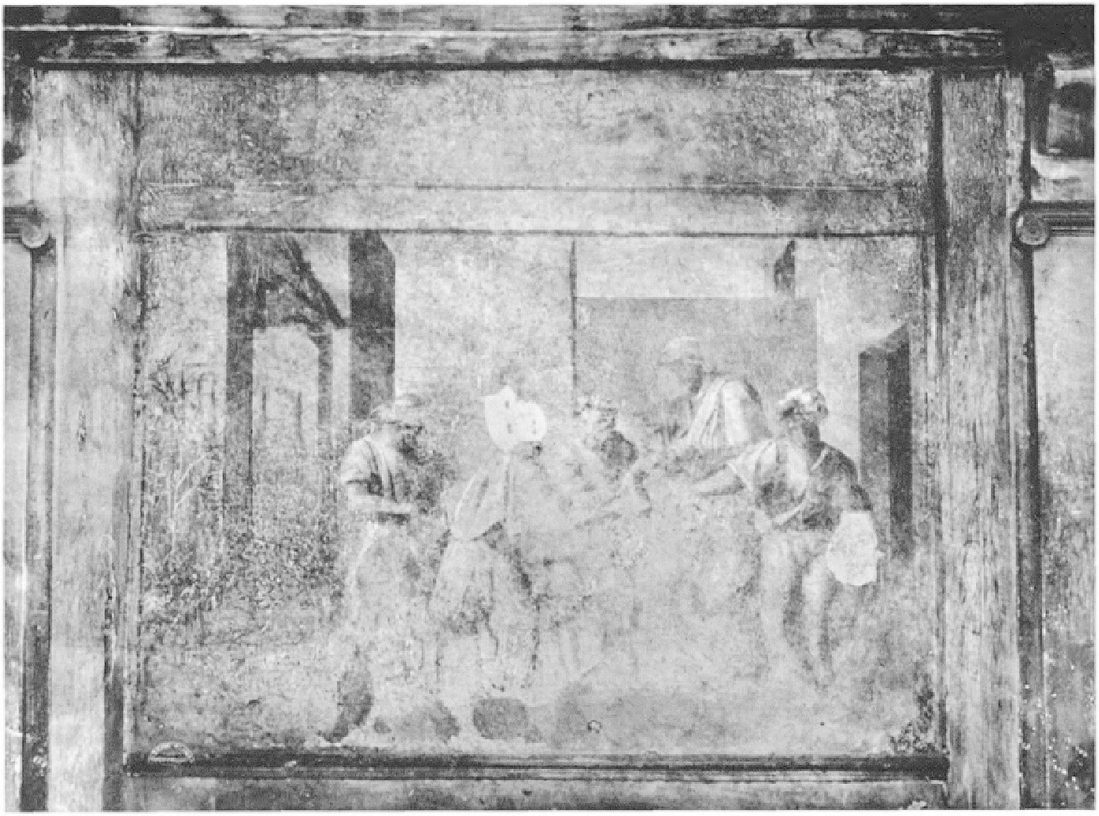


65. BACCIO BANDINELLI, SELF-PORTRAIT, detail. Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum

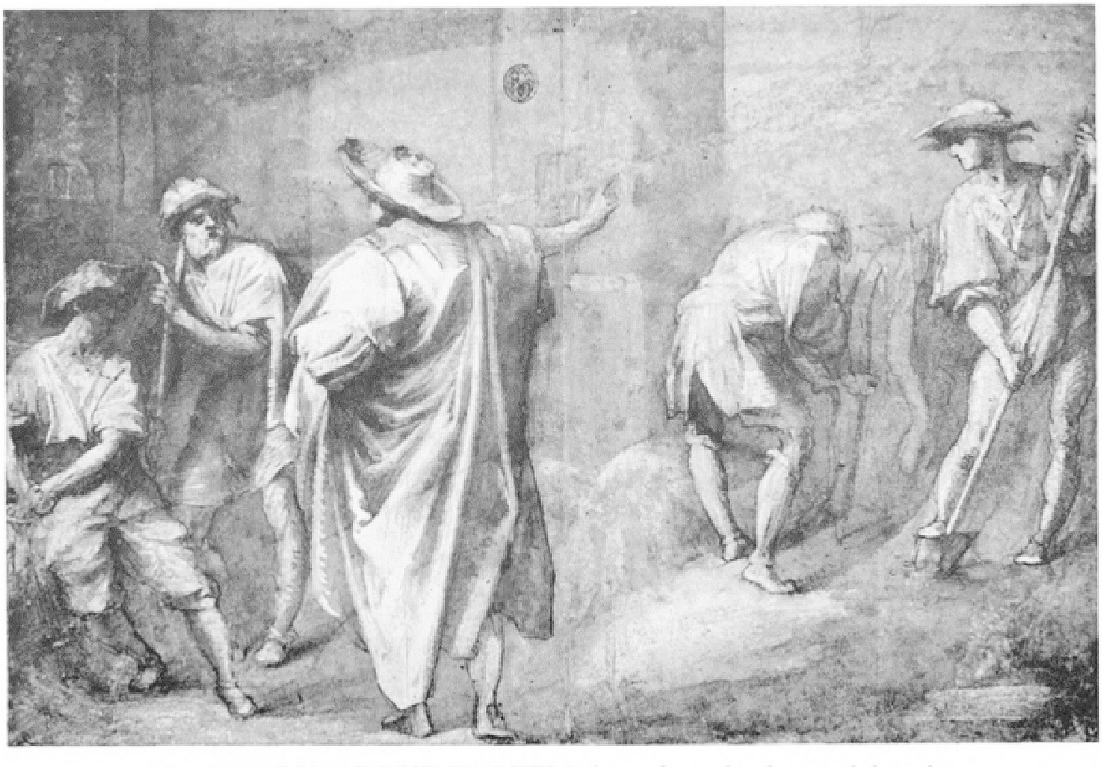
Freedberg, S. J. *Andrea Del Sarto: Text and Illustrations, Vol. 1.*
E-book, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb30523.0001.001.



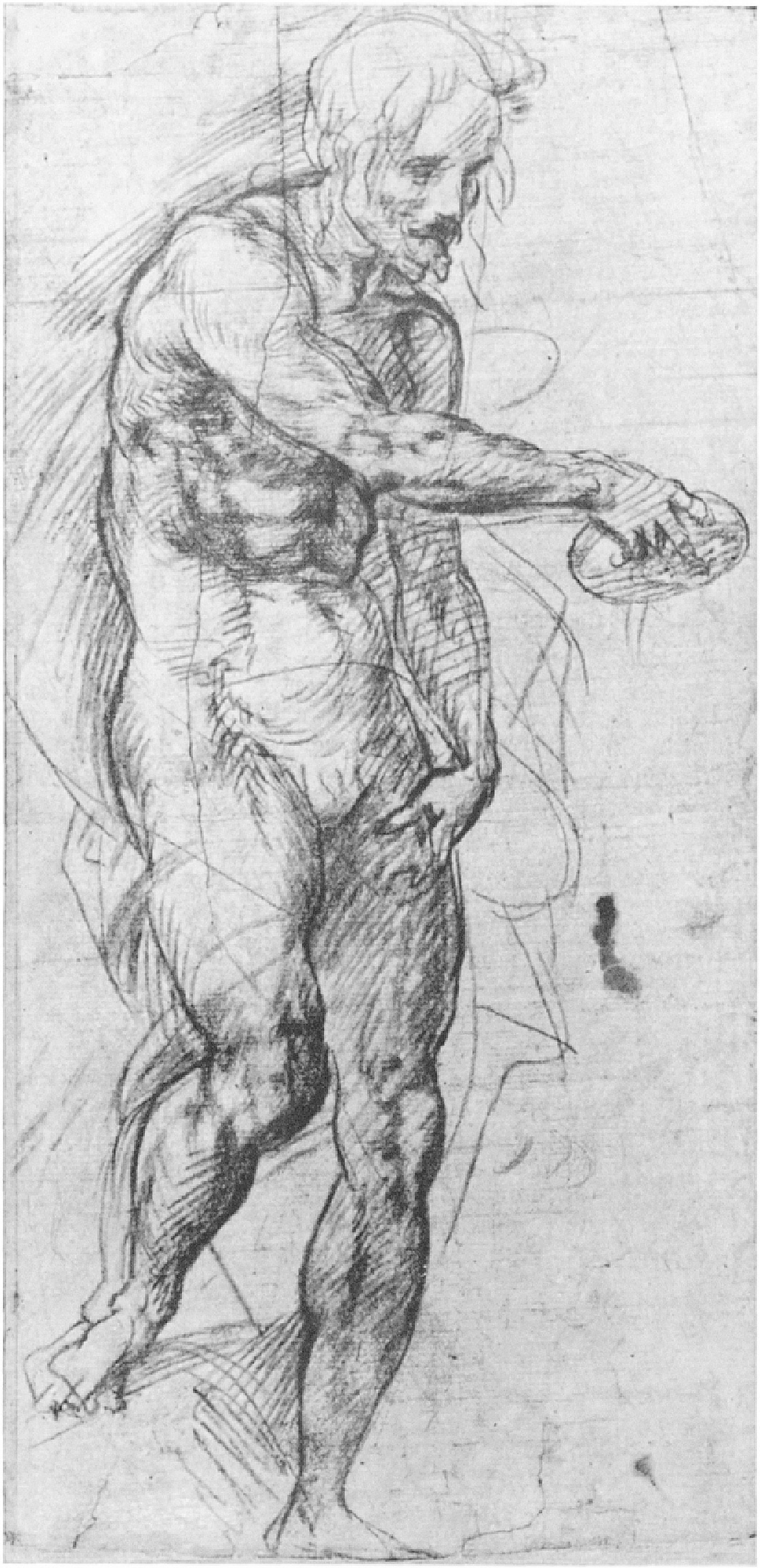
66. MADONNA AND CHILD, ELIZABETH WITH THE INFANT BAPTIST, TWO ANGELS (*Holy Family*). Paris, Louvre no. 1515



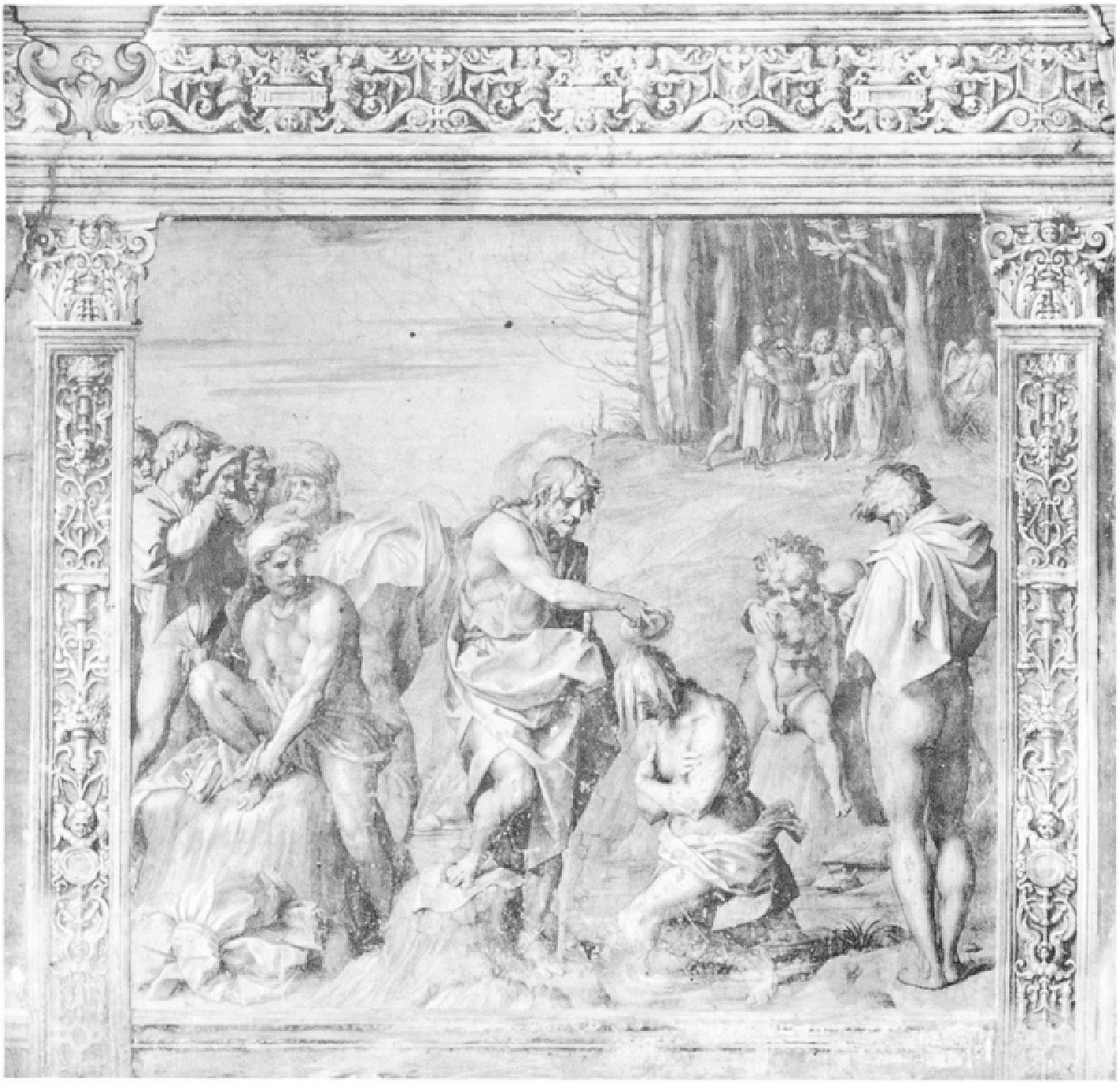
67. PAYMENT OF THE WORKERS (now destroyed). Formerly Florence, SS. Annunziata



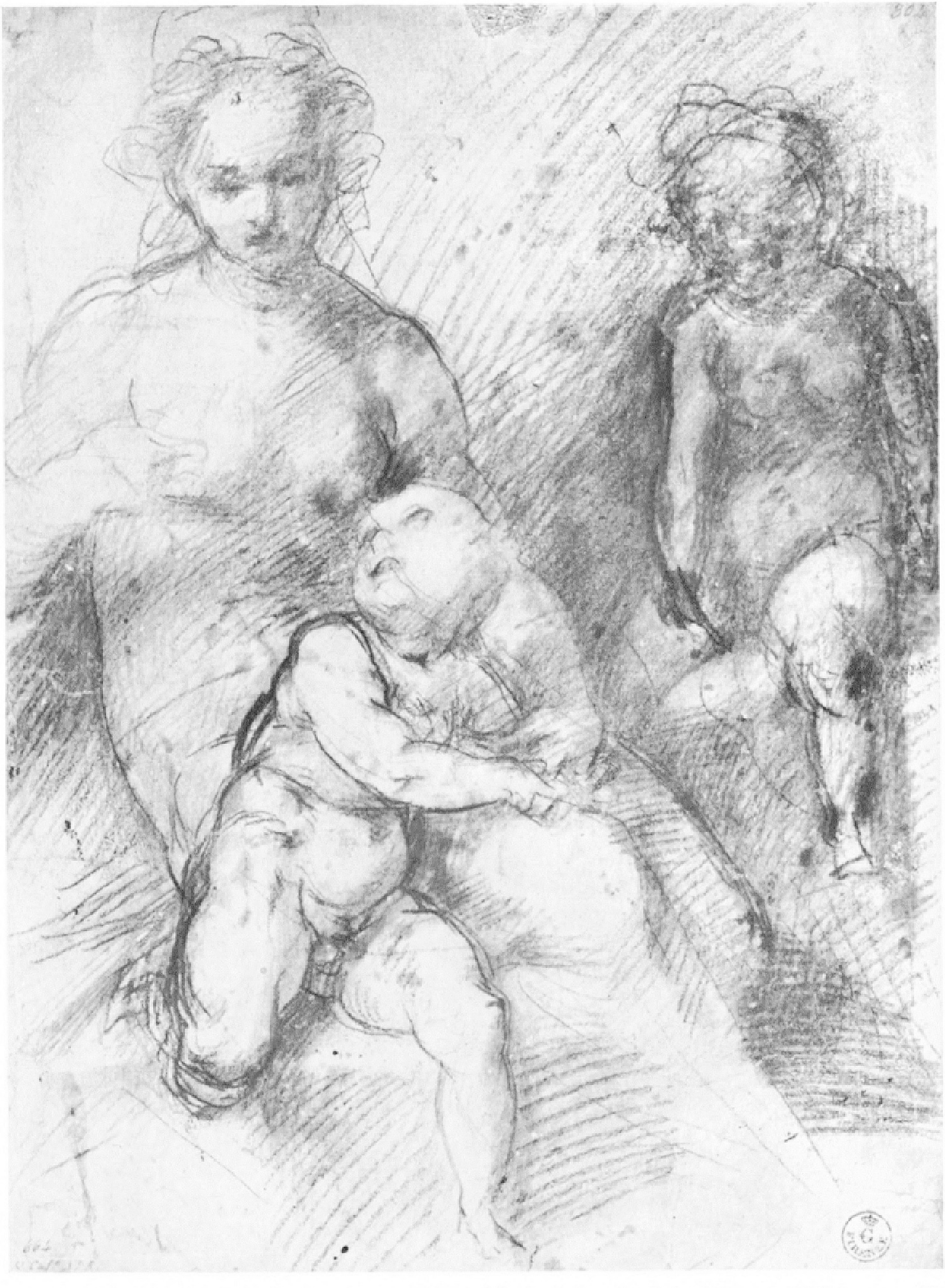
68. CALLING OF THE WORKERS (copy from the destroyed fresco).
London, British Museum no. 1895–9–15–540



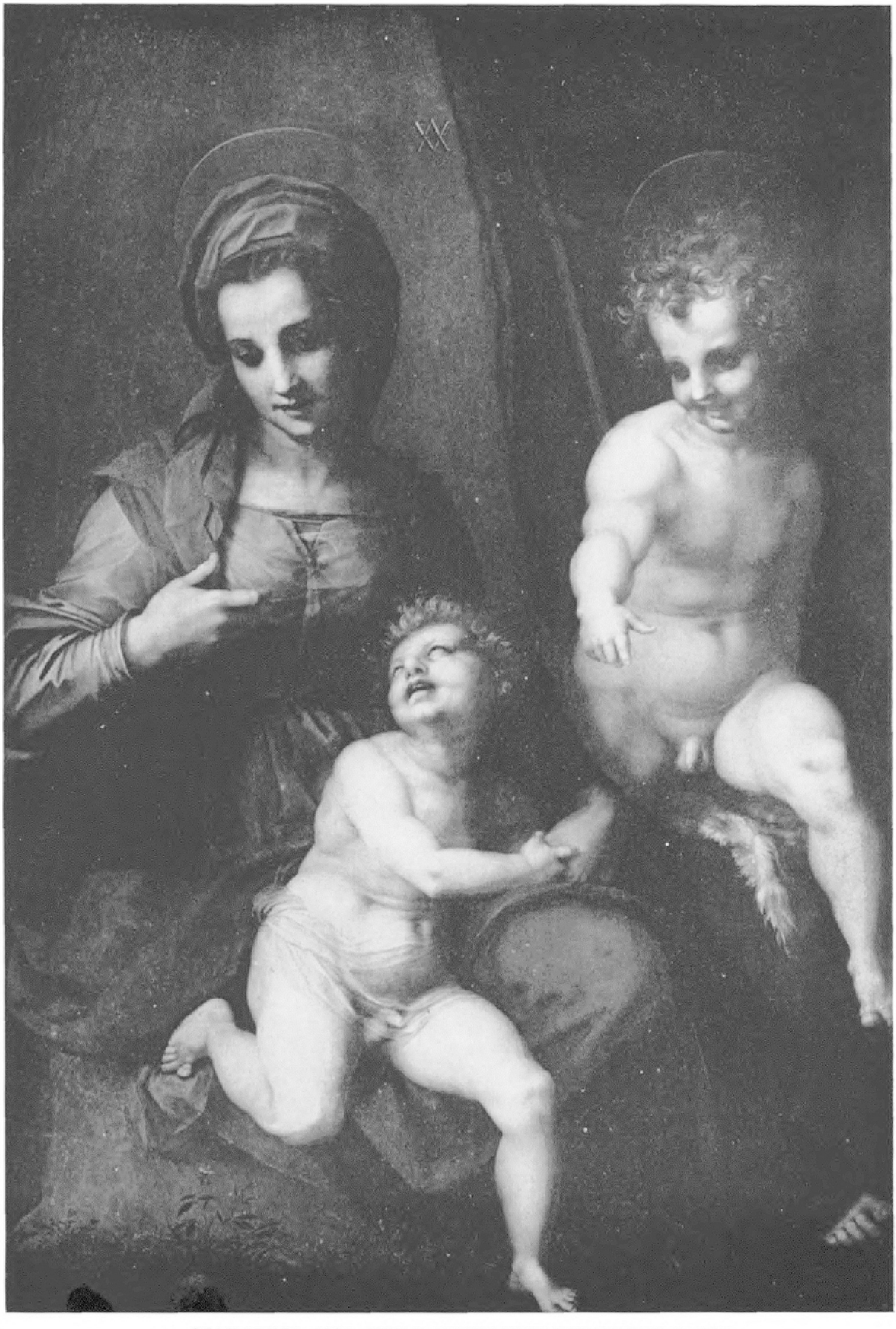
69. Study for the *Baptism of the Multitude*. Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria



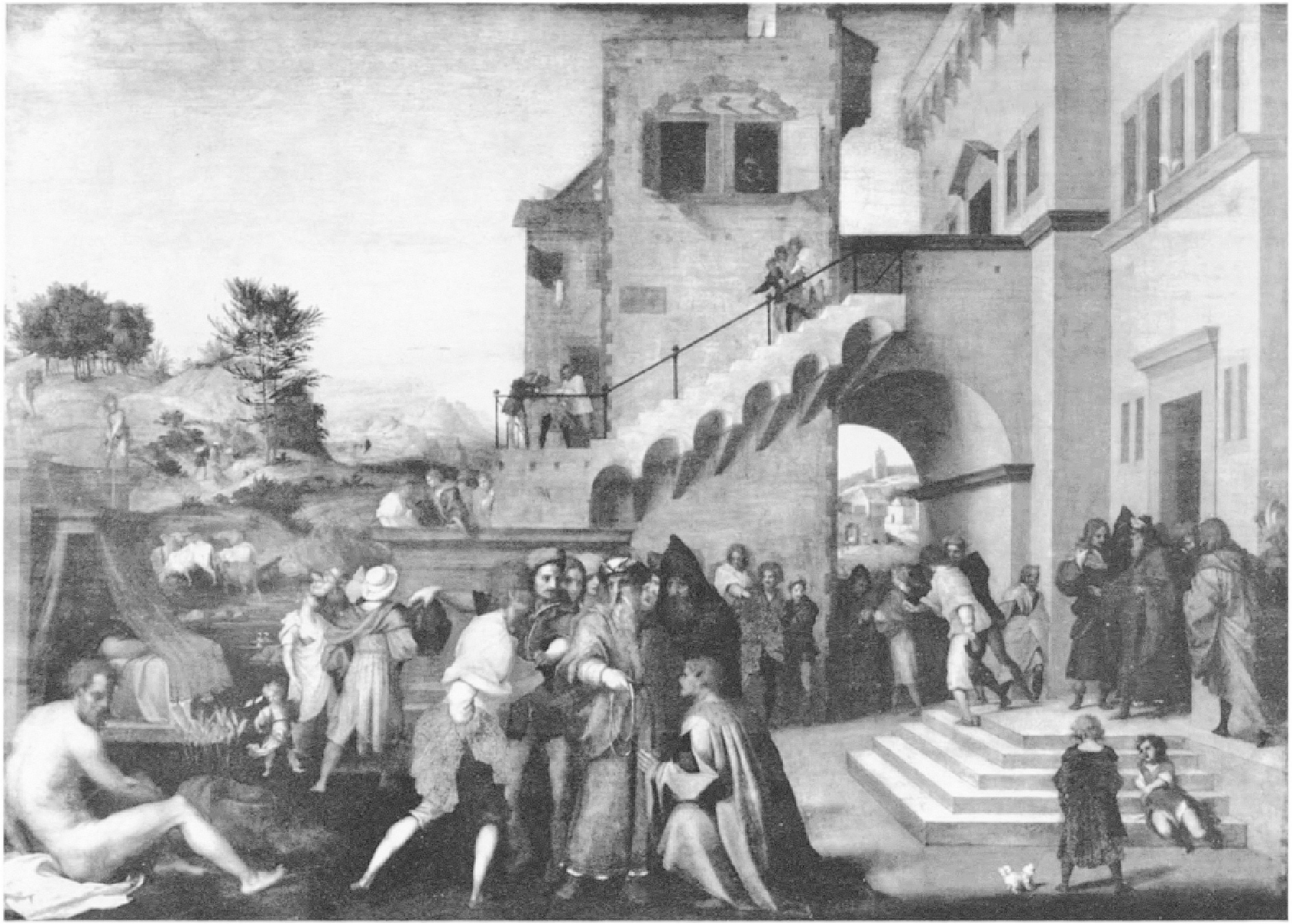
70. BAPTISM OF THE MULTITUDE. Florence, Chiostro dello Scalzo



71. Study for the Borghese *Madonna and Child with the Infant St. John*. Florence, Uffizi no. 304Fr

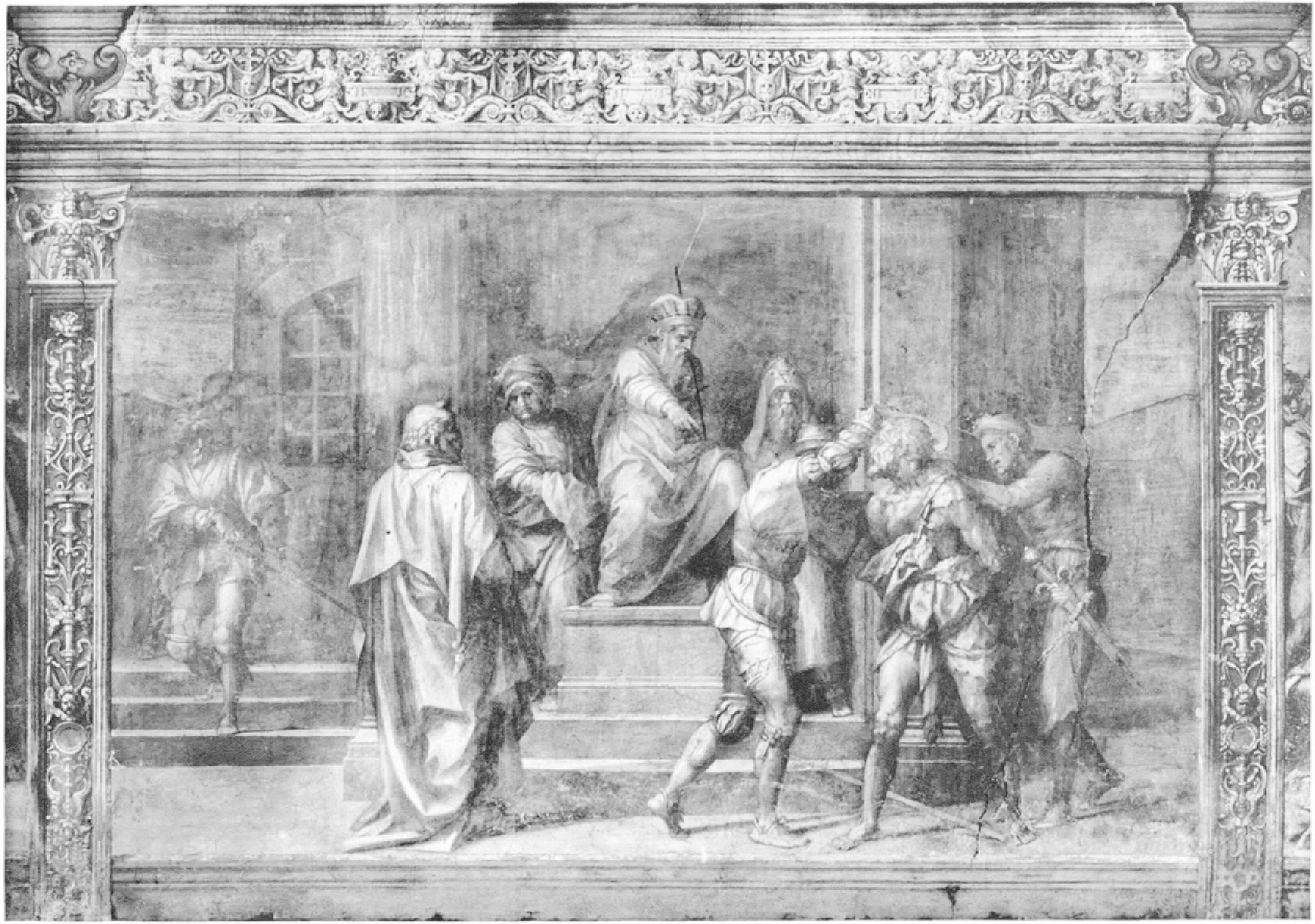


72. MADONNA AND CHILD WITH THE INFANT ST. JOHN.
Rome, Galleria Borghese inv. no. 334

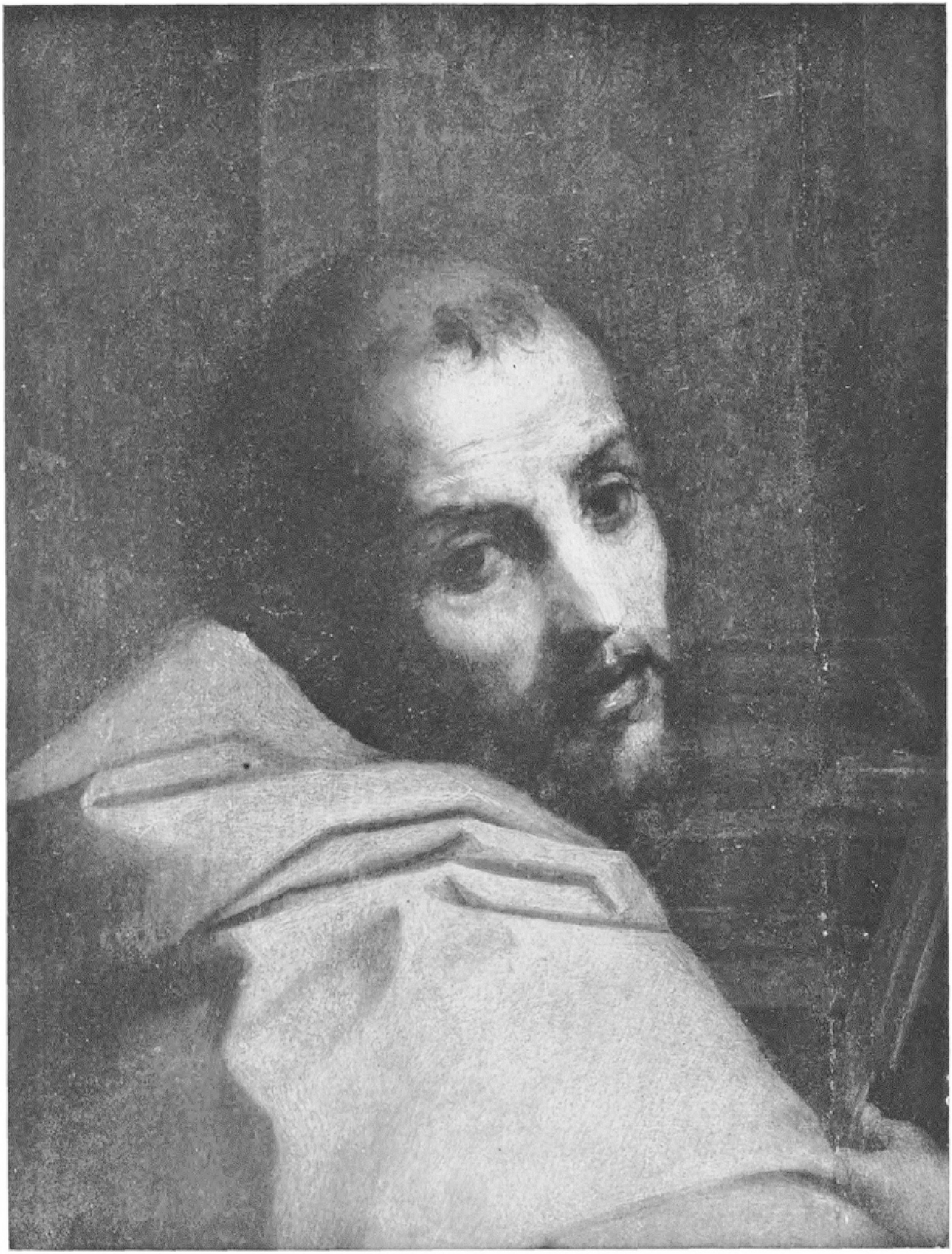


73. STORY OF JOSEPH [2]. Florence, Pitti no. 88

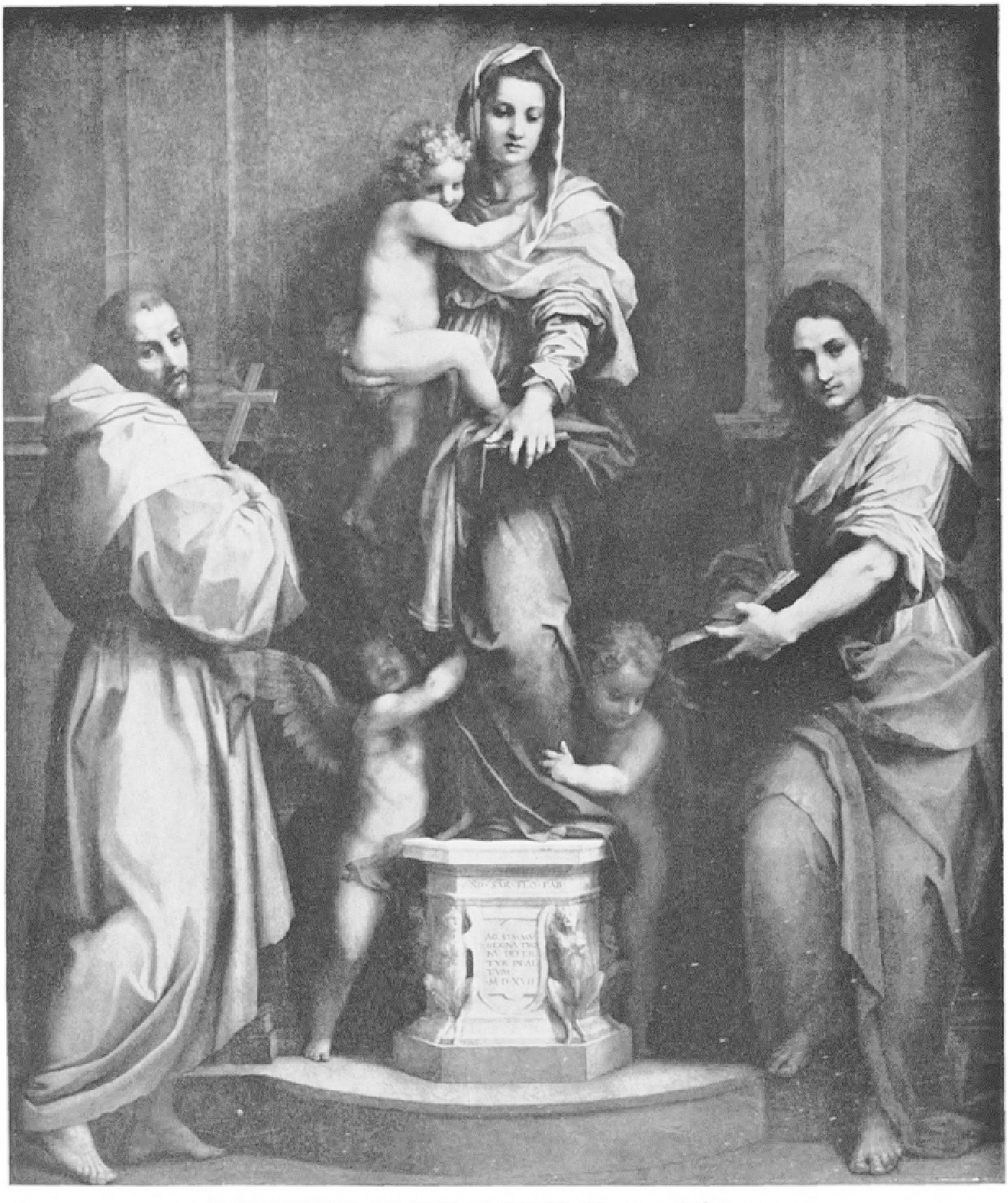
Freedberg, S. J. *Andrea Del Sarto: Text and Illustrations, Vol. 1.*
E-book, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb30523.0001.001.



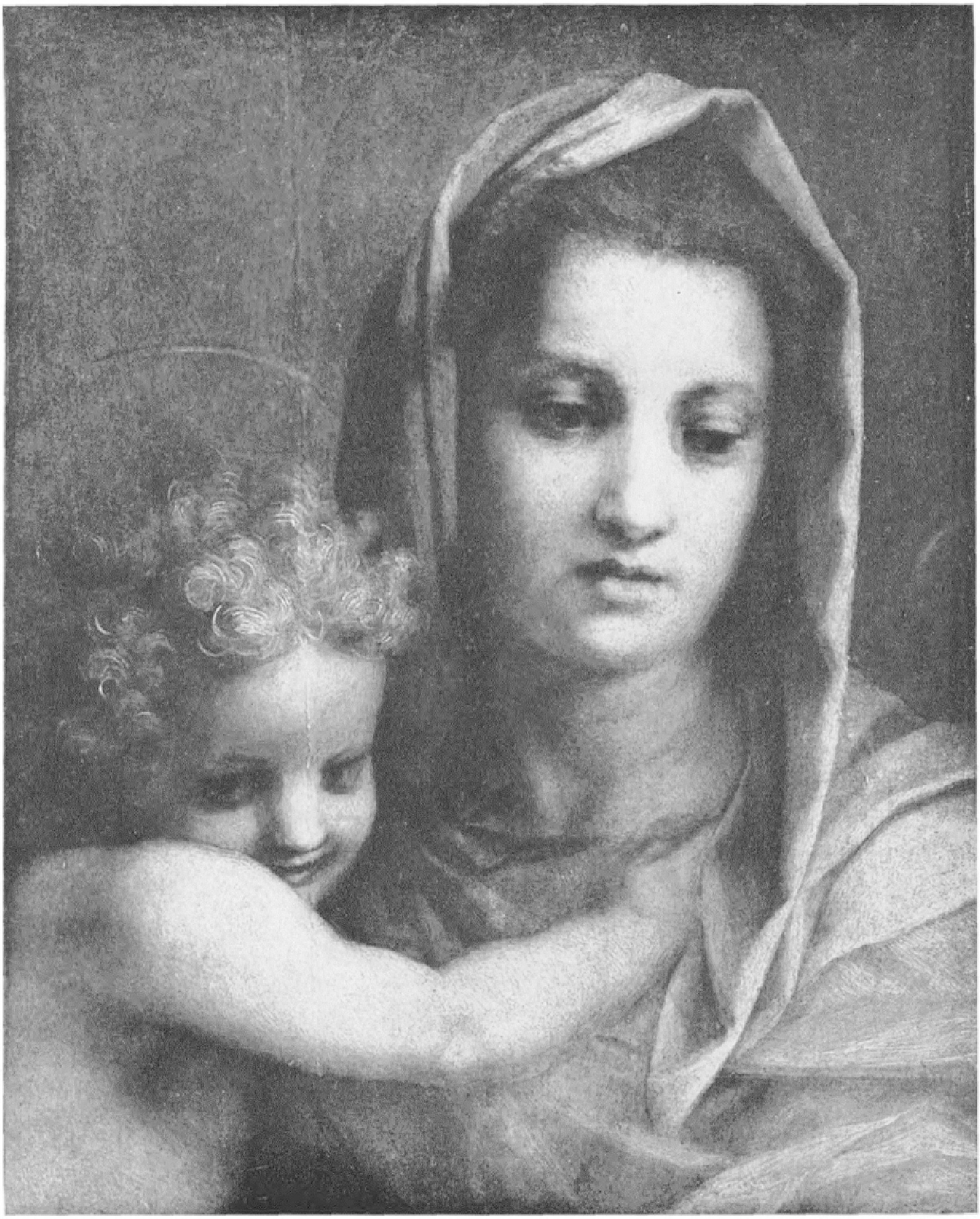
74. ARREST OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST. Florence, Chiostro dello Scalzo



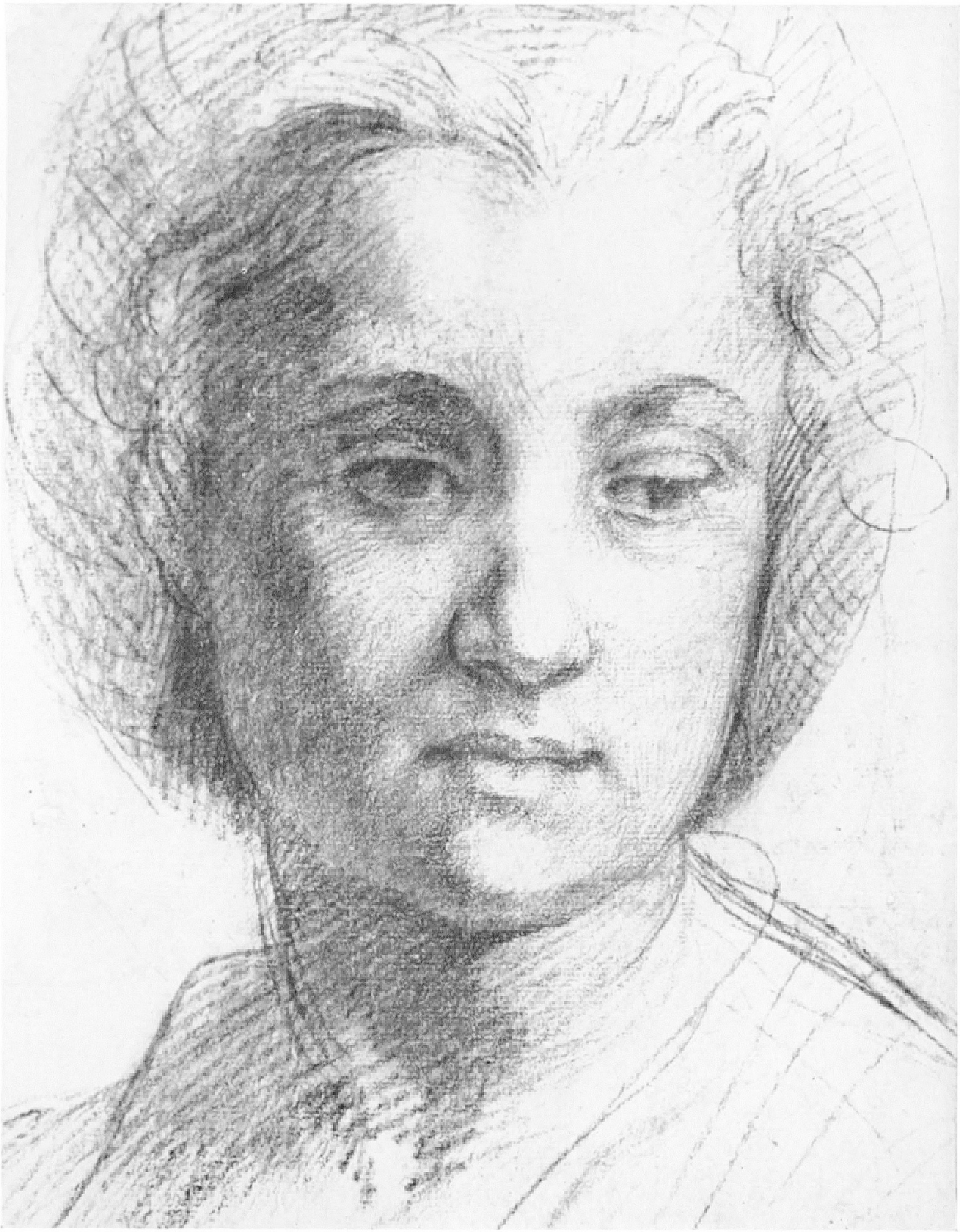
75. Detail of fig. 76, St. Francis



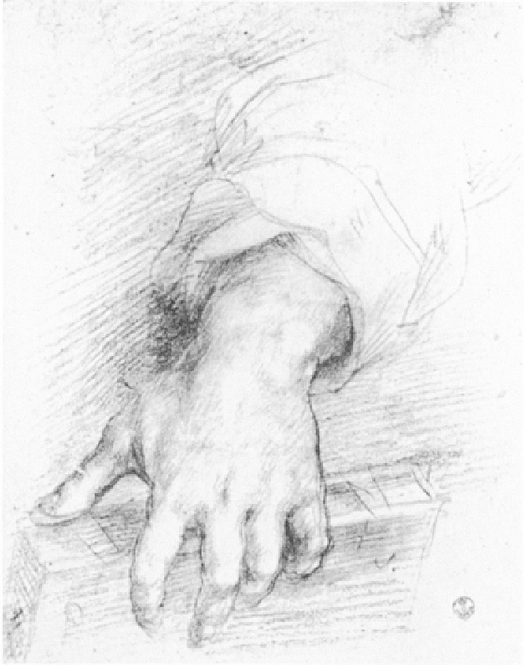
76. MADONNA OF THE HARPIES. Florence, Uffizi no. 1577



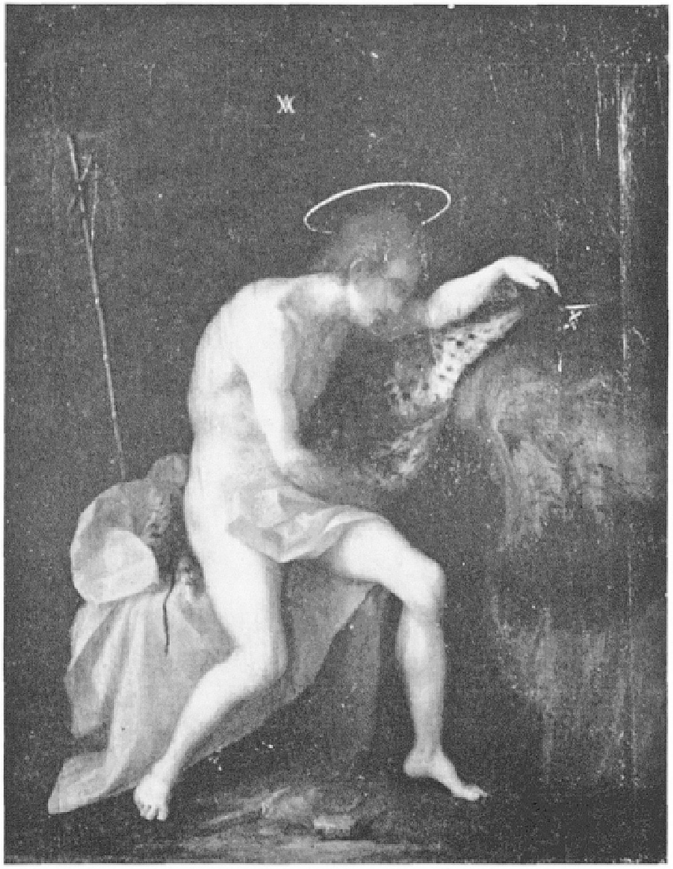
77. Detail of fig. 76, the Madonna



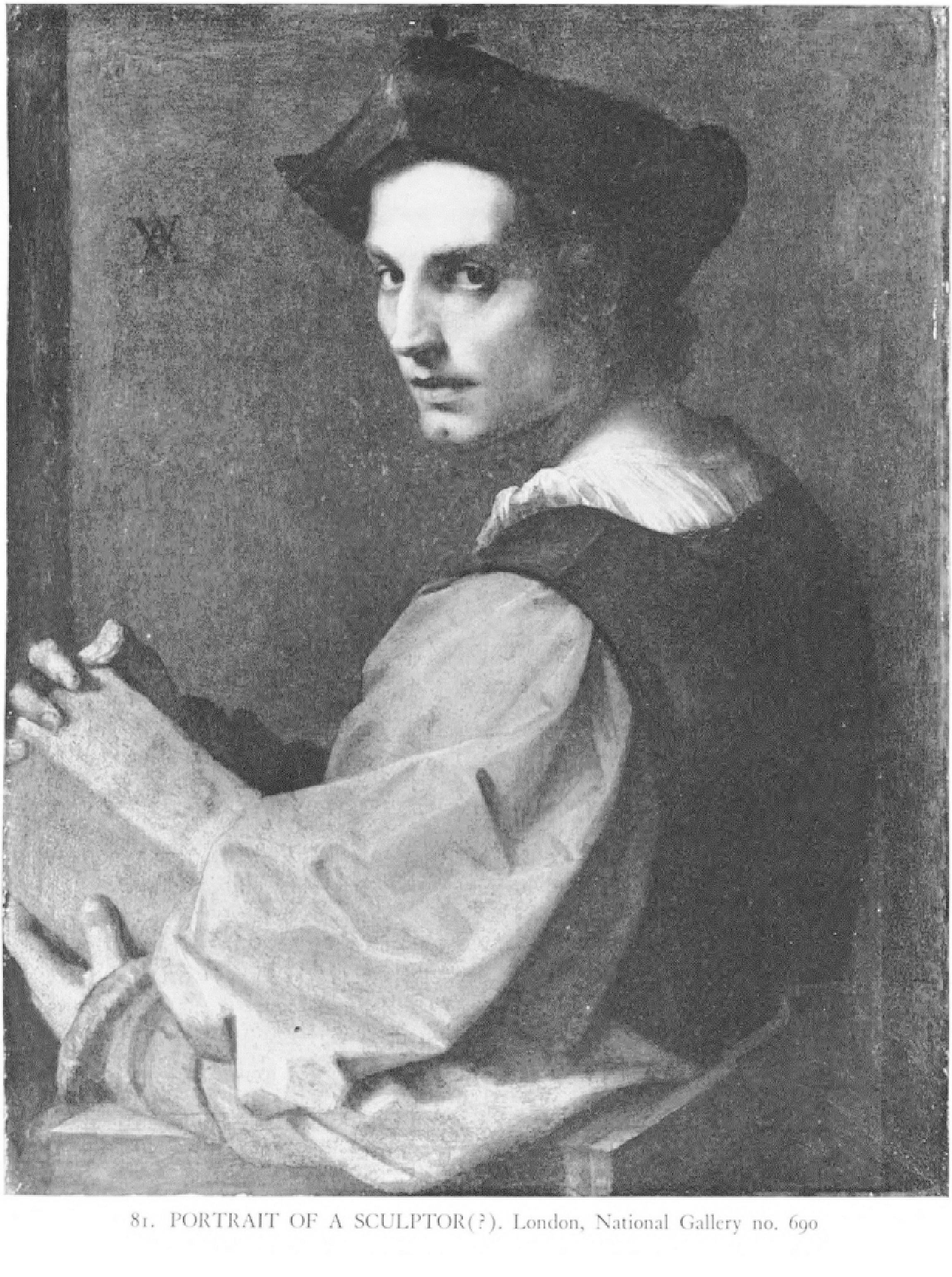
78. Head of Lucrezia, study for the *Madonna of the Harpies*. Paris, Lugt Collection no. J5572



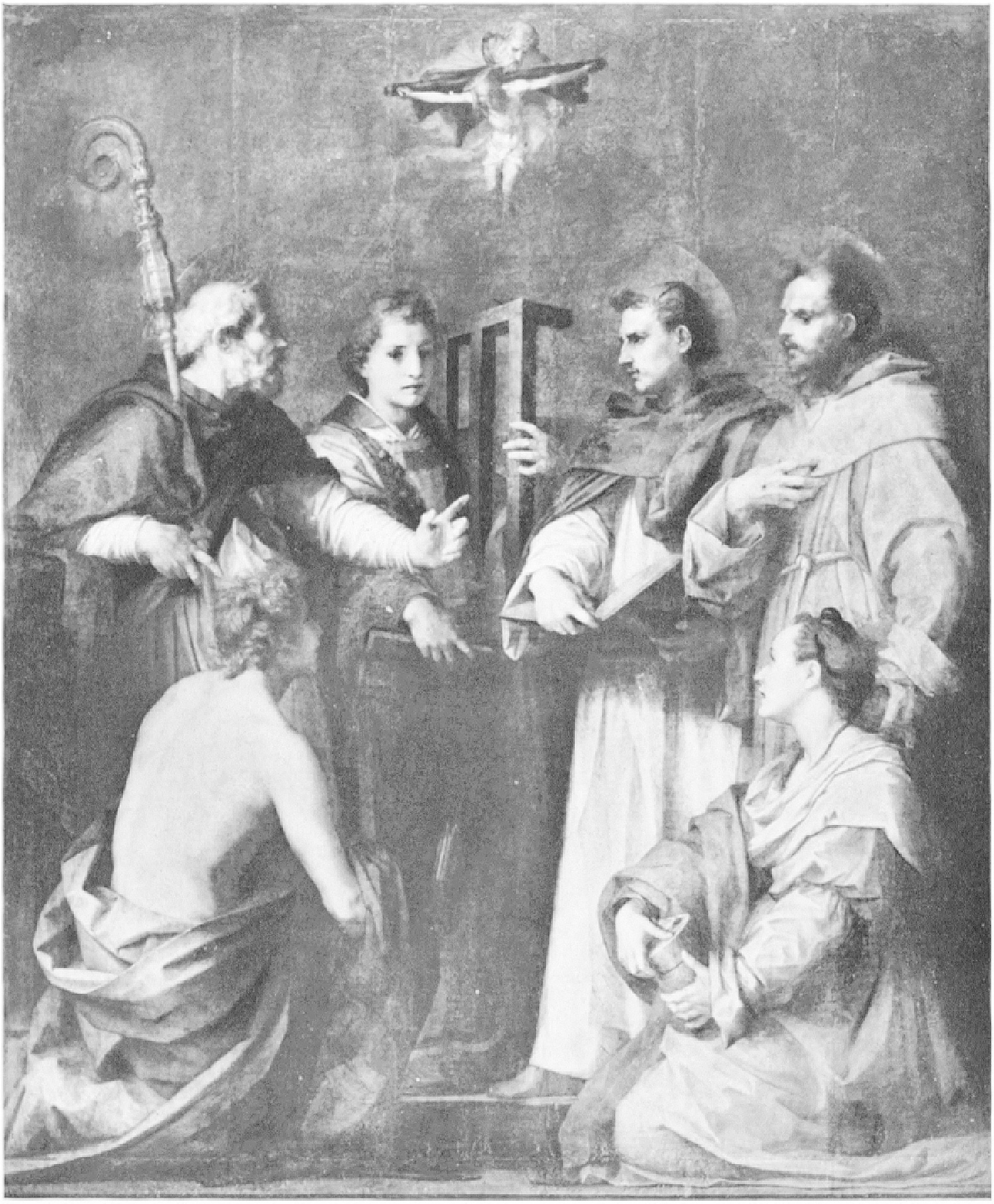
79. Study for the Madonna's hand in the *Madonna of the Harpies*. Florence, Uffizi no. 628E



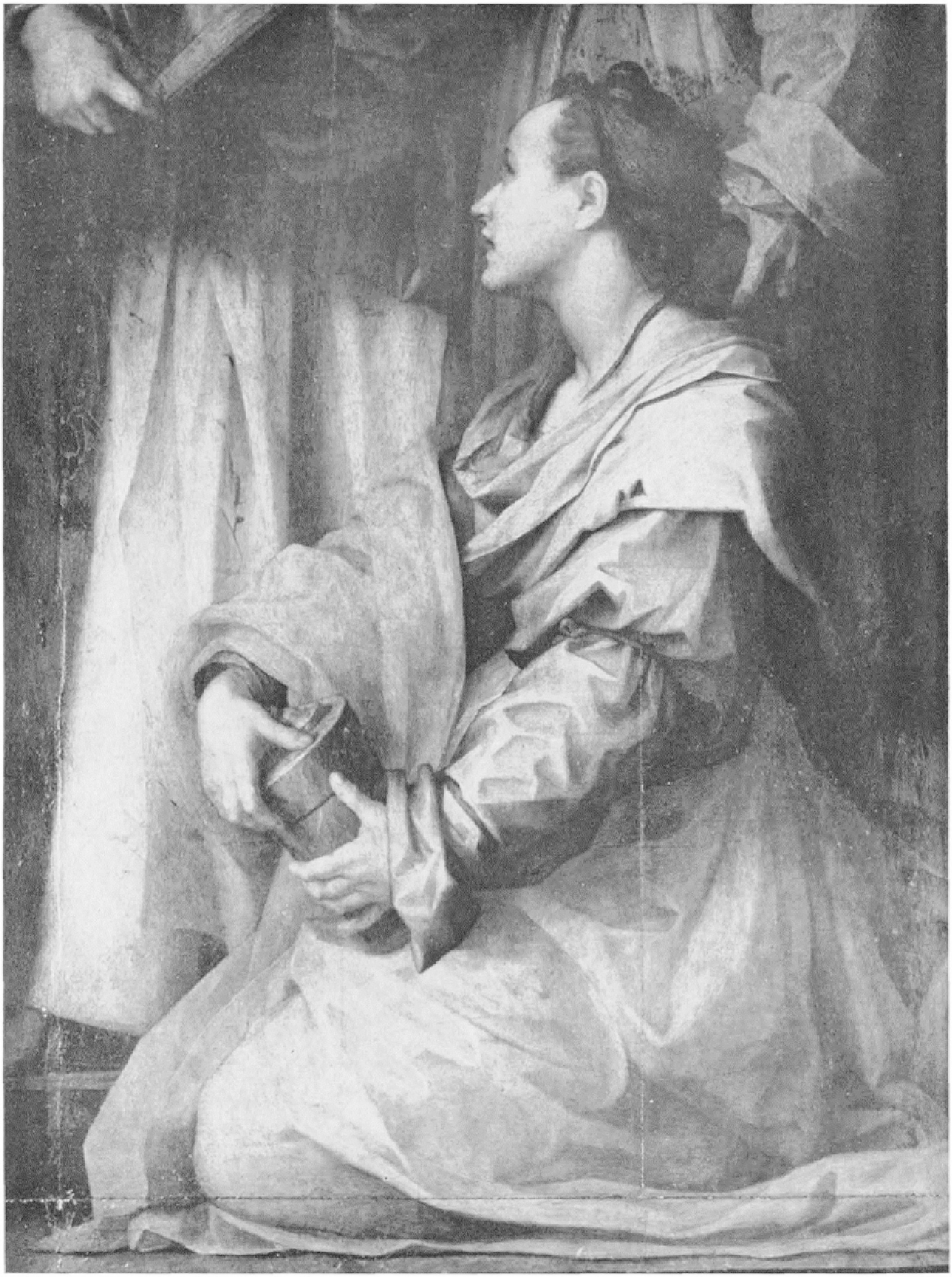
80. ST. JOHN IN THE WILDERNESS. Corsham Court, Lord Methuen Collection



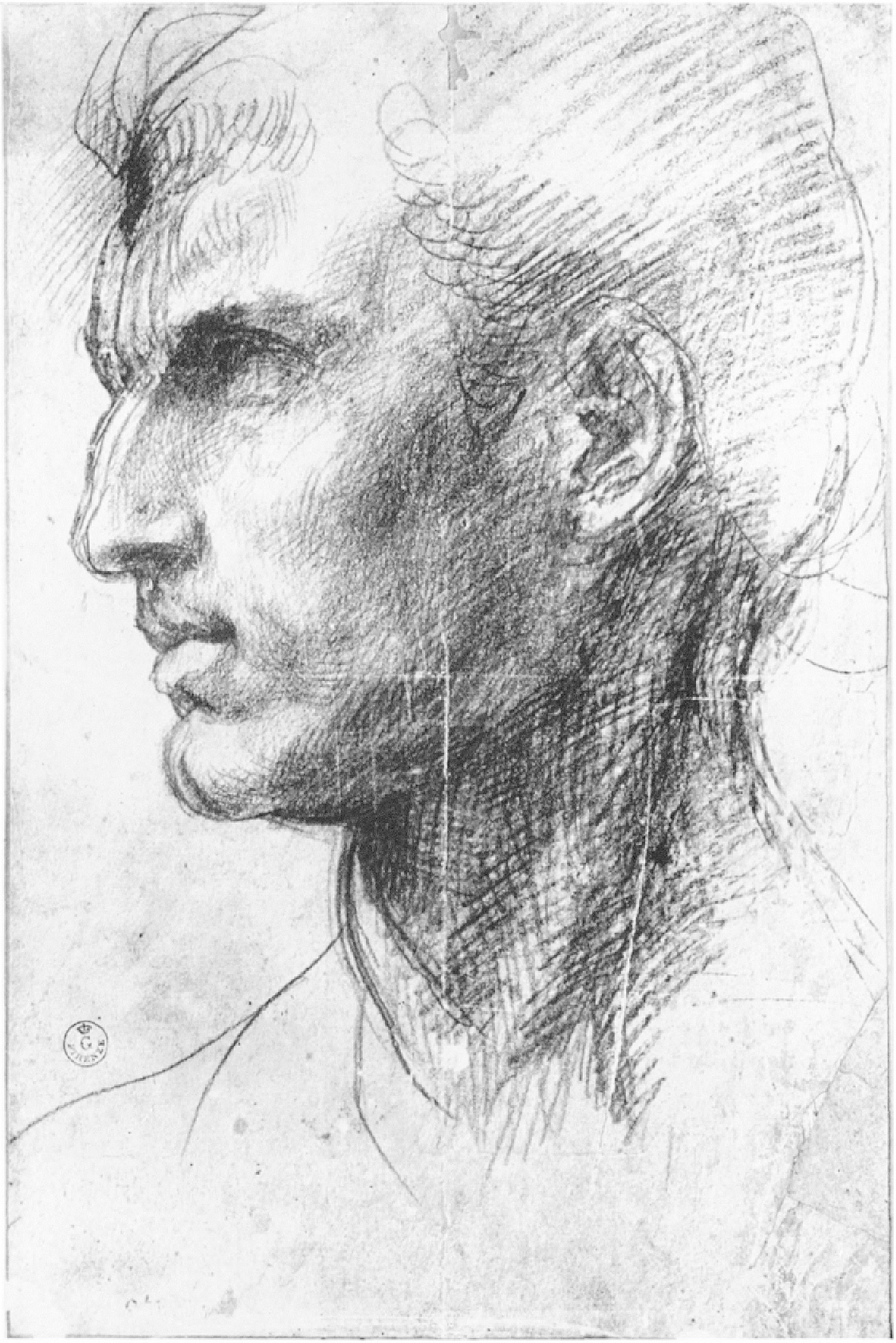
81. PORTRAIT OF A SCULPTOR(?). London, National Gallery no. 690



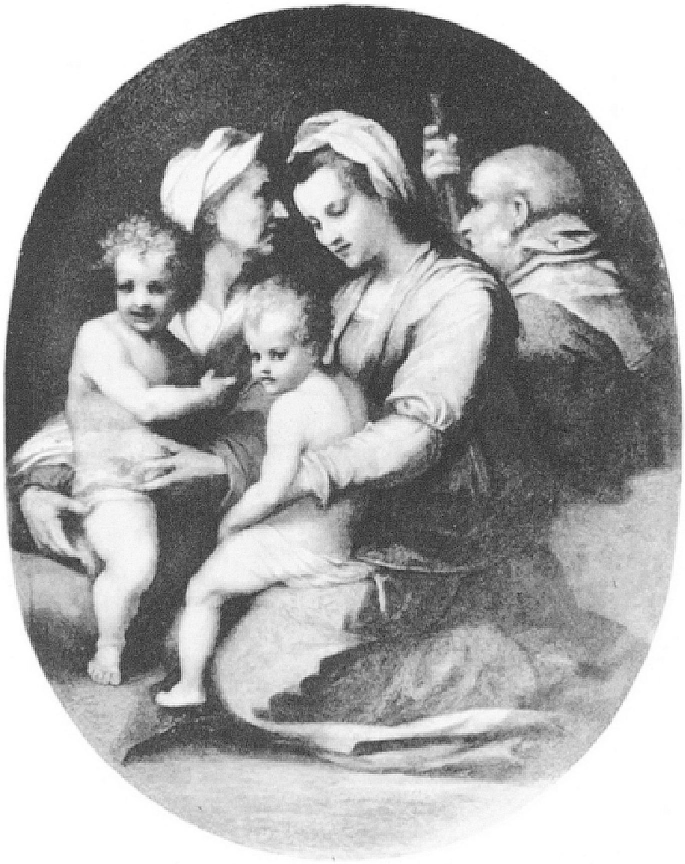
82. DISPUTATION ON THE TRINITY. Florence, Pitti no. 172



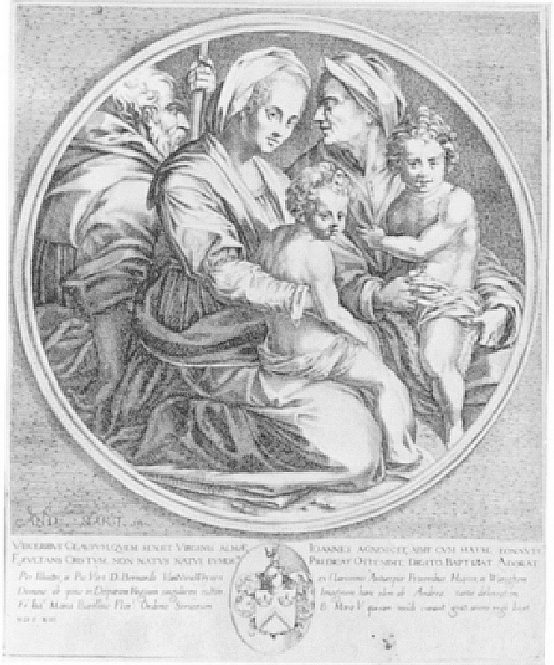
83. Detail of fig. 82, the Magdalen



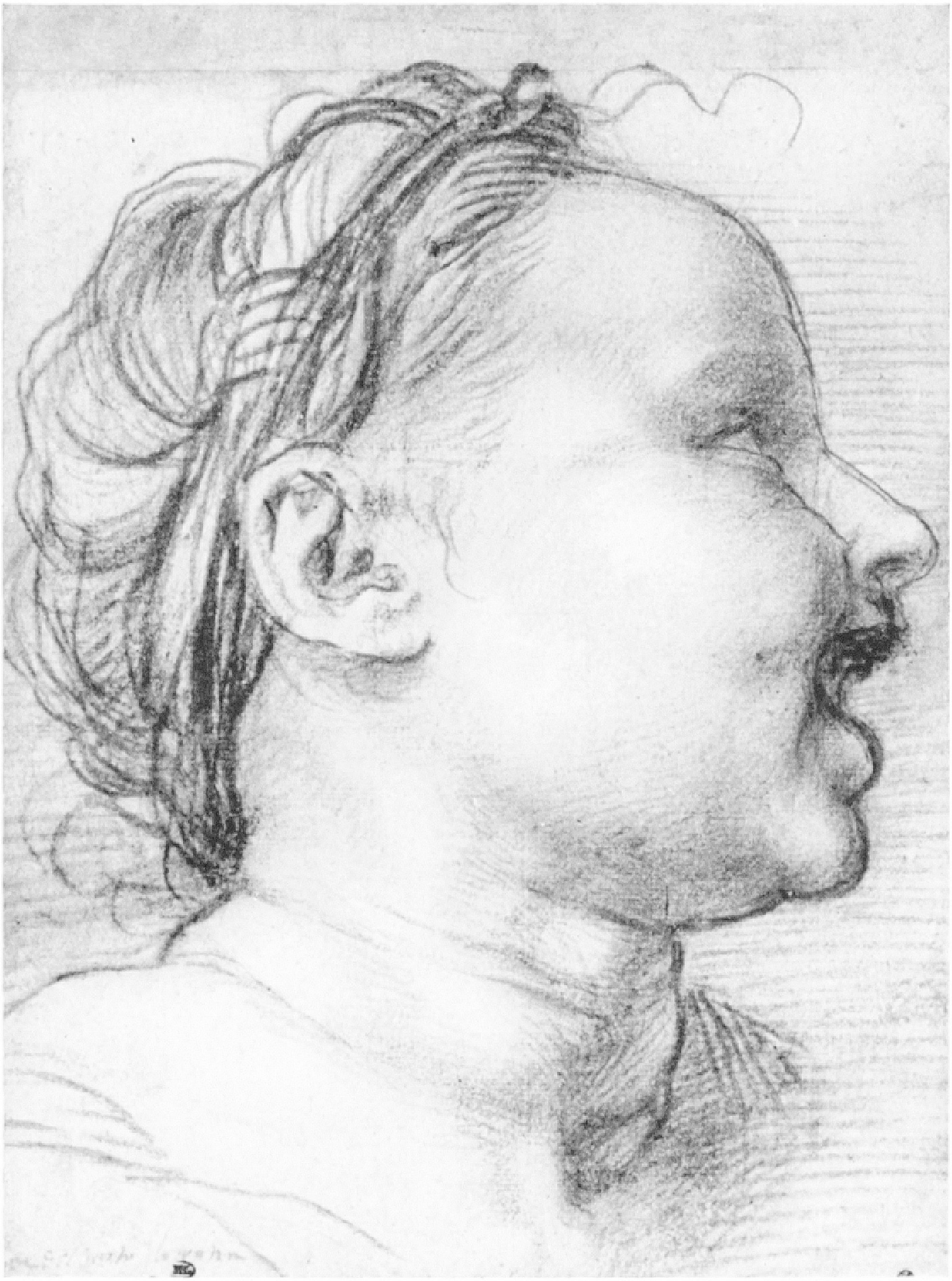
84. Study for the St. Peter Martyr in the *Disputation on the Trinity*. Florence, Uffizi no. 669E



85. HOLY FAMILY WITH ELIZABETH AND THE INFANT ST. JOHN. Paris, Louvre no. 1516



86. Callot, engraving from the *Holy Family*, Louvre no. 1516, in its original format



87. Study for a putto in the *Charity*. Paris, Louvre no. 1717

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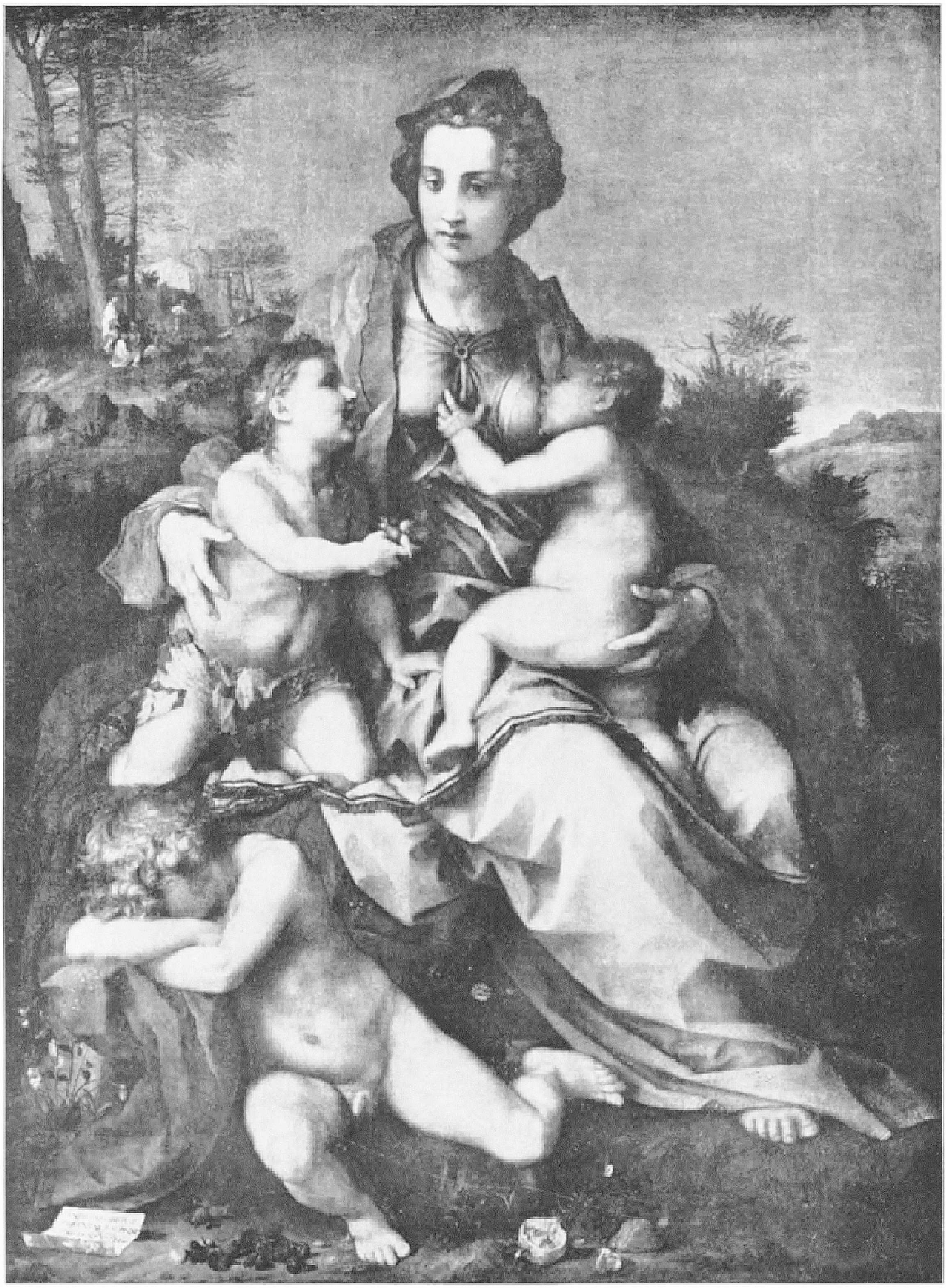
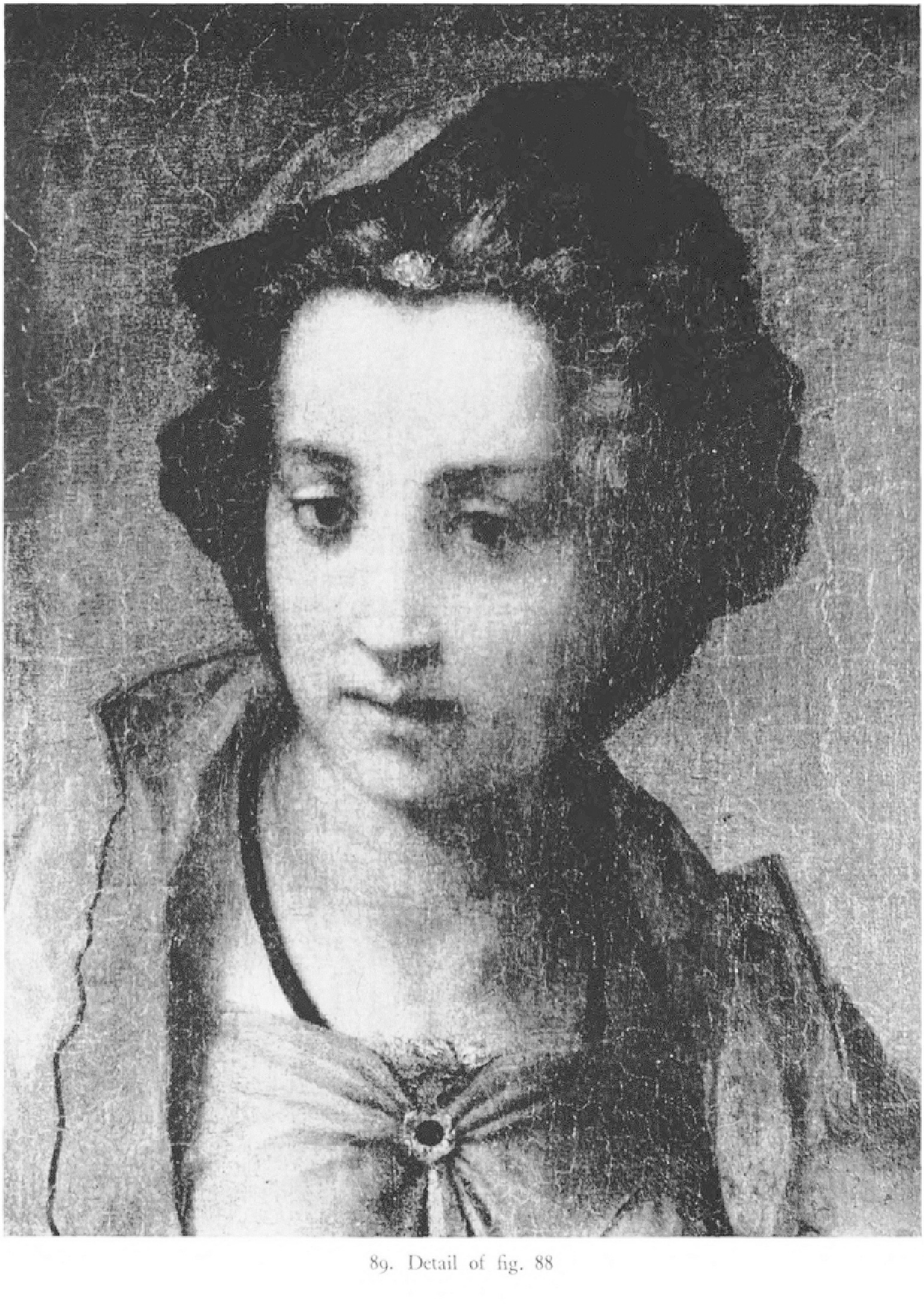
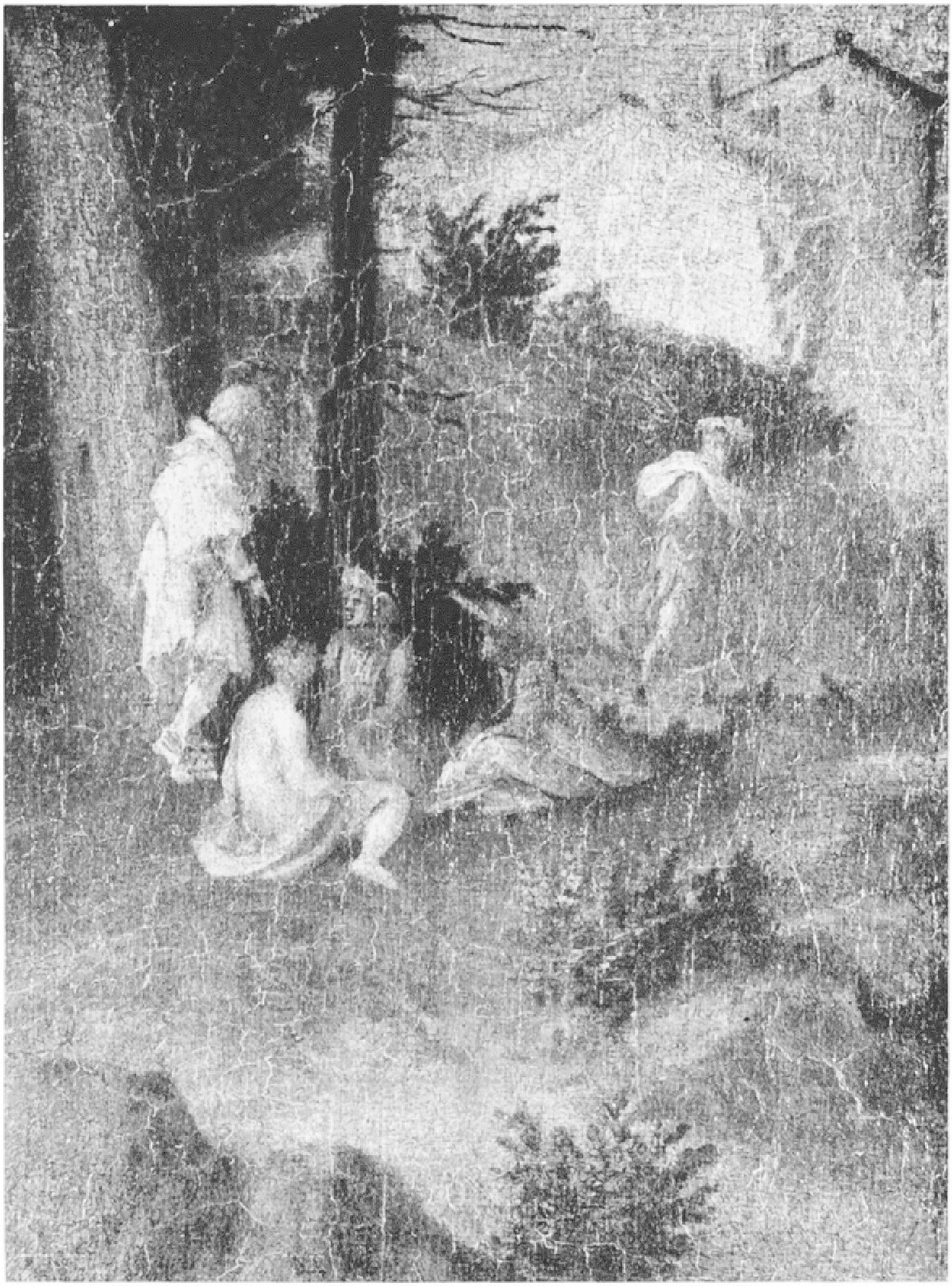


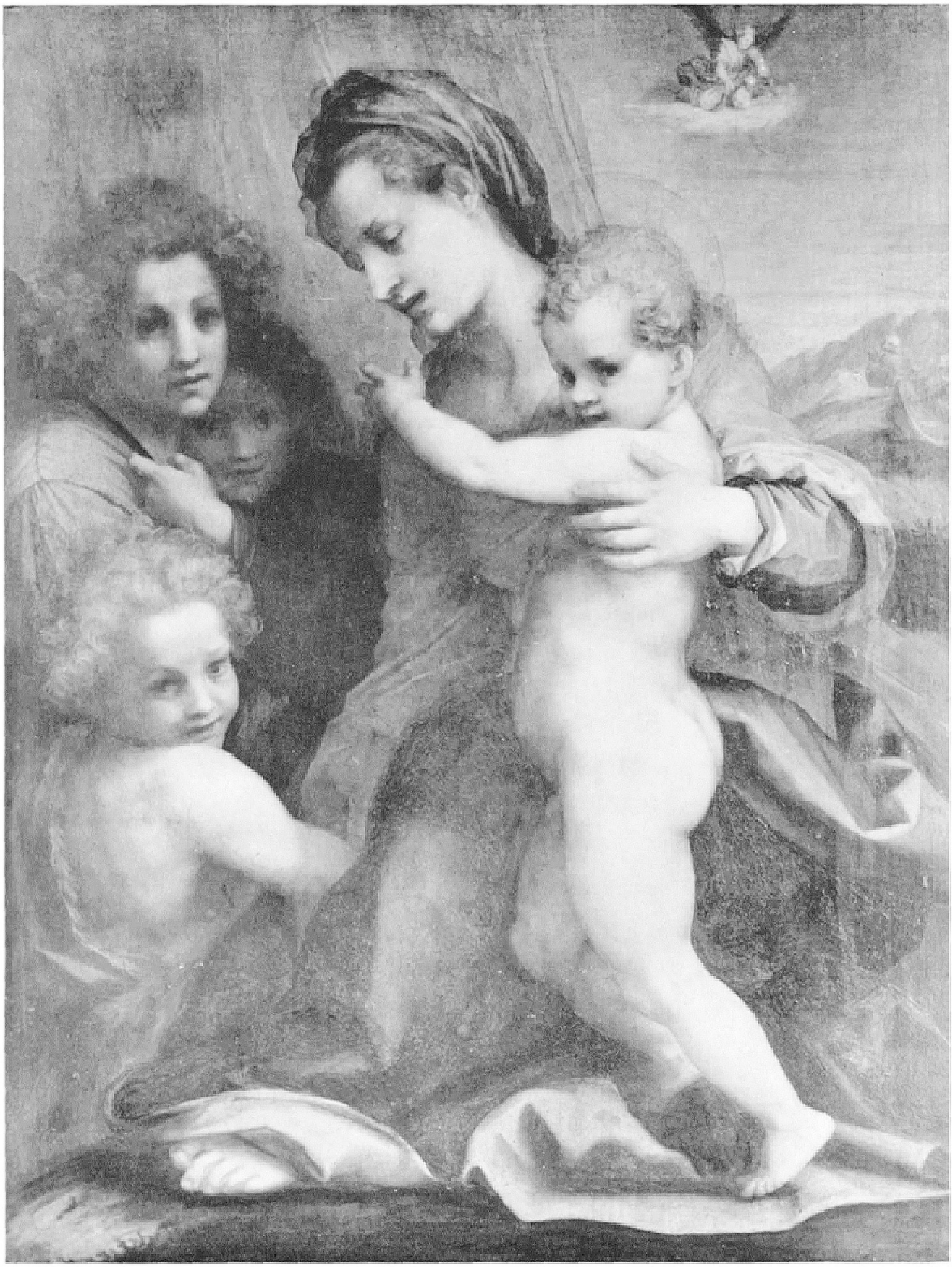
88. CHARITY. Paris, Louvre no. 1514



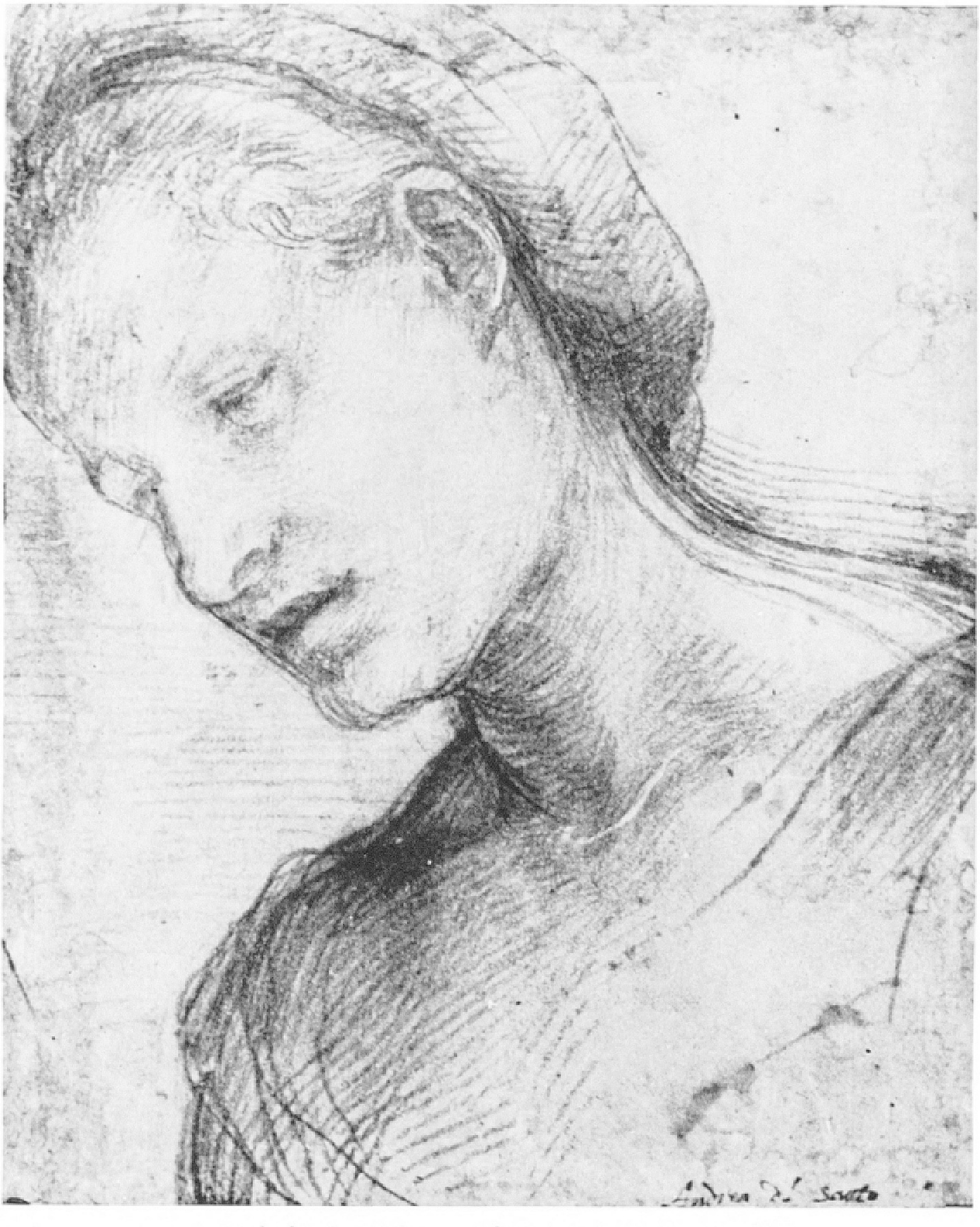
89. Detail of fig. 88



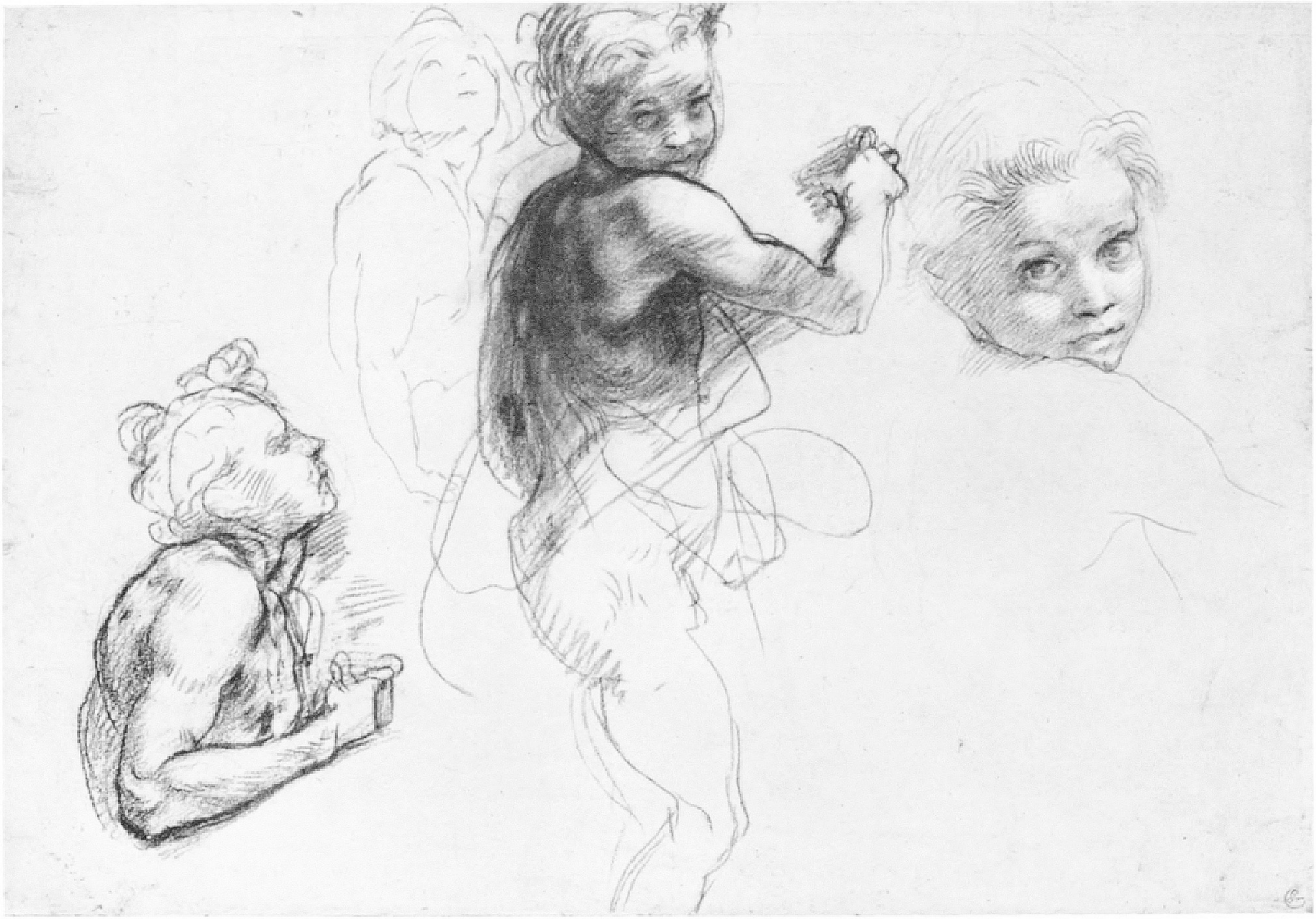
90. Detail of fig. 88



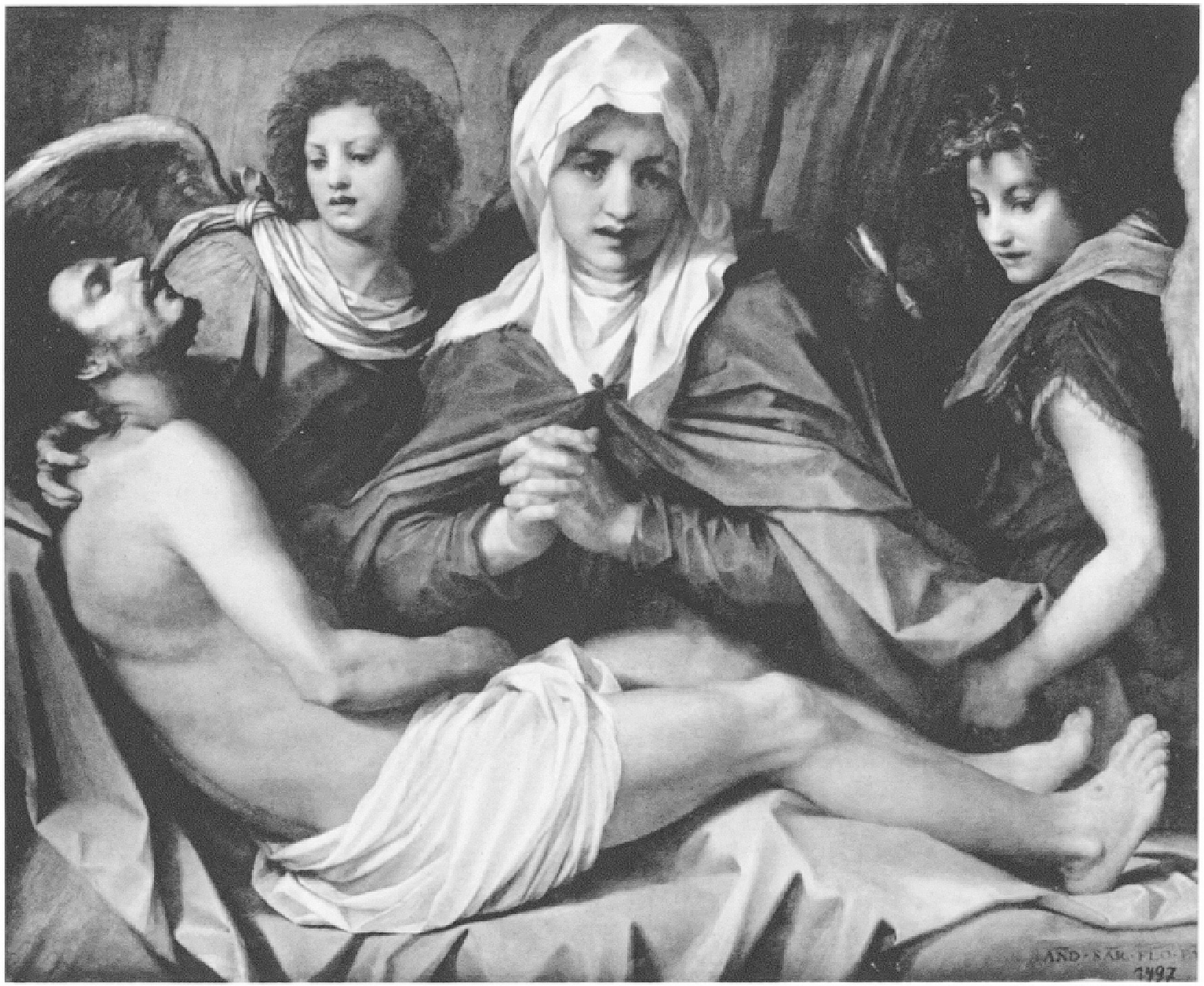
91. MADONNA AND CHILD WITH THE INFANT ST. JOHN. London, Wallace Collection no. 9


Andrea d. Sarto

92. Study for the Madonna of fig. 91. Paris, Louvre no. 1686r



93. Study for the St. John of fig. 91. London, British Museum no. 1896–8–10–11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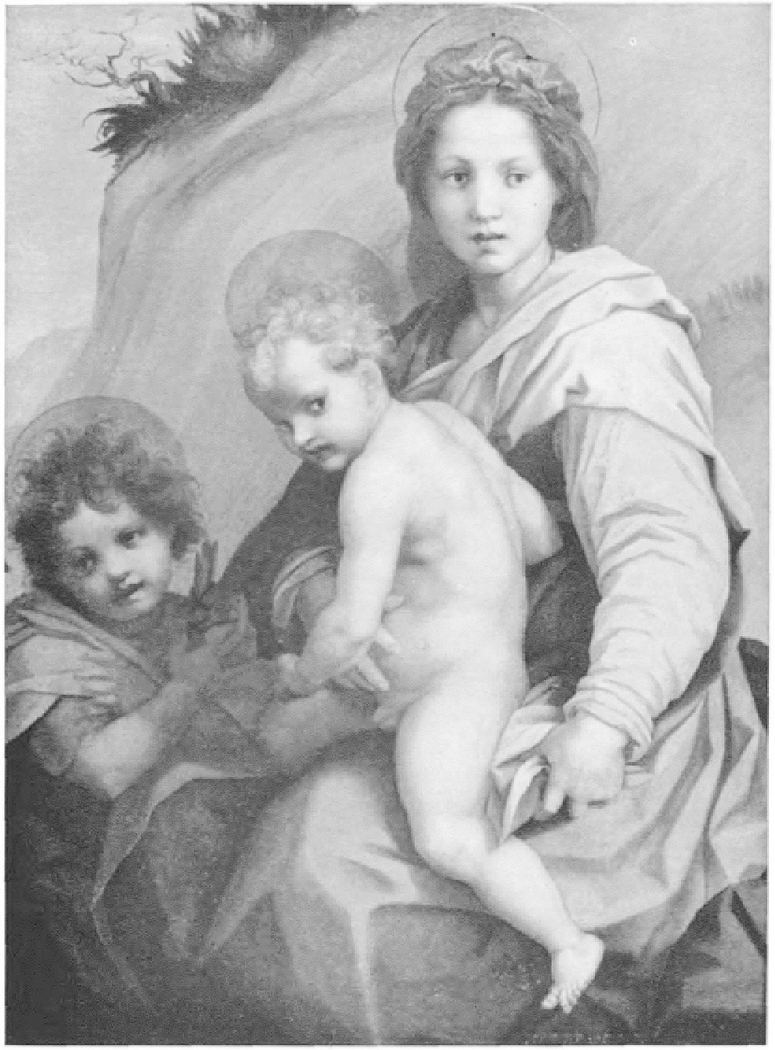
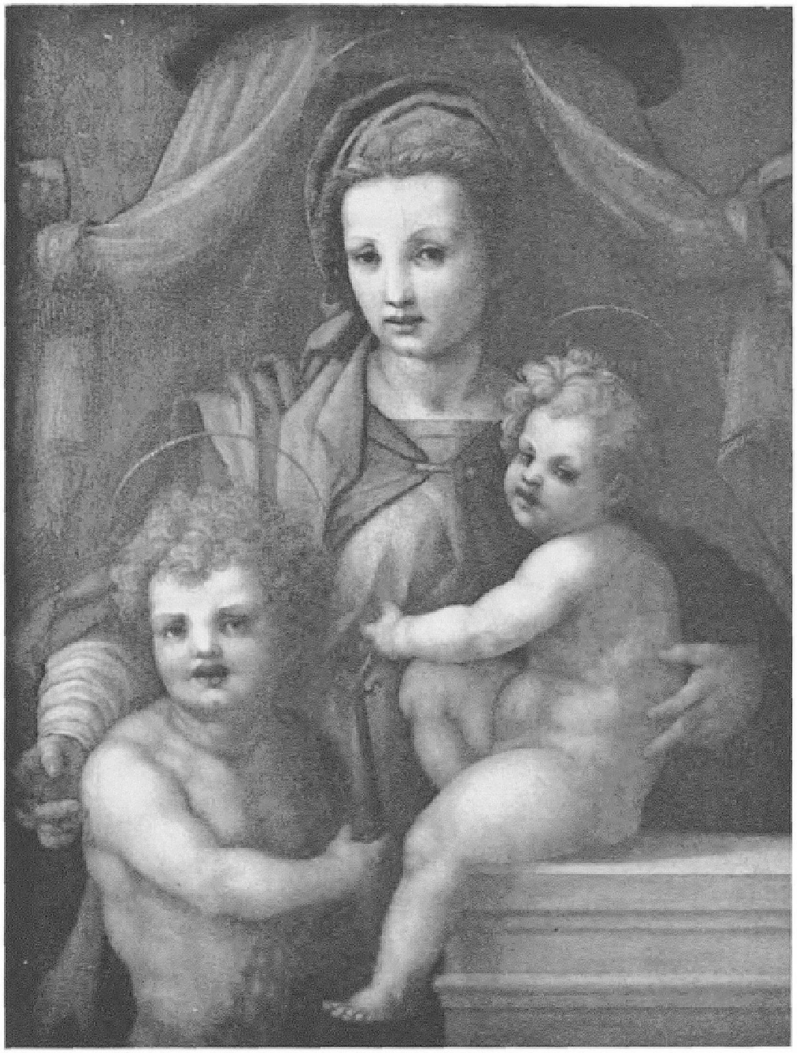
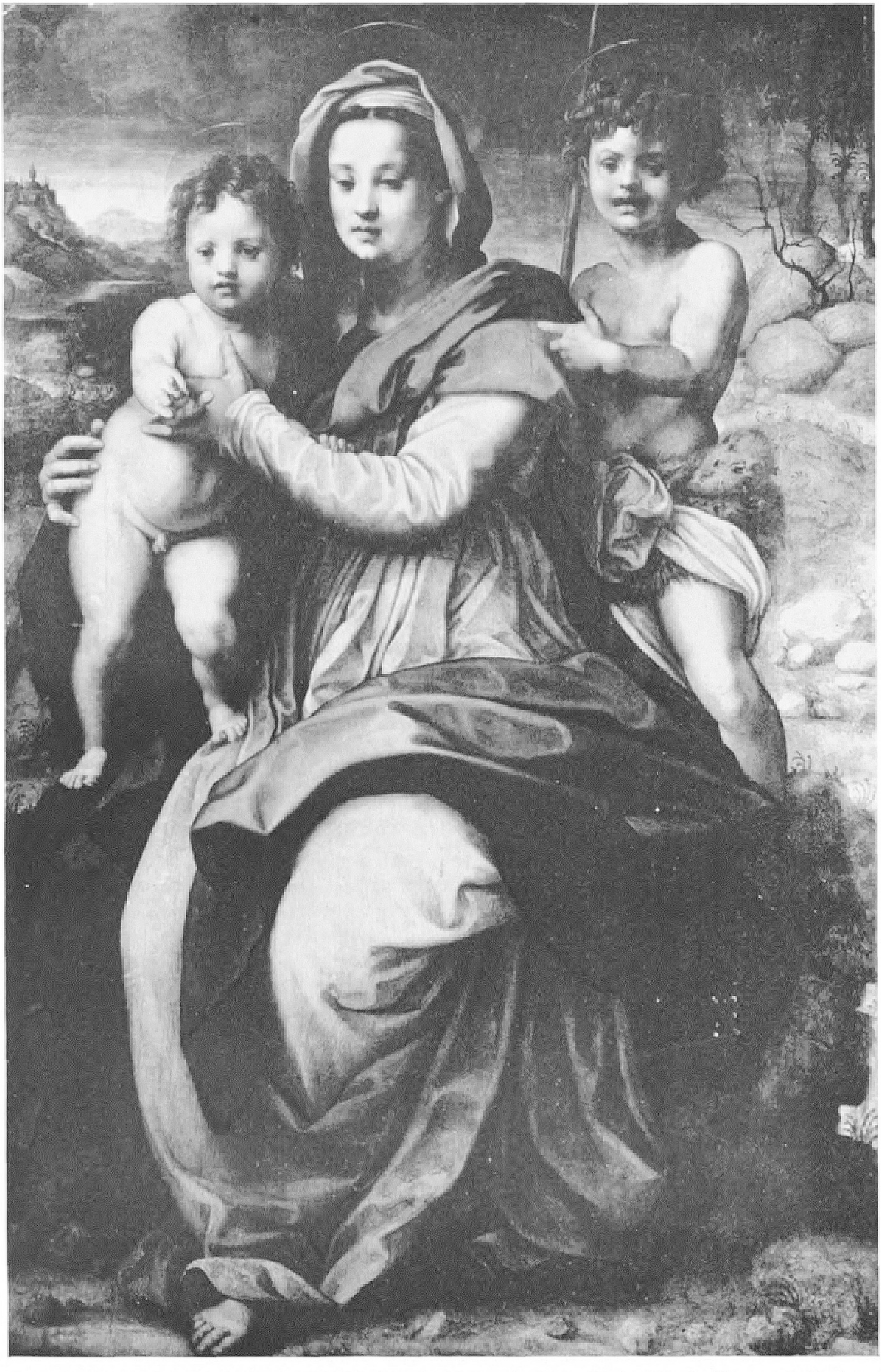
94. PIETÀ. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum no. 651



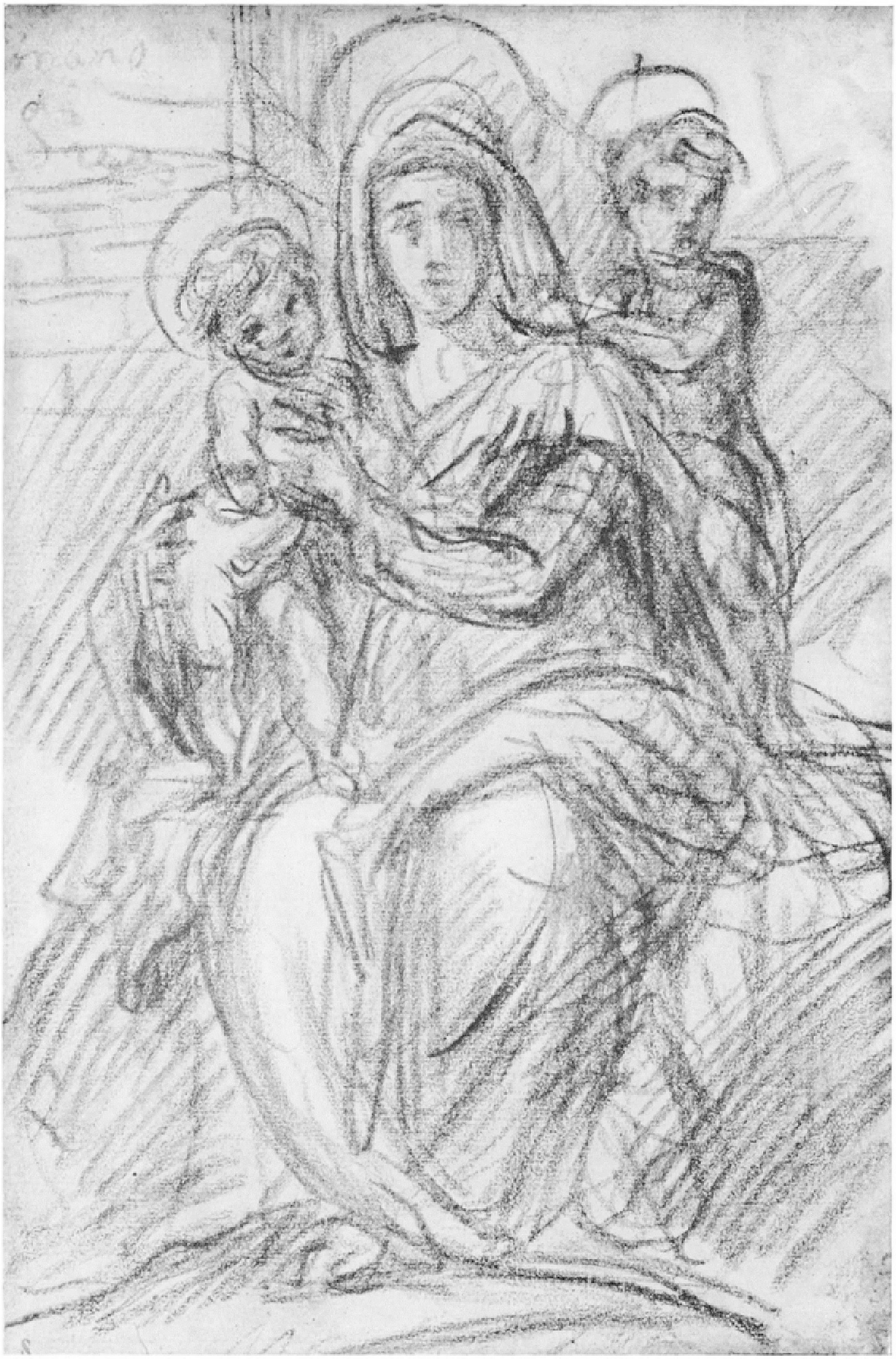
95. MADONNA AND CHILD WITH ST. JOHN (copy).
Ascott, National Trust



96. MADONNA AND CHILD WITH ST. JOHN (copy).
Venice, Cà d'Oro



97. MADONNA DI PORTA PINTI (copy). Formerly New York, W. R. Hearst Collection



98. Study for the *Madonna di Porta Pinti*. London, British Museum no. 1912–12–14–1

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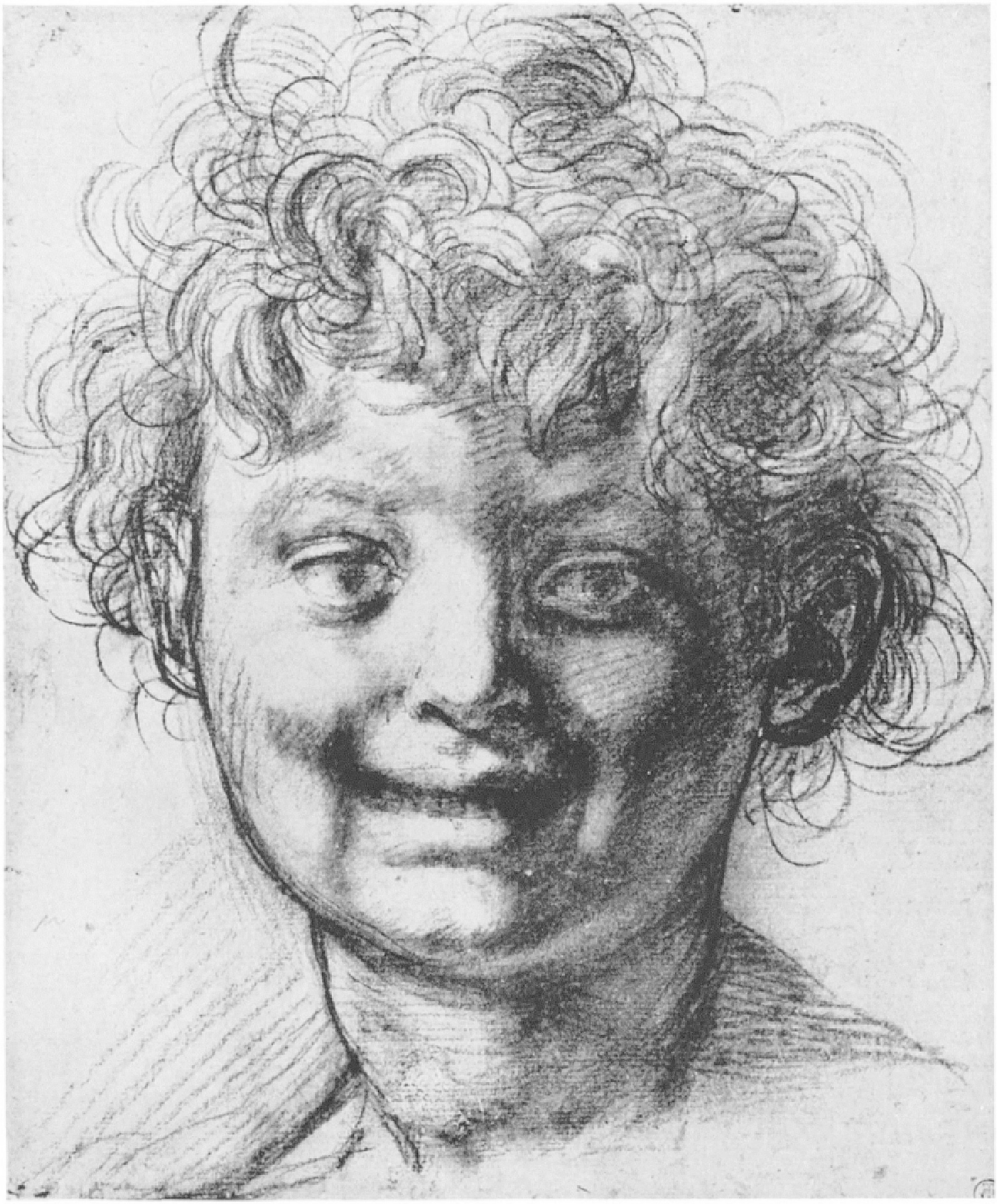
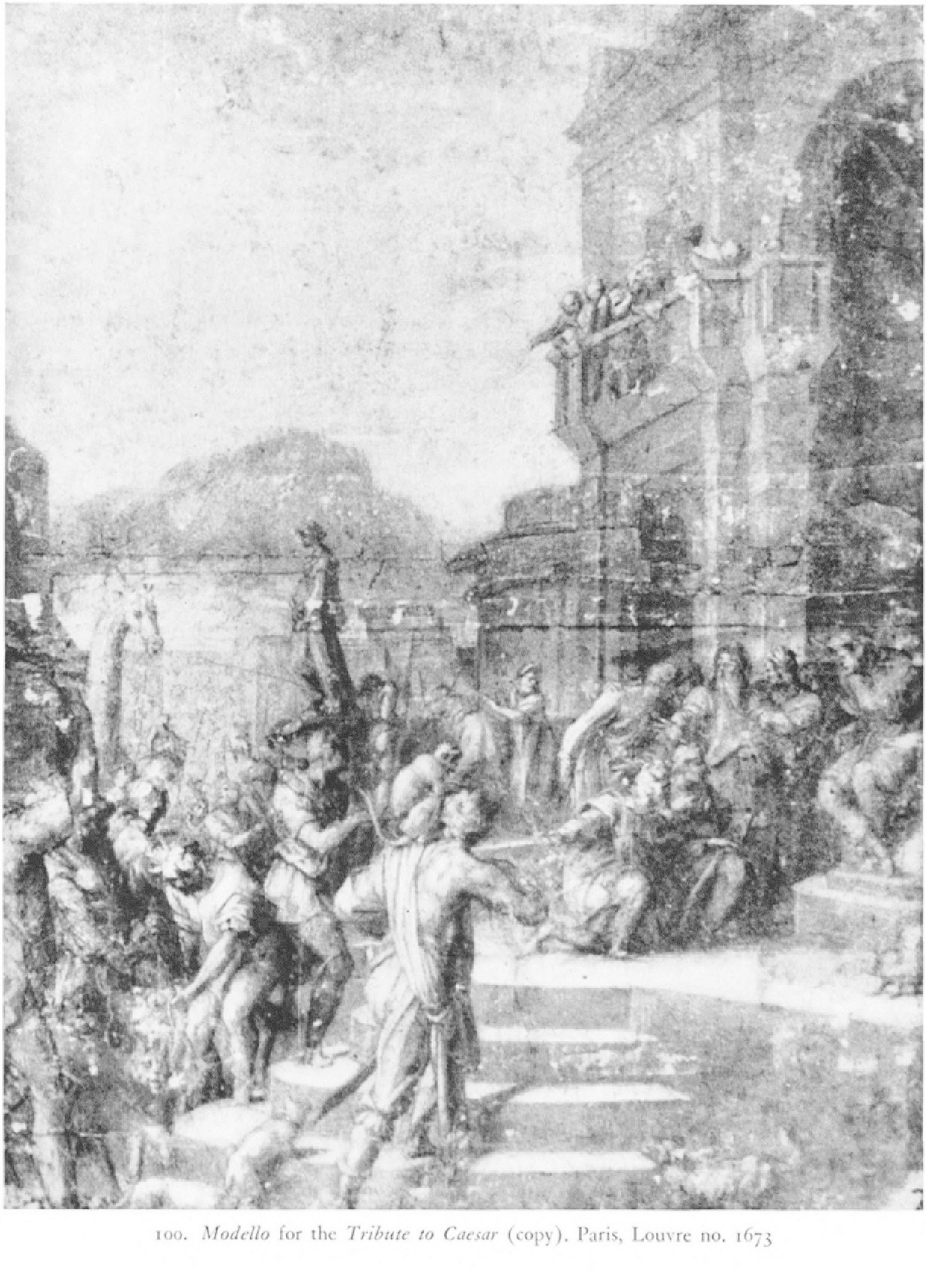
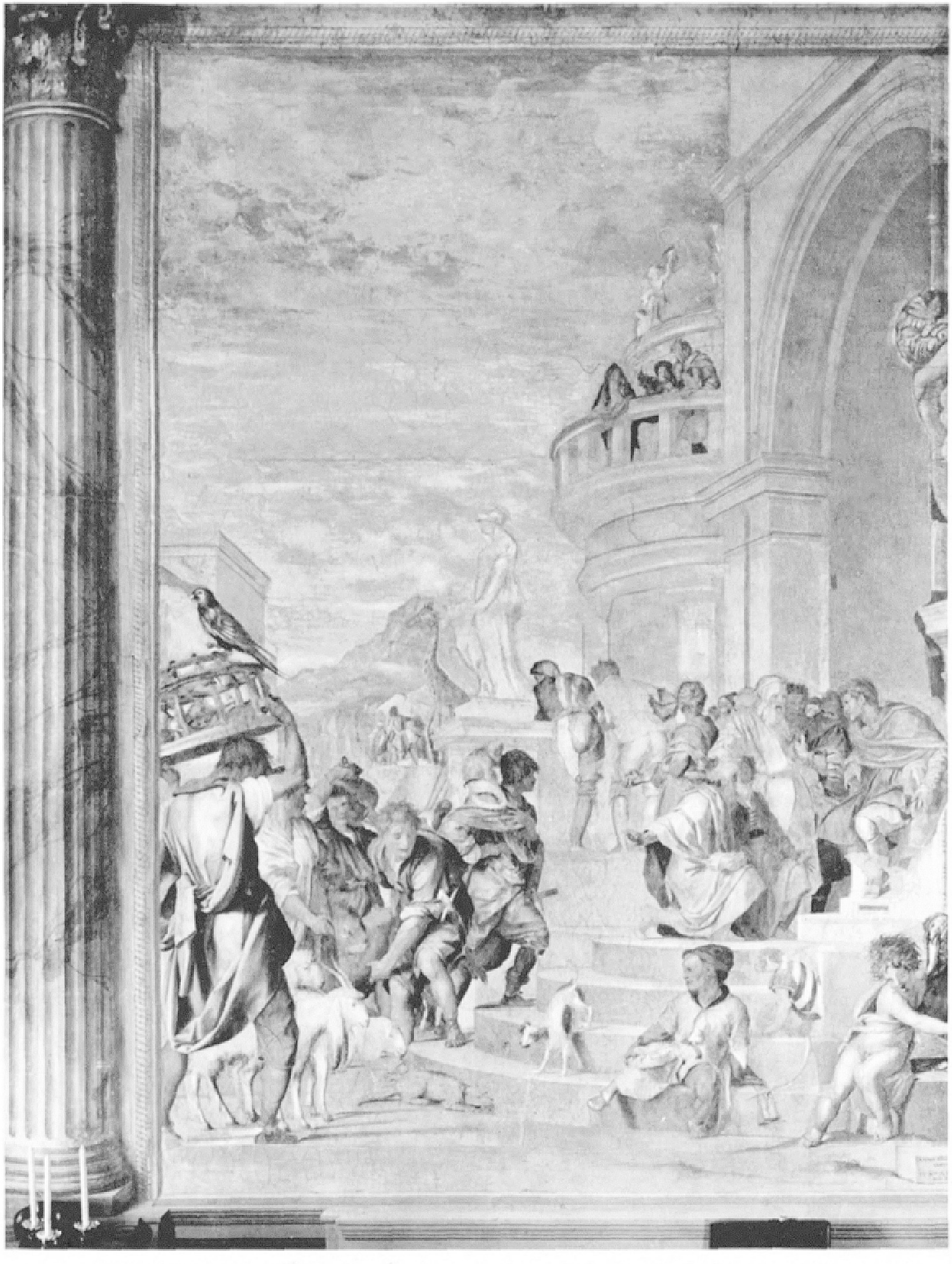
E-book, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb30523.0001.001.



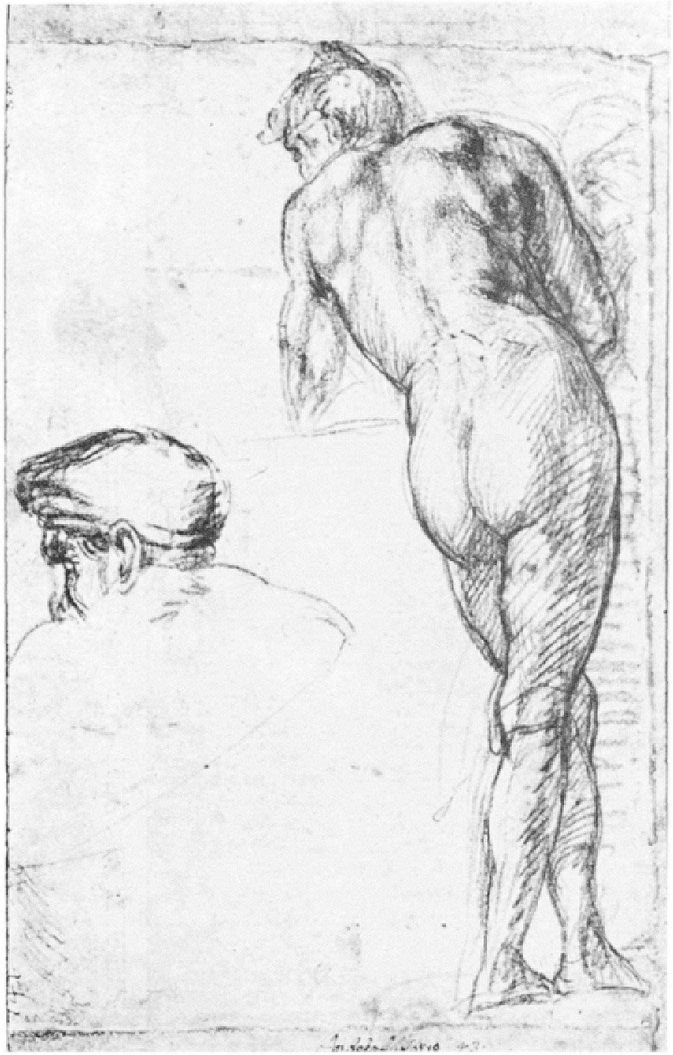
99. Study for the St. John of the *Madonna di Porta Pinti*. Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria



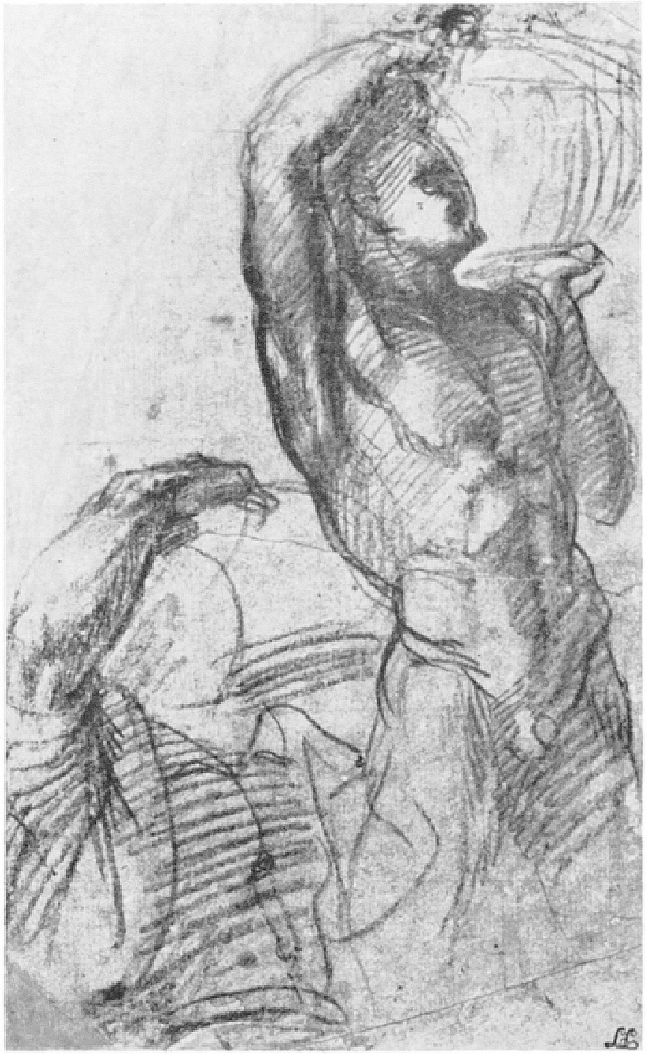
100. *Modello* for the *Tribute to Caesar* (copy). Paris, Louvre no. 1673



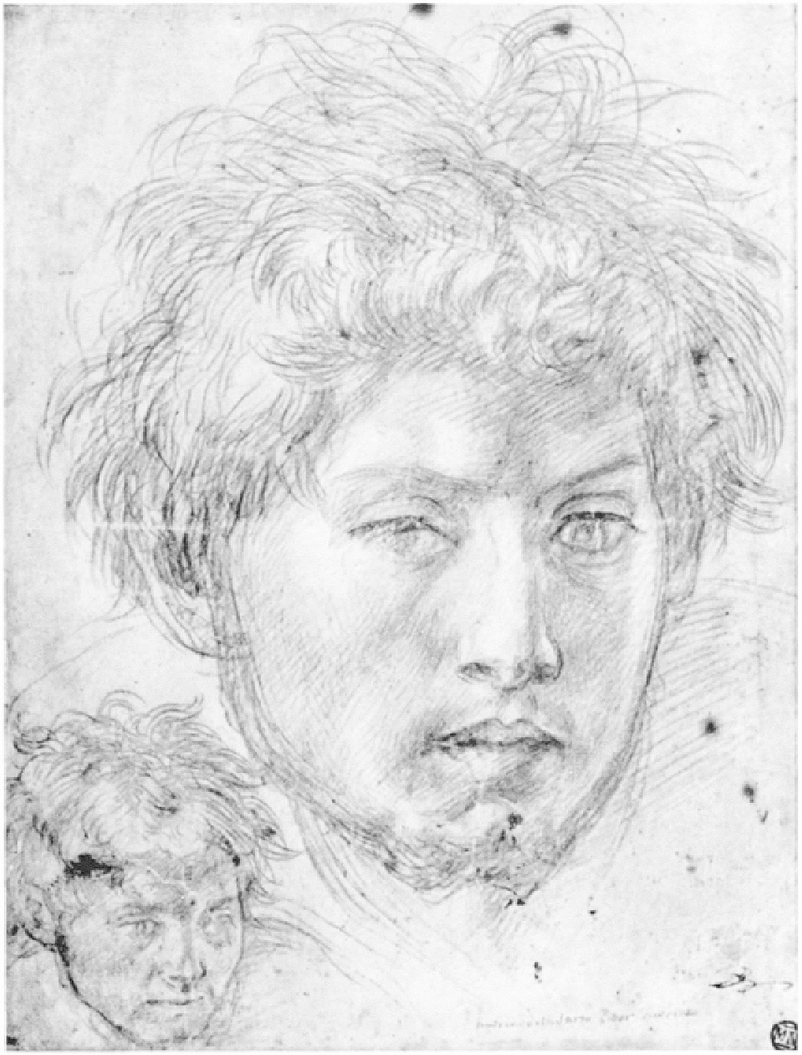
101. TRIBUTE TO CAESAR (in its original dimension). Poggio a Cajano, Villa ex-Reale



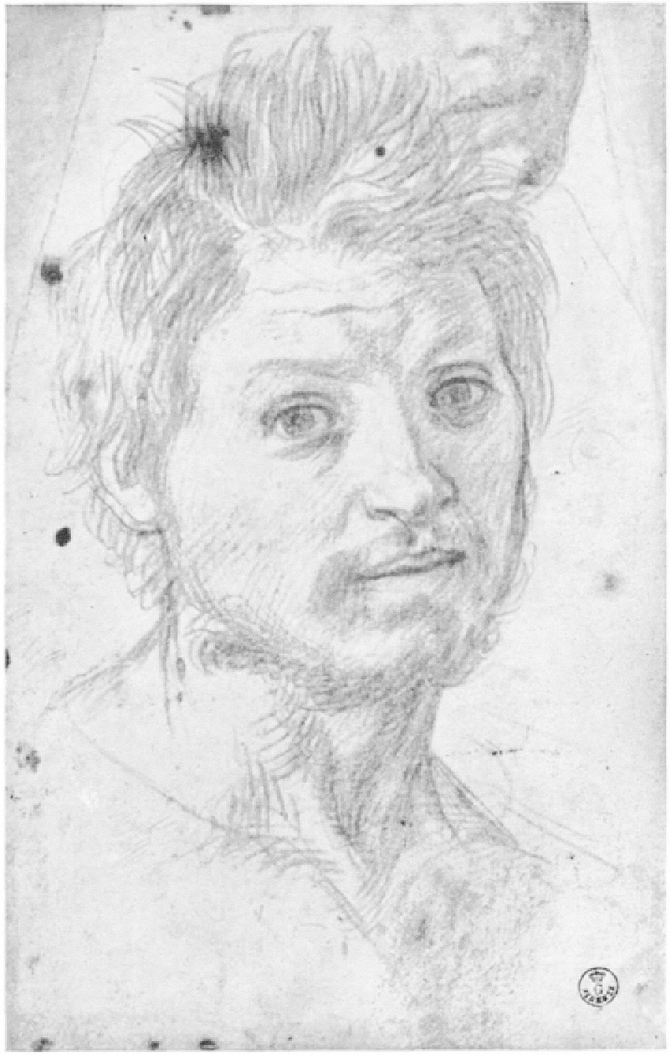
102. Study for the *Tribute to Caesar*. London, British Museum, Fawkener no. 5210–33



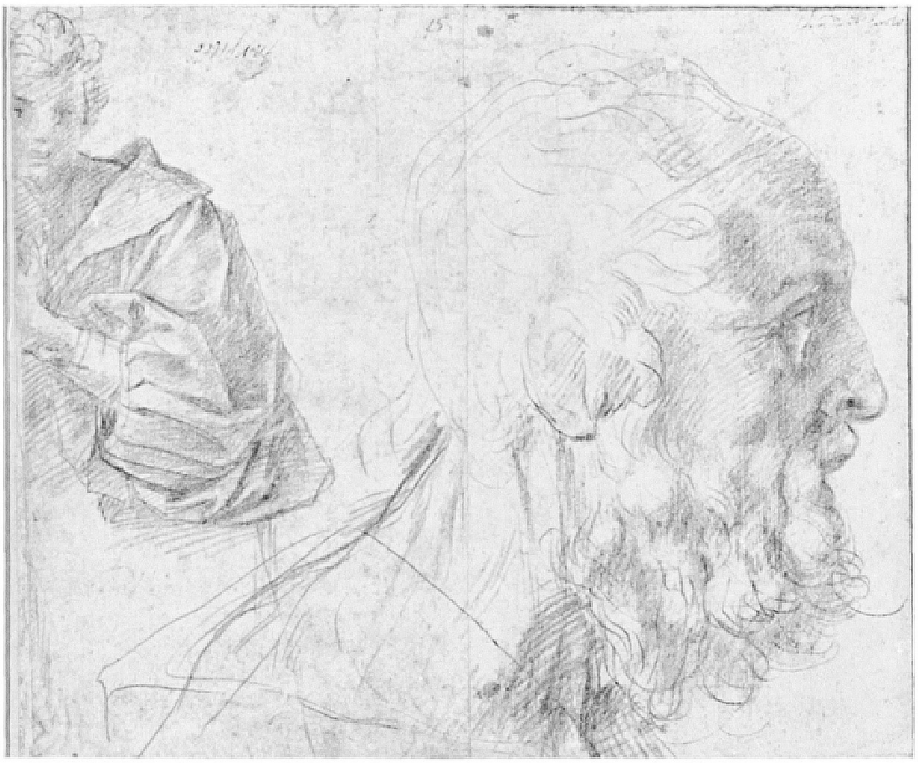
103. Study for the *Tribute to Caesar*. Oxford, Ashmolean no. 693r



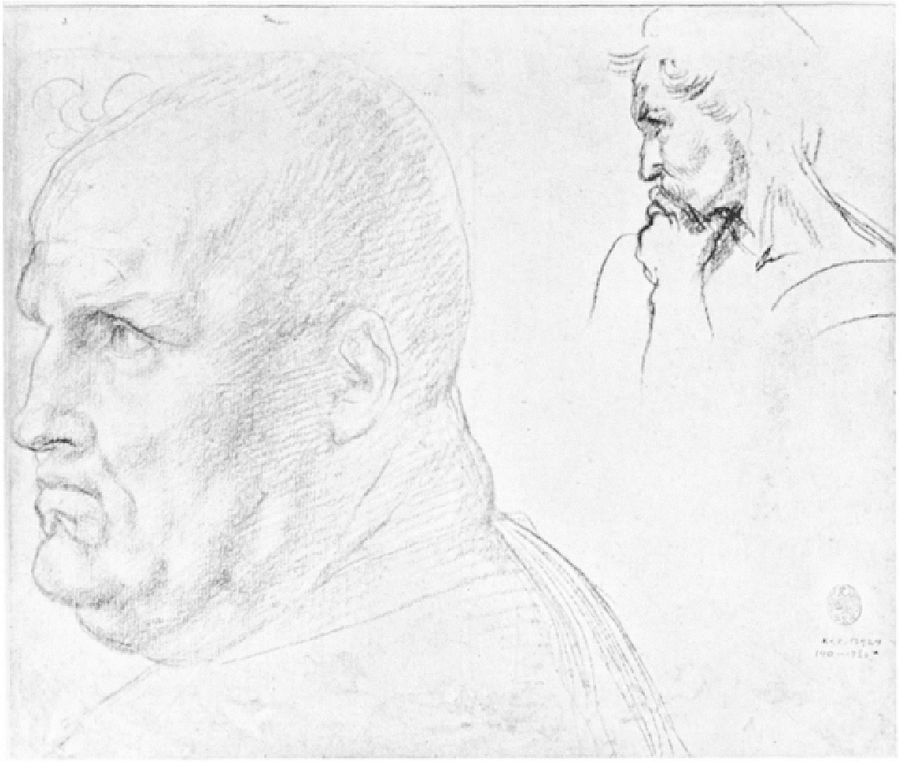
104. Study for the *Tribute to Caesar*. Paris, Louvre no. 1684r



105. Study for the *Tribute to Caesar*. Florence, Uffizi no. 648Er

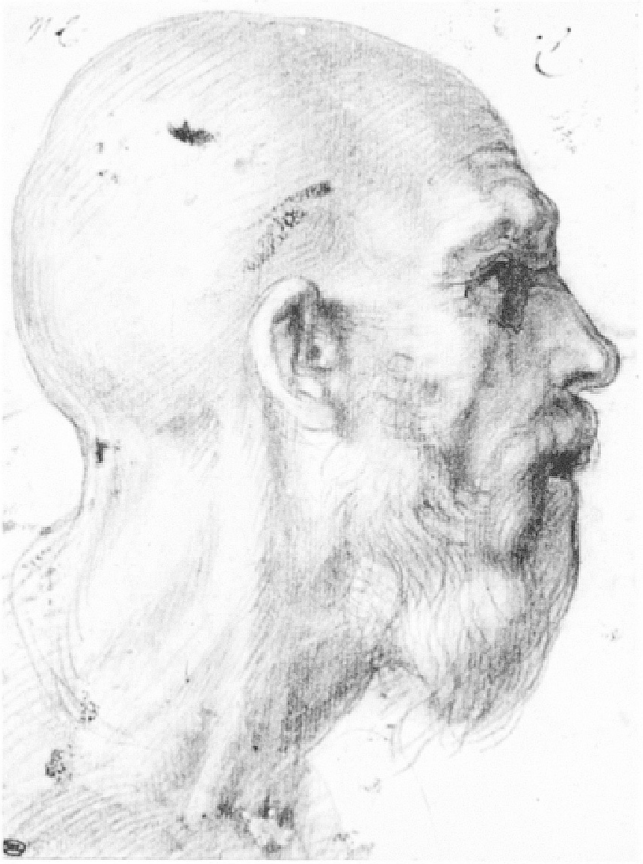


106. Study for the *Tribute to Caesar*. Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett no. 12924r

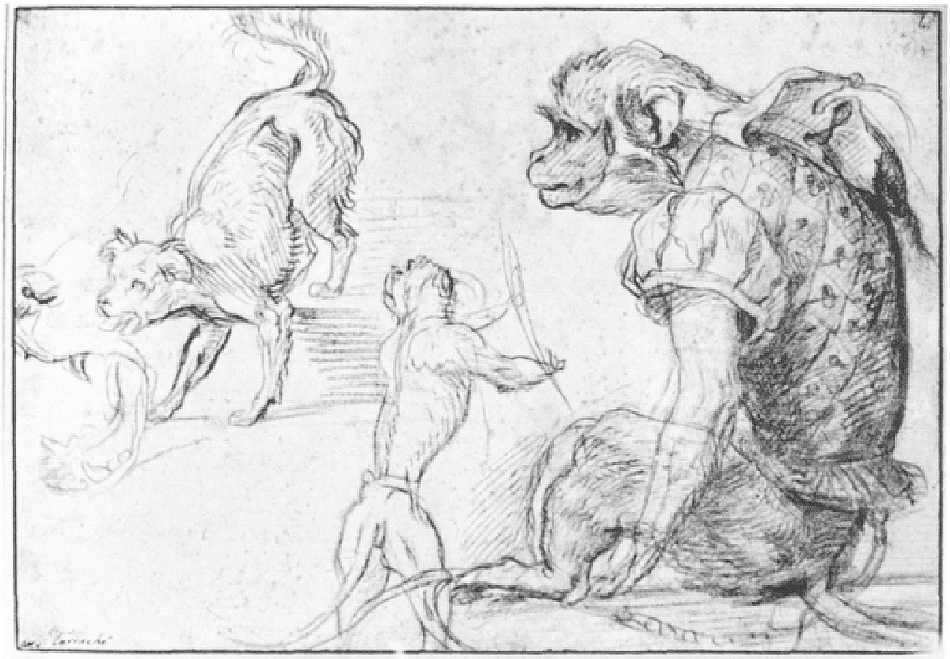


107. Study for the *Tribute to Caesar*. Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett no. 12924v

Freedberg, S. J. *Andrea Del Sarto: Text and Illustrations, Vol. 1.*
E-book, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb30523.0001.001.

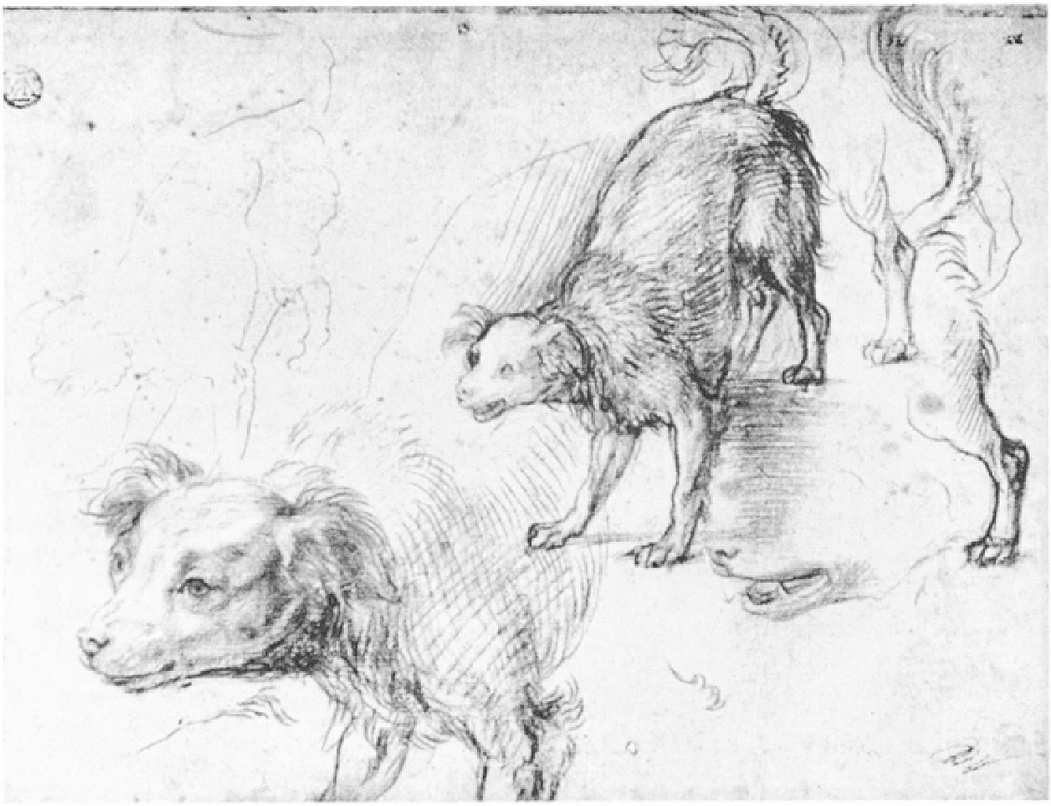


108. Study for the *Tribute to Caesar*. Paris, Louvre no. 1690r

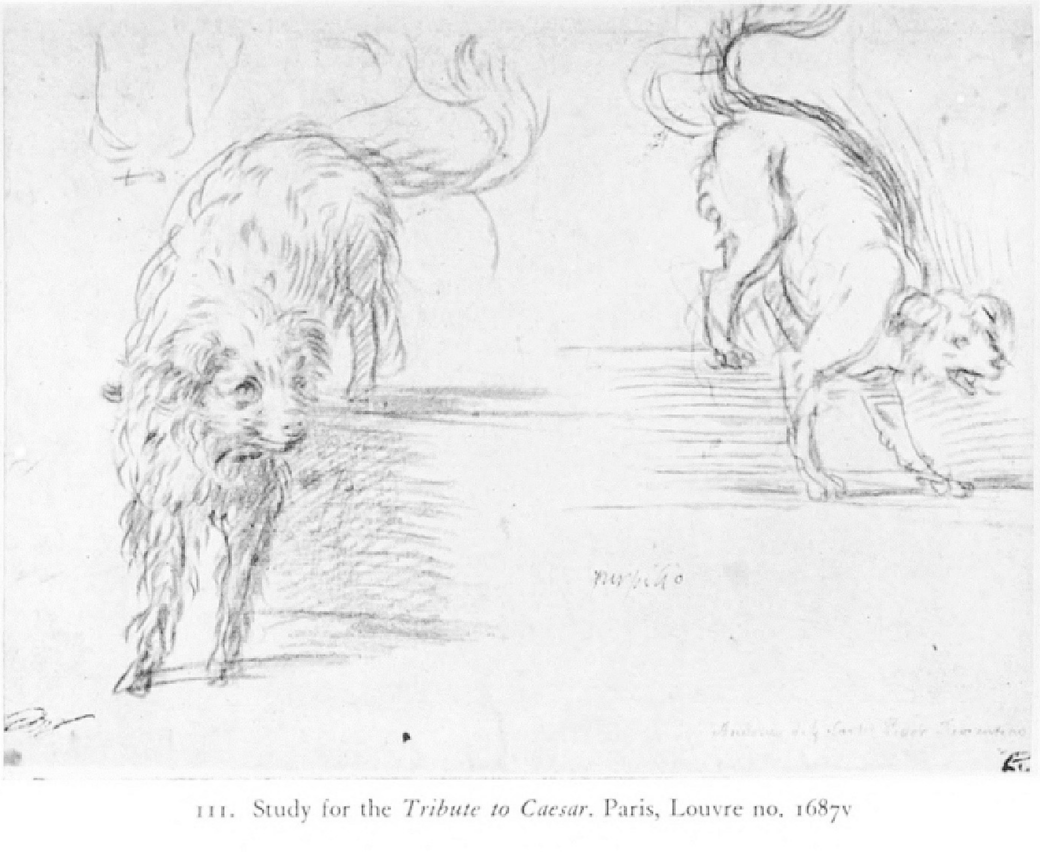


109. Study for the *Tribute to Caesar*.
Darmstadt no. AE 1373

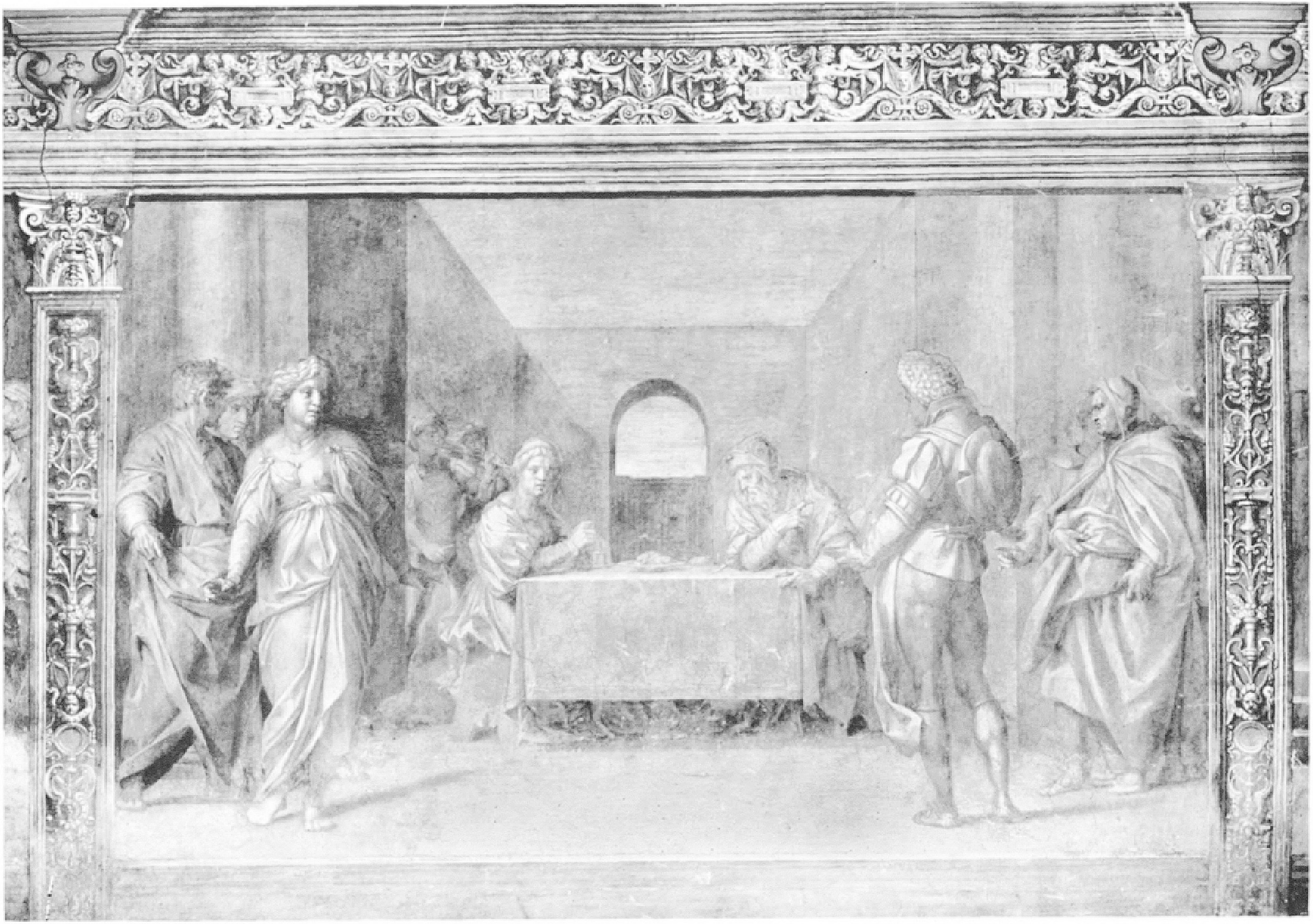
Freedberg, S. J. *Andrea Del Sarto: Text and Illustrations, Vol. 1.*
E-book, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb30523.0001.001.



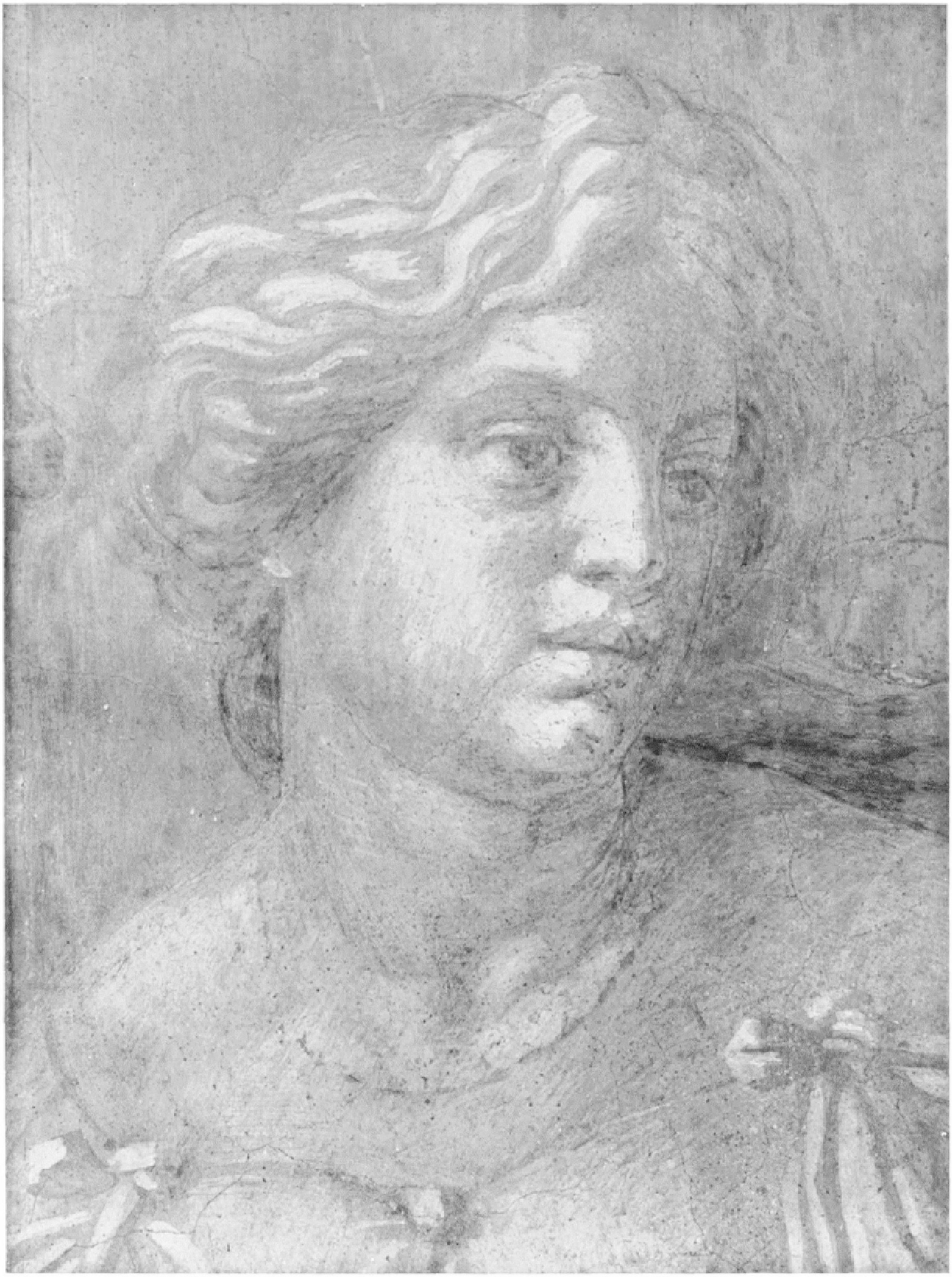
110. Study for the *Tribute to Caesar*. Paris, Louvre no. 1687r



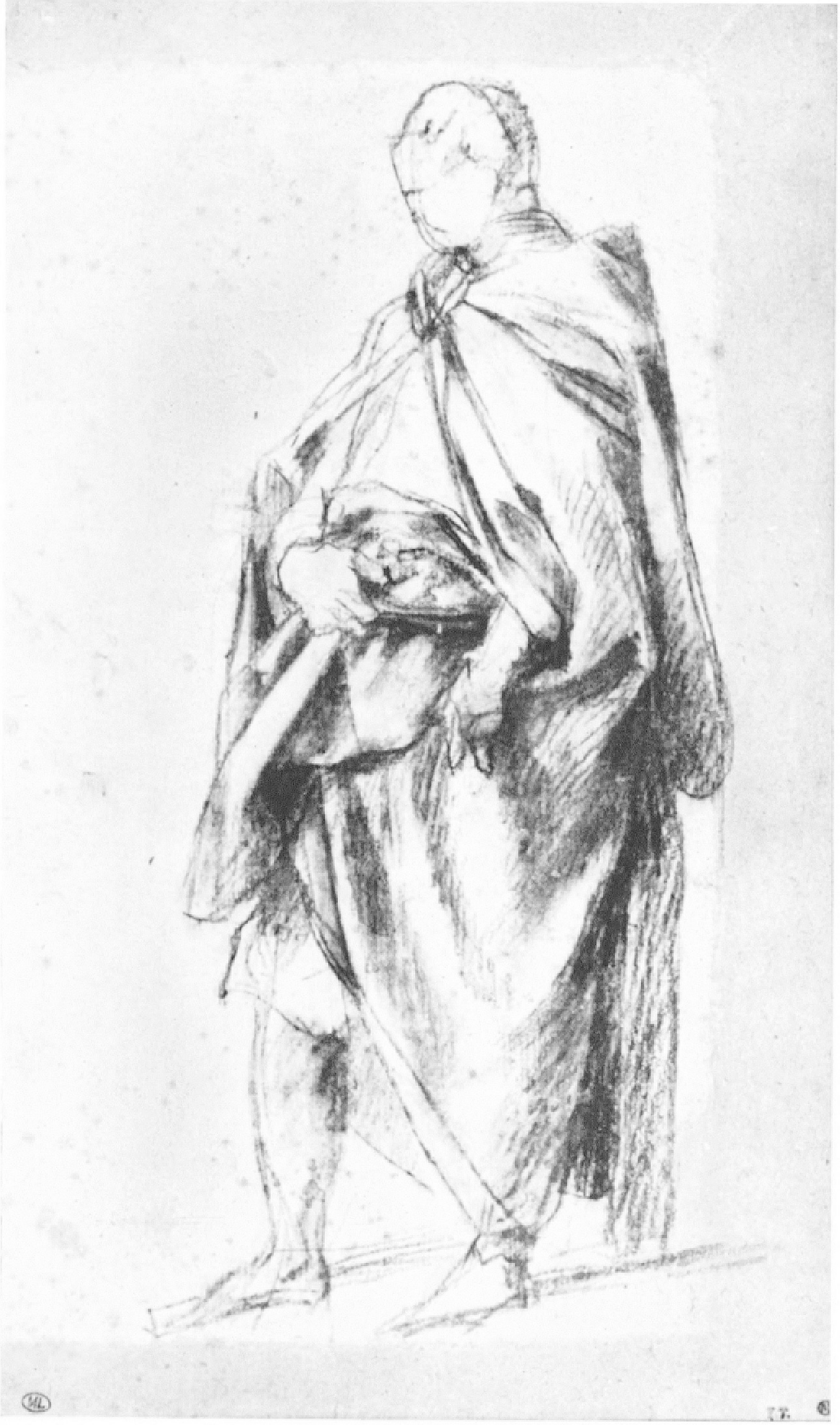
111. Study for the *Tribute to Caesar*. Paris, Louvre no. 1687v



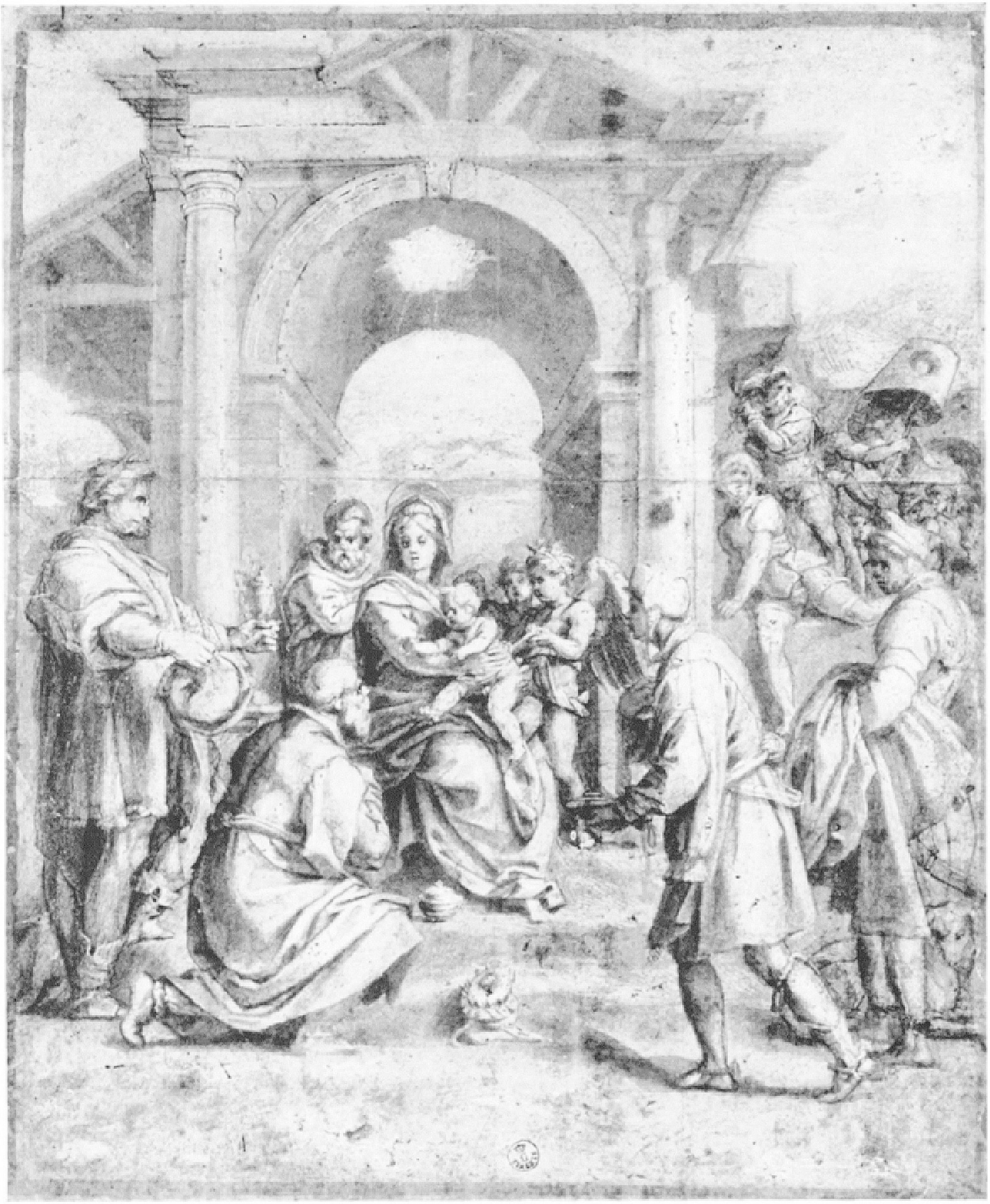
112. DANCE OF SALOME. Florence, Chiostro dello Scalzo



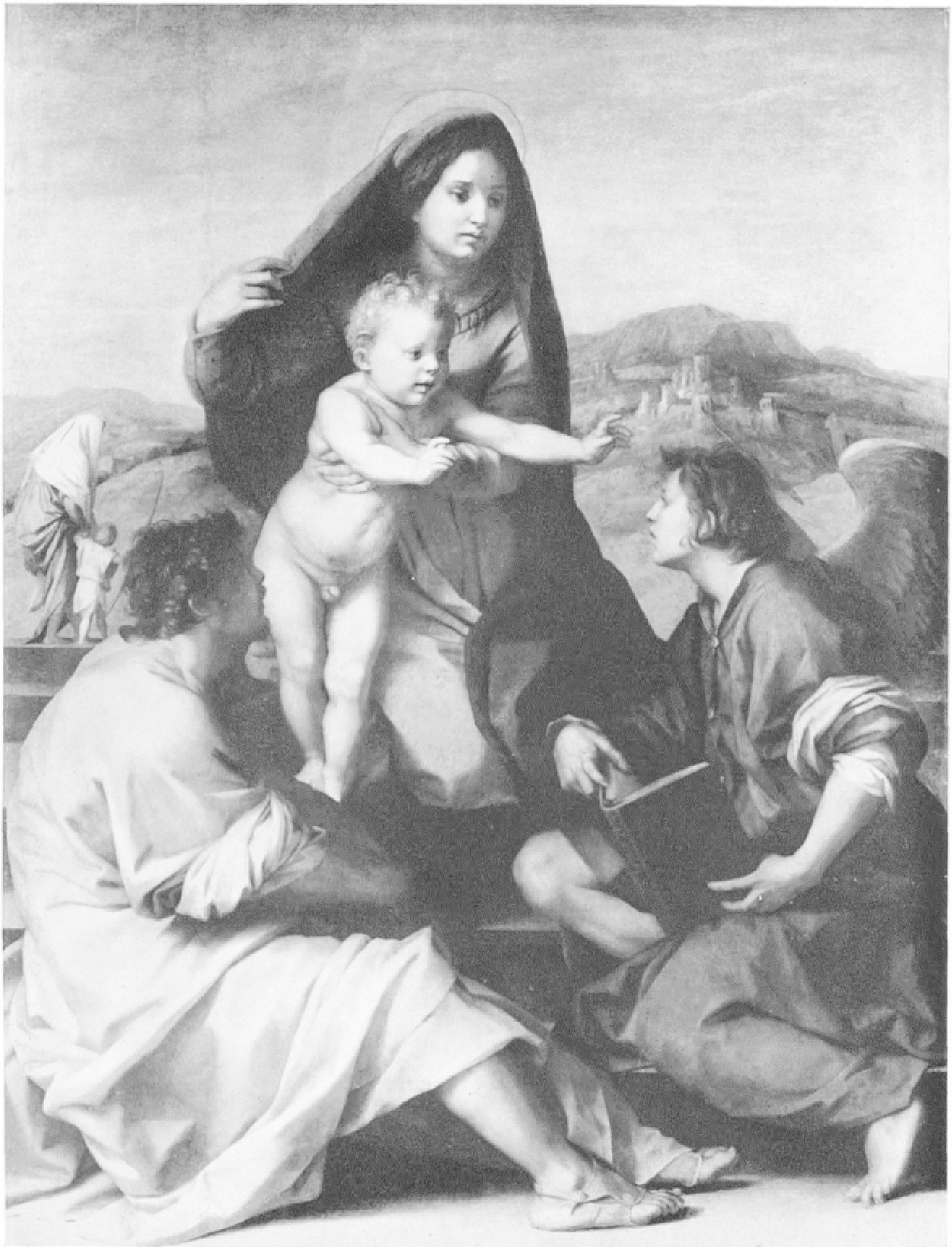
113. Detail of fig. 112, head of Salome



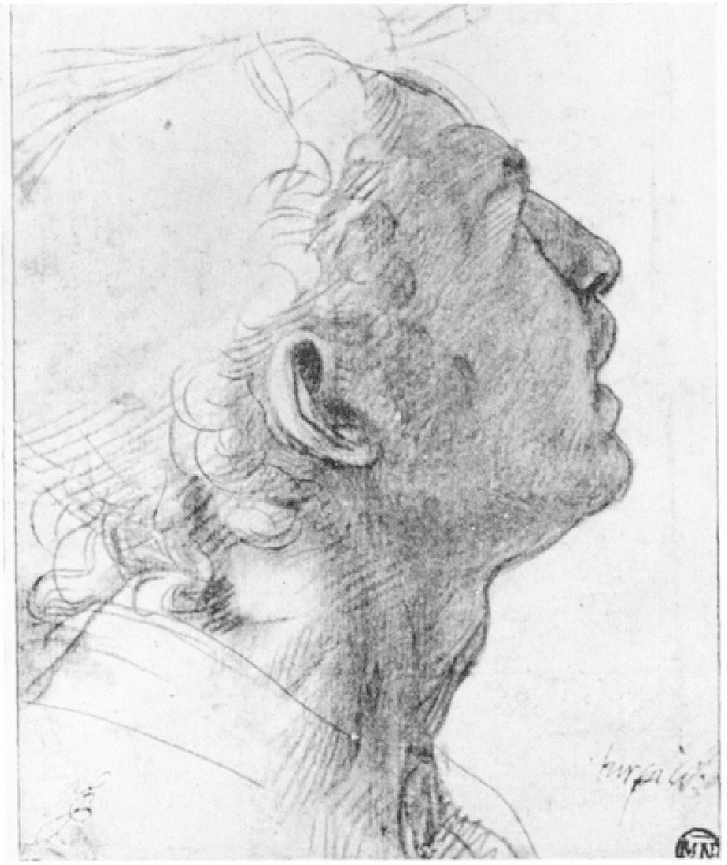
114. Study for the *Dance of Salome*. Paris, Louvre no. 1681



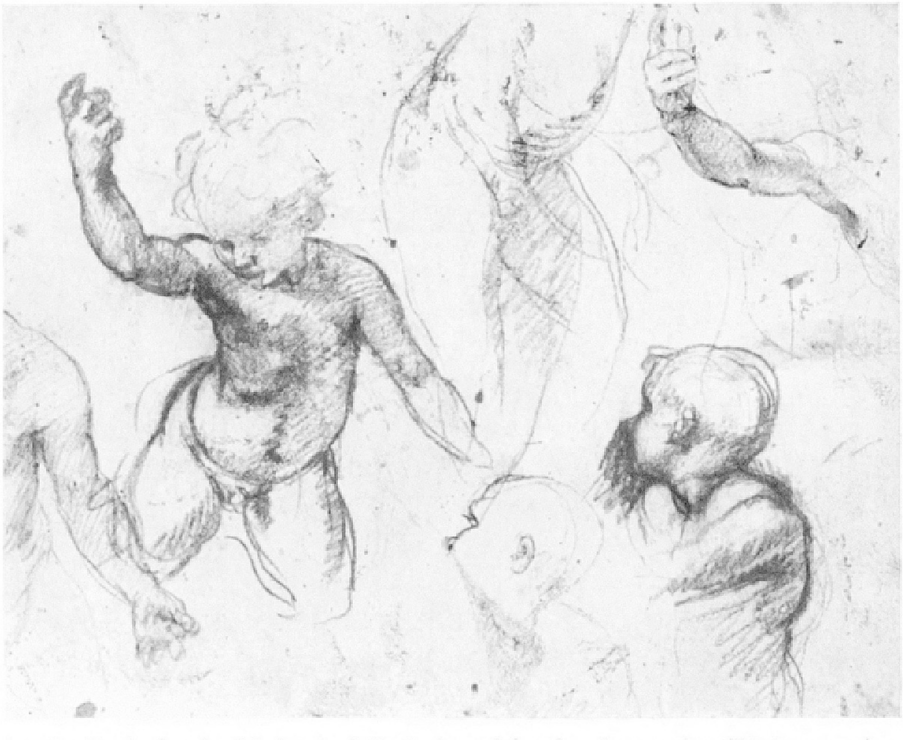
115. *Modello* for an *Adoration of the Kings.* Florence, Uffizi no. 634E



116. MADONNA DELLA SCALA. Madrid, Prado no. 334



117. Study for the *Madonna della Scala*. Paris, Louvre no. 1685r



118. Study for the *Madonna della Scala* and for the *Assumption* (Pitti no. 191).
London, British Museum no. 1910–2–12–37r

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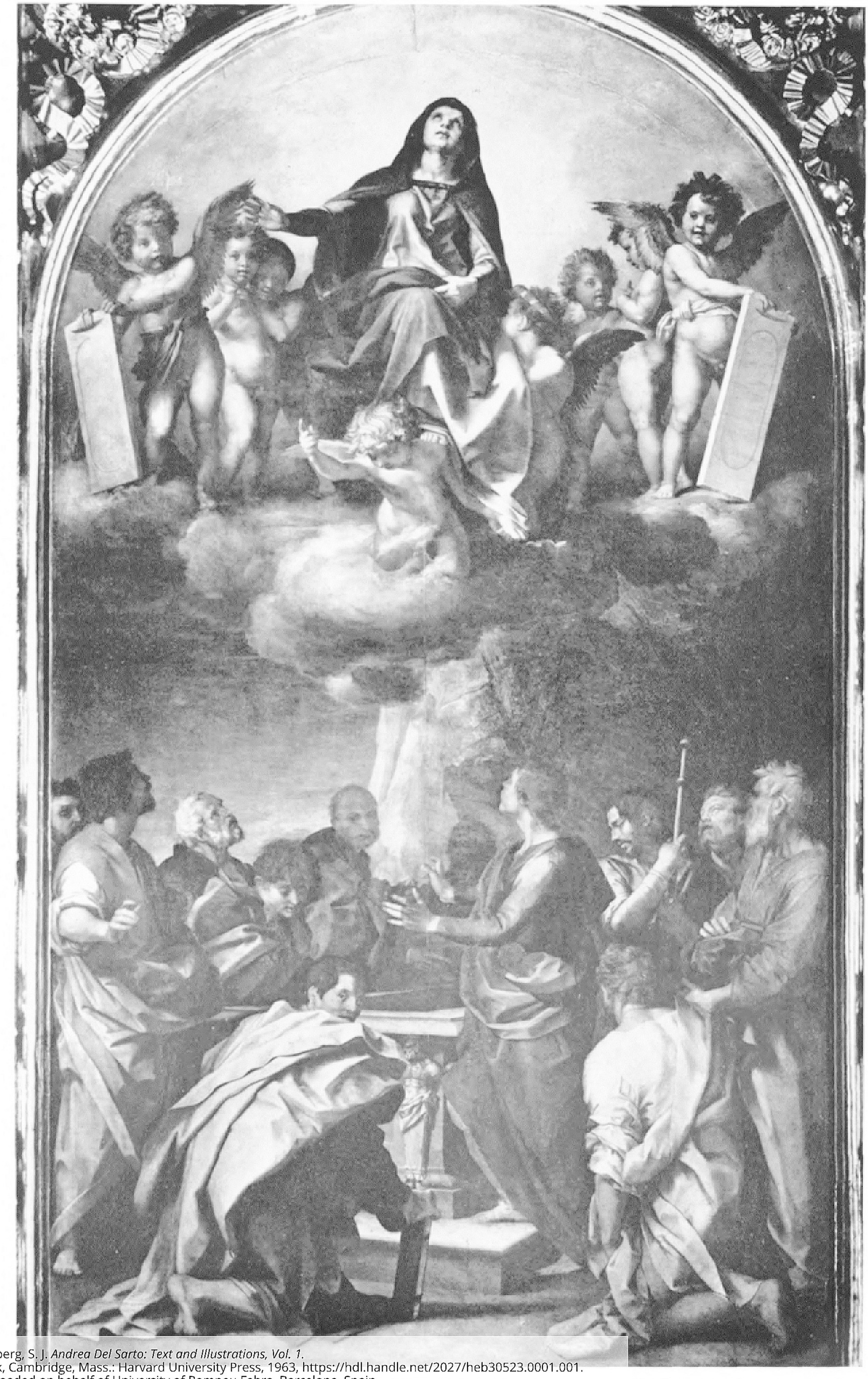
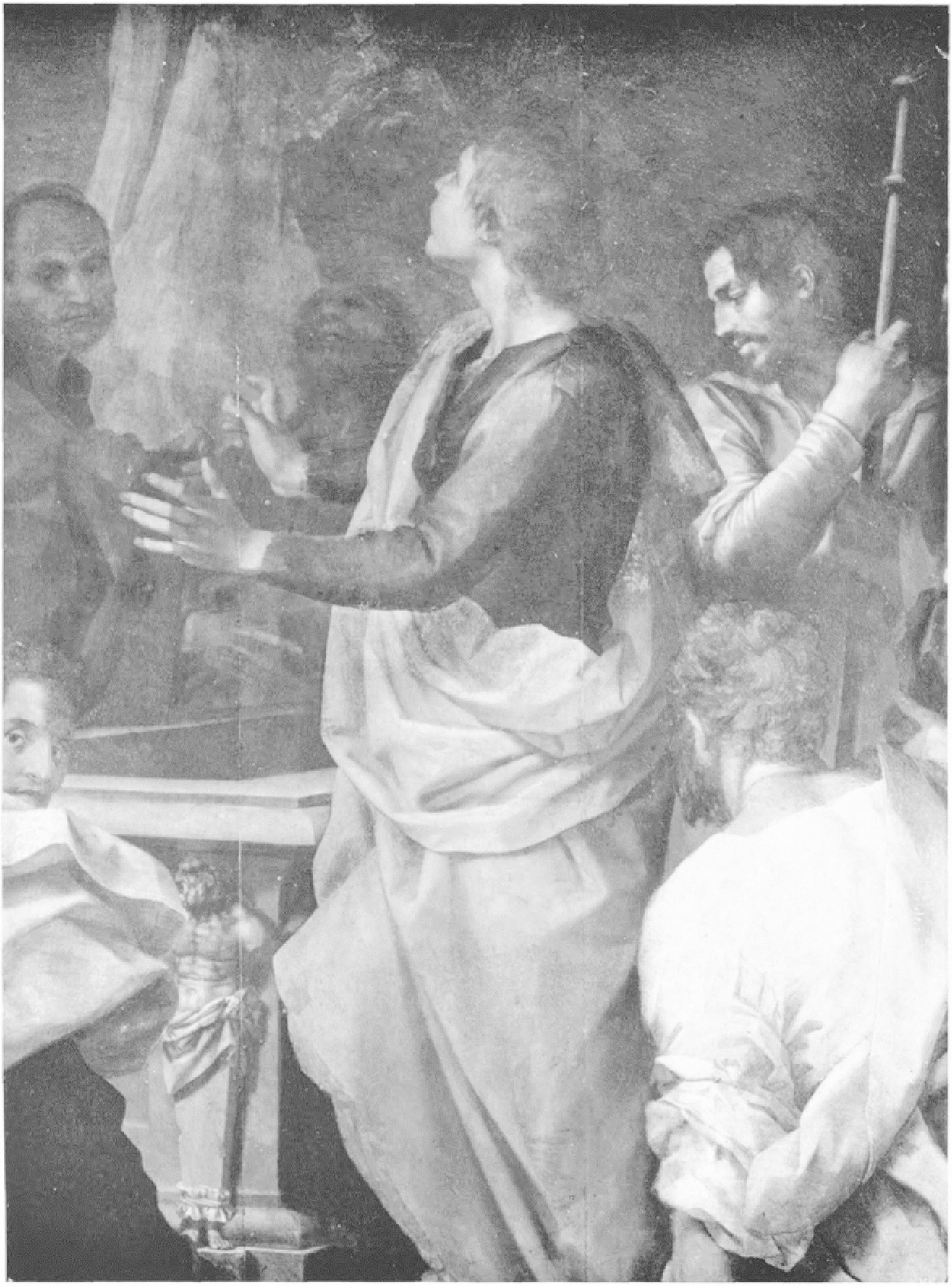
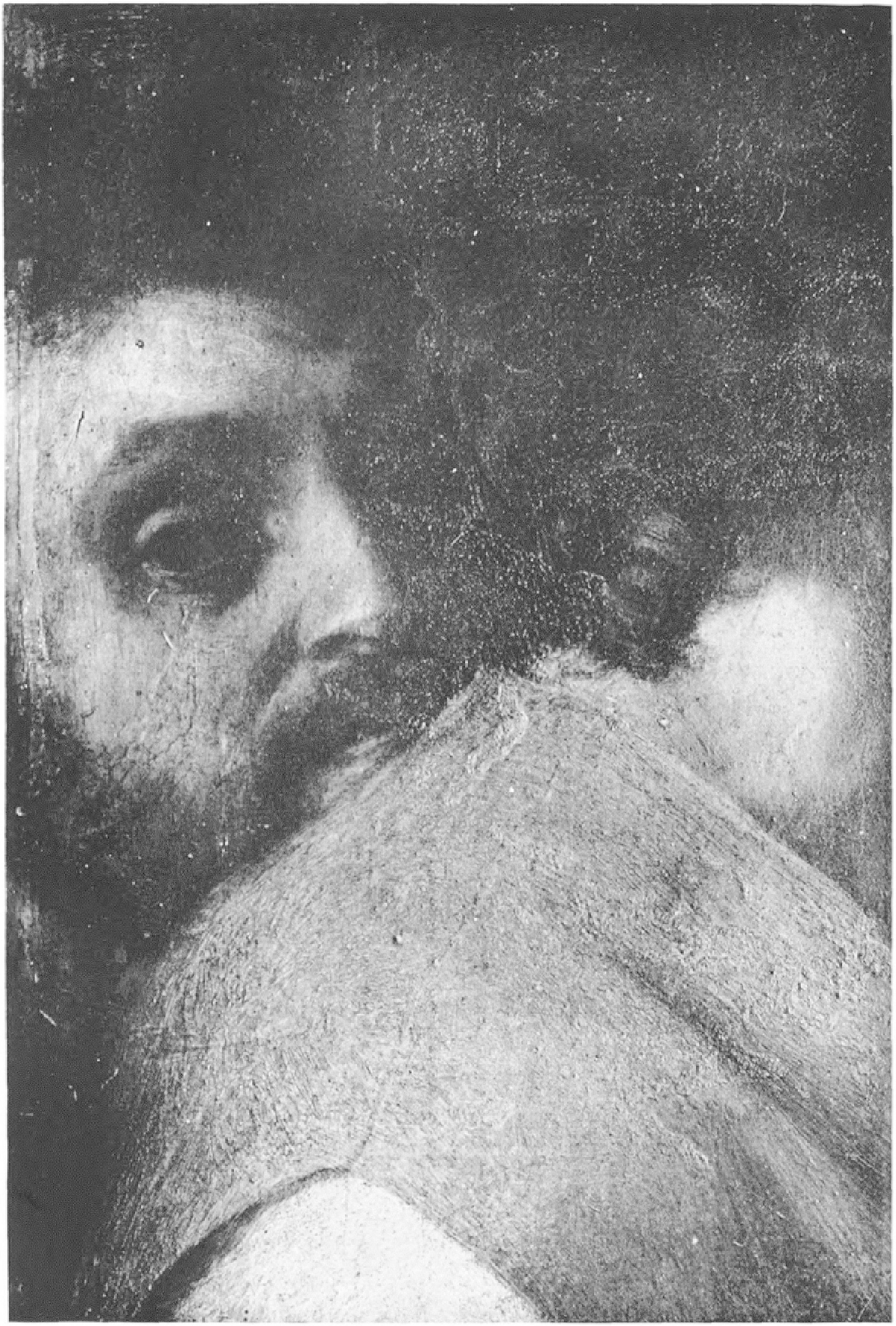
E-book, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb30523.0001.001.



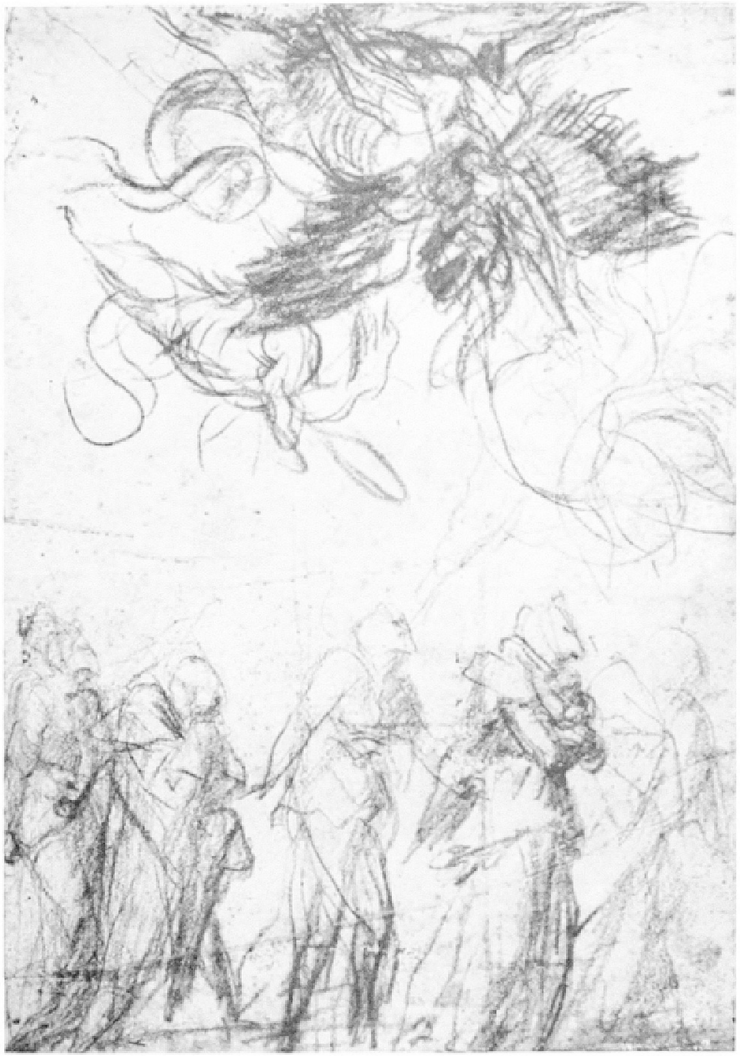
119. ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN, Florence, Pitti no. 191



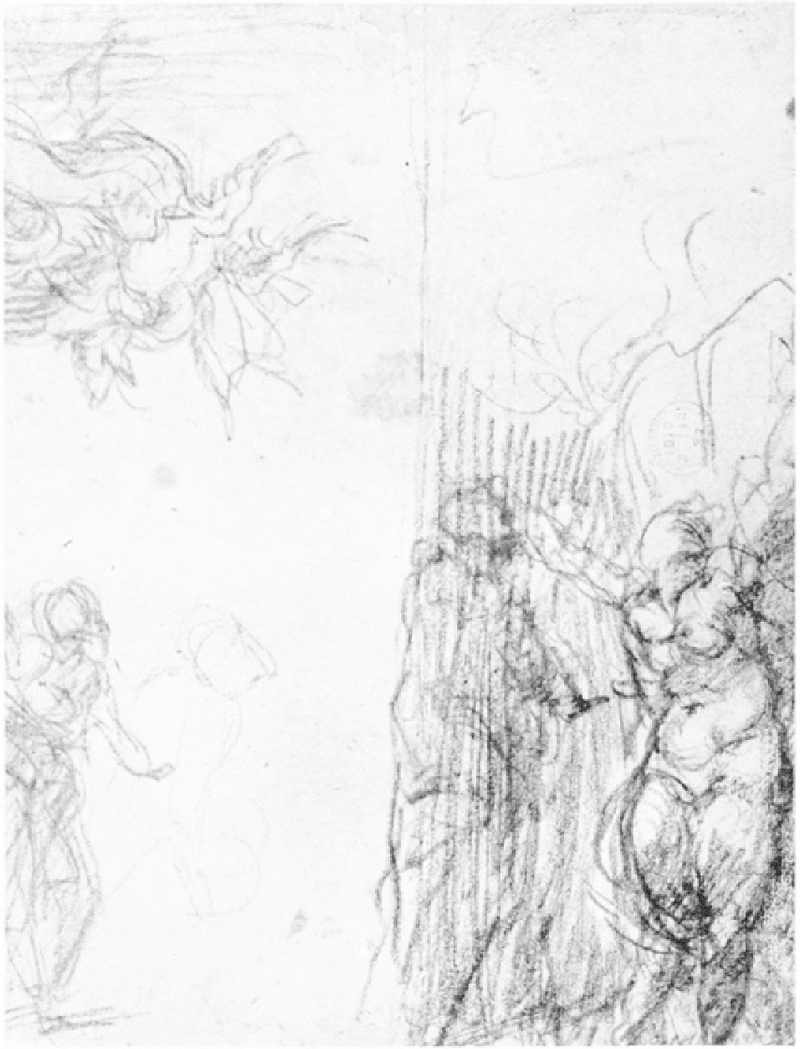
120. Detail of fig. 119



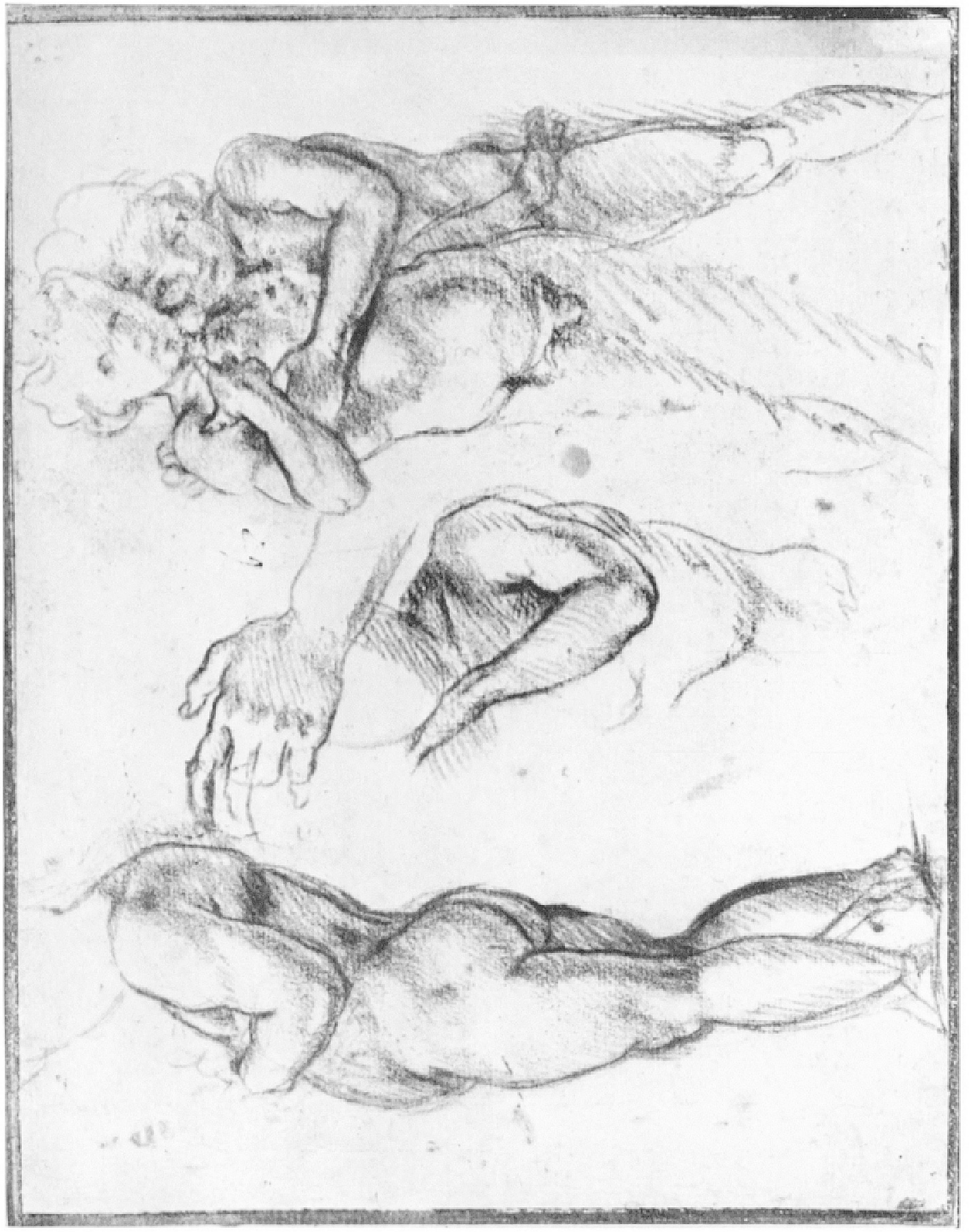
121. Detail of fig. 119, self-portrait of Andrea



122. Study for fig. 119. Paris, Lugt Collection no. J2537v

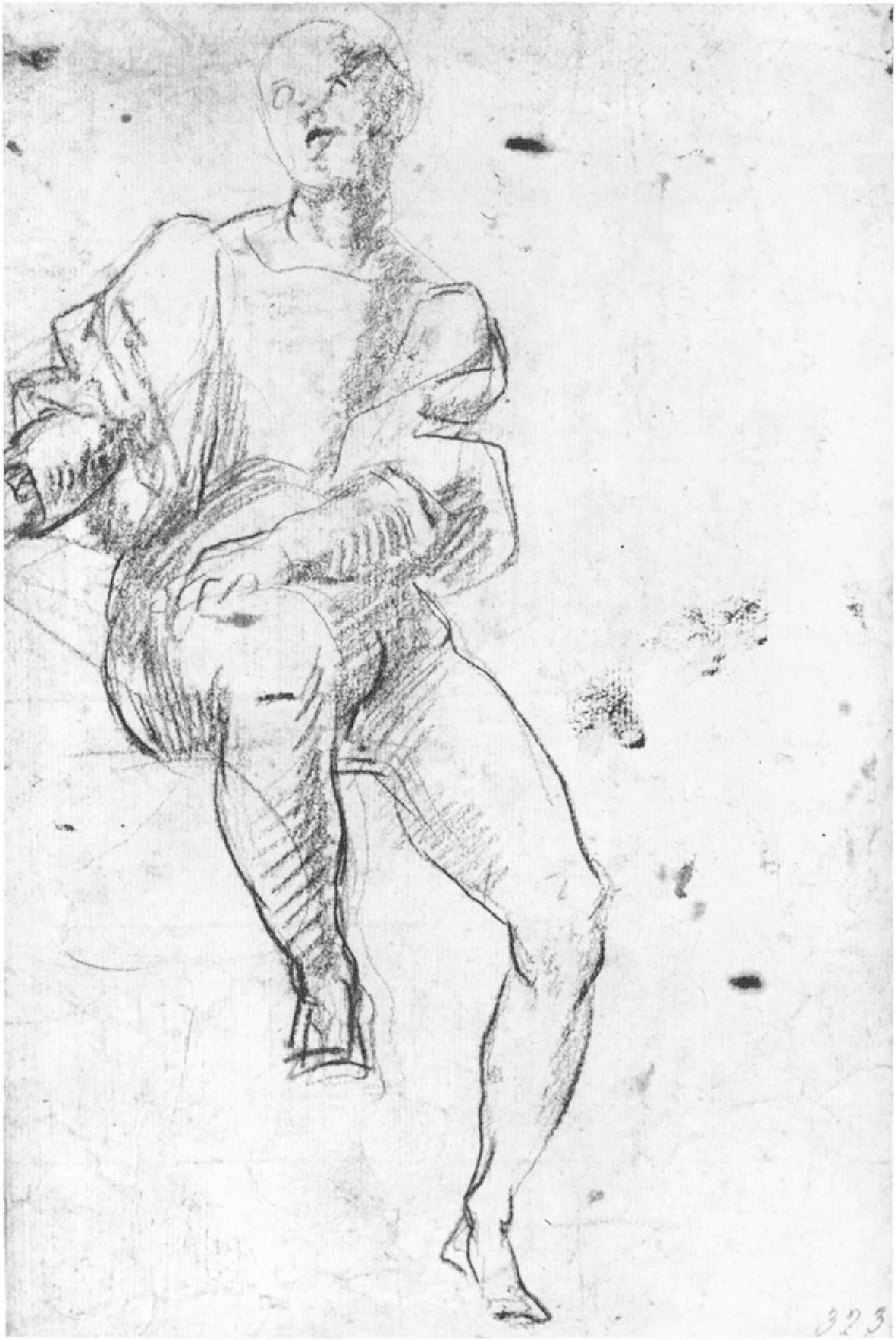


123. Study for fig. 119. London, British Museum no. 1910–2–12–37v

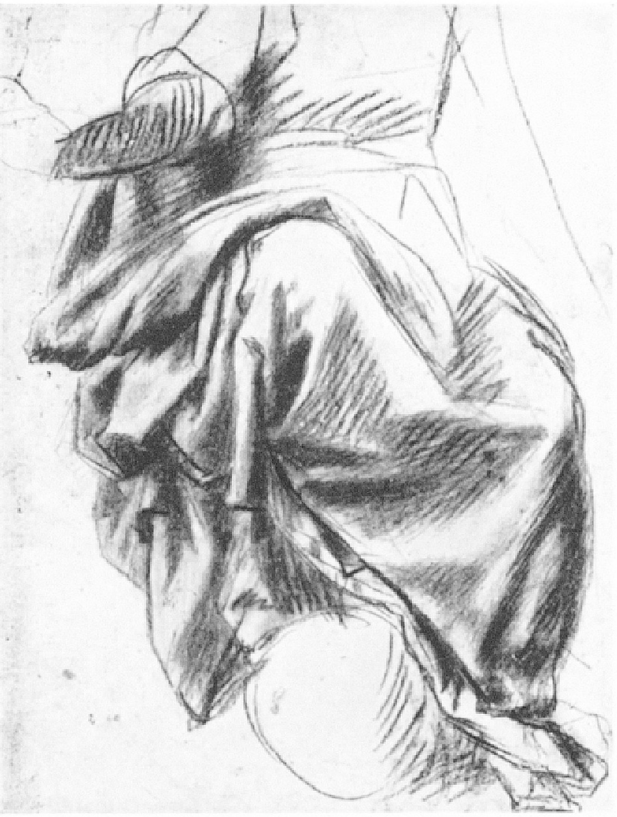


124. Study for fig. 119. London, British Museum no. 5210-63r

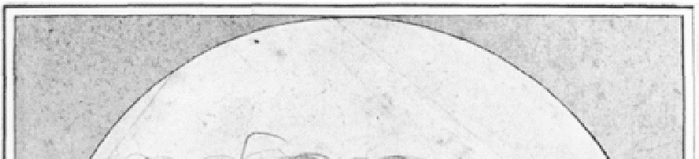
Freedberg, S. J. *Andrea Del Sarto: Text and Illustrations, Vol. 1.*
E-book, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb30523.0001.001.



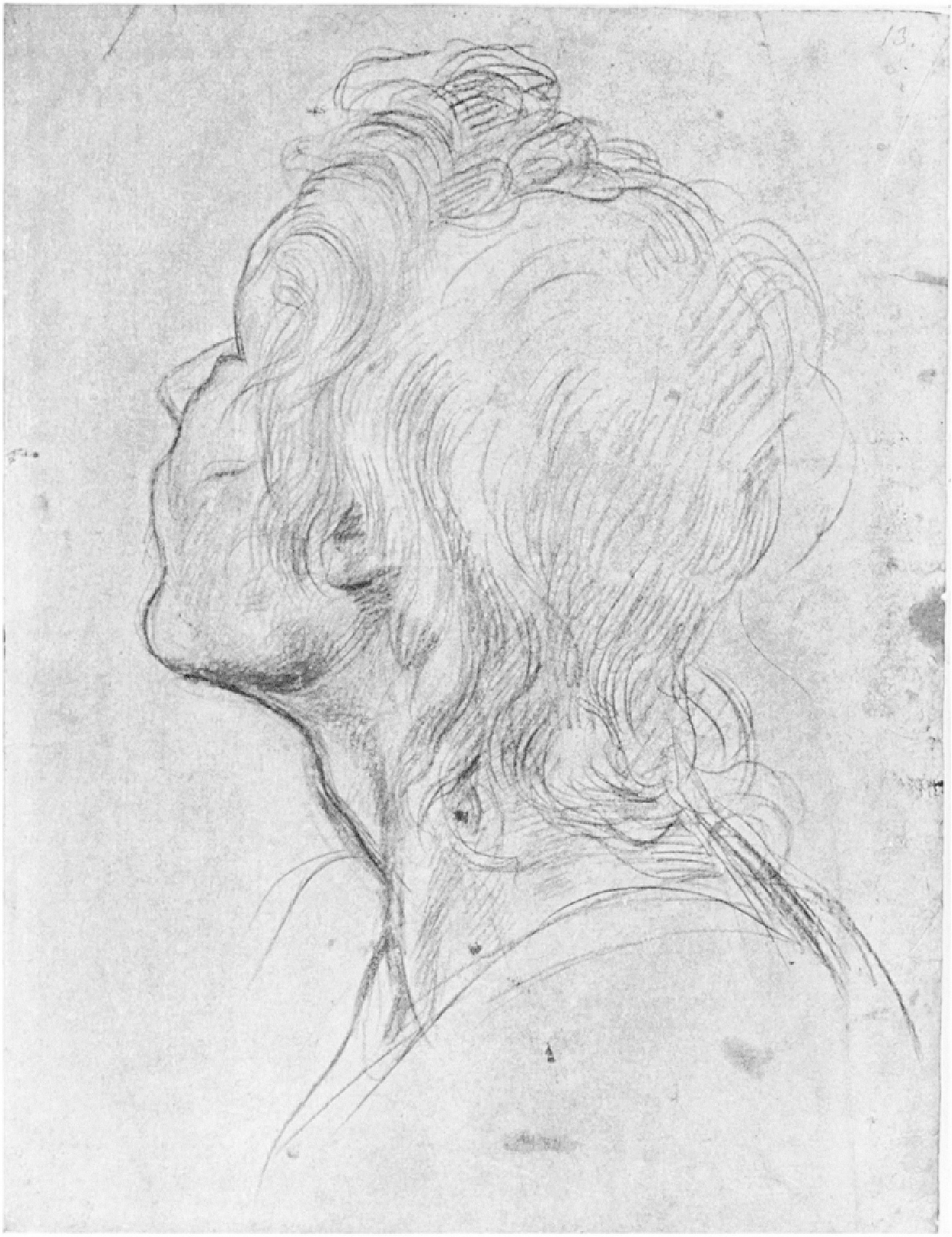
125. Study for fig. 119. Florence, Uffizi no. 323Fv



126. Study for fig. 119. Florence, Uffizi no. 327Fv



127. Study for fig. 119. Hamburg, Kunsthalle no. 21459



128. Study for fig. 119. Rome, Gabinetto Nazionale no. 124156r

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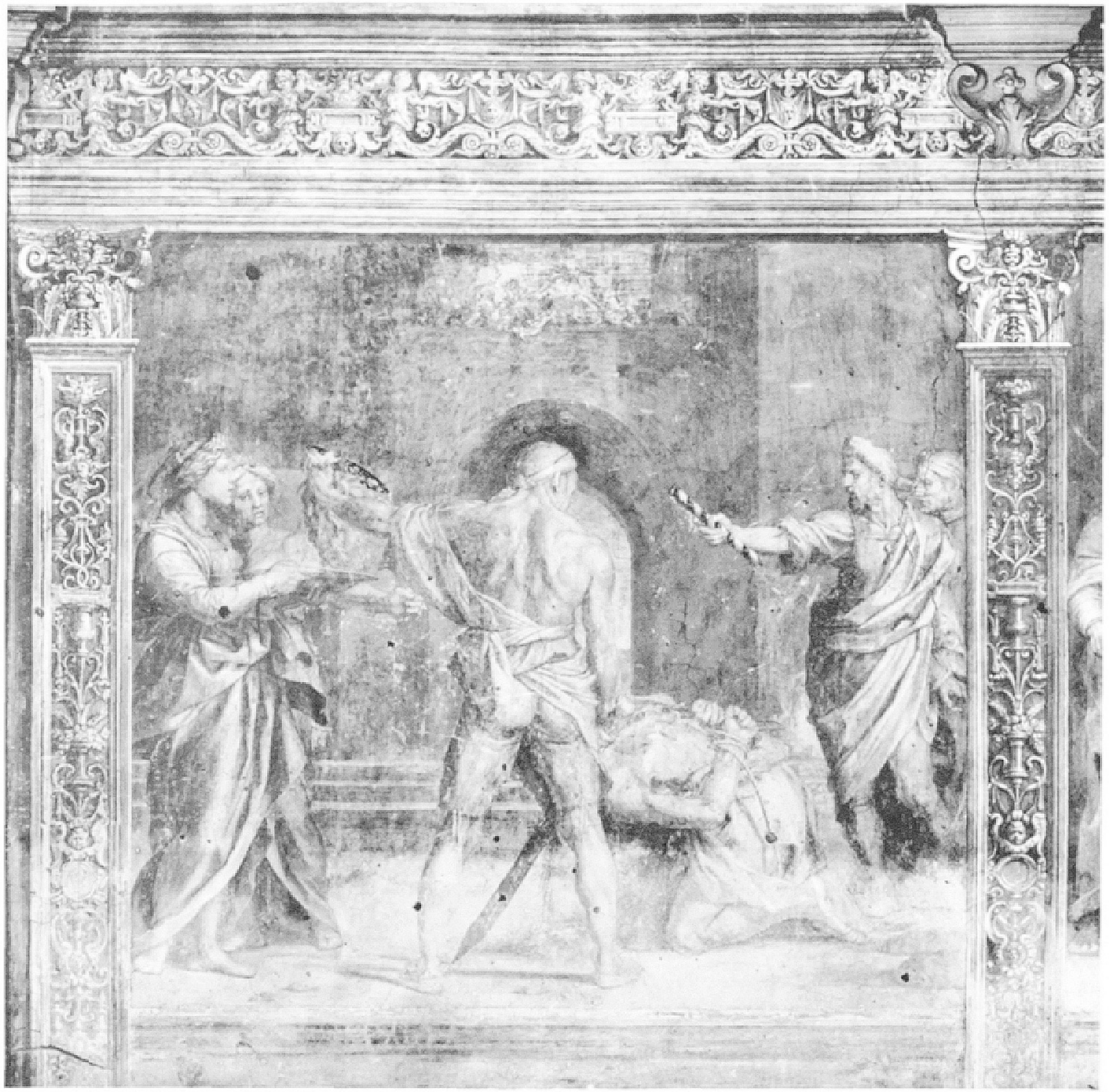
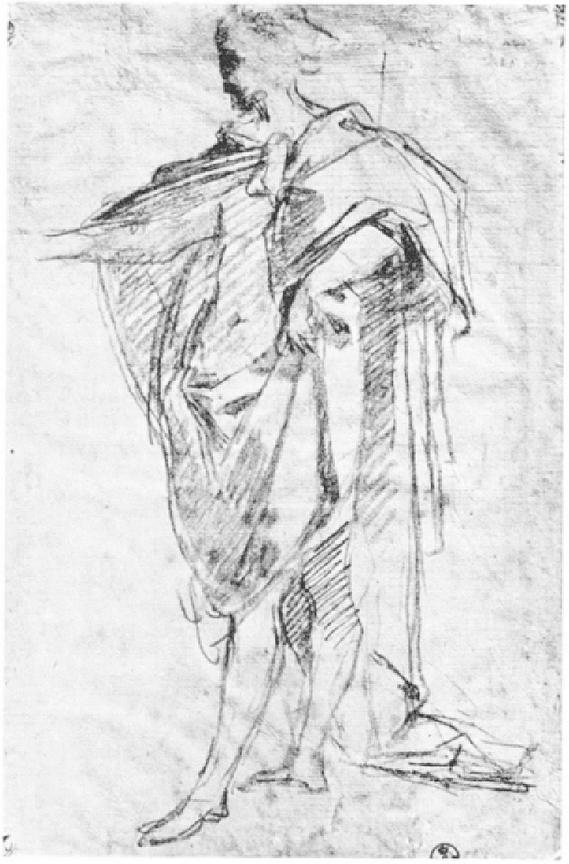
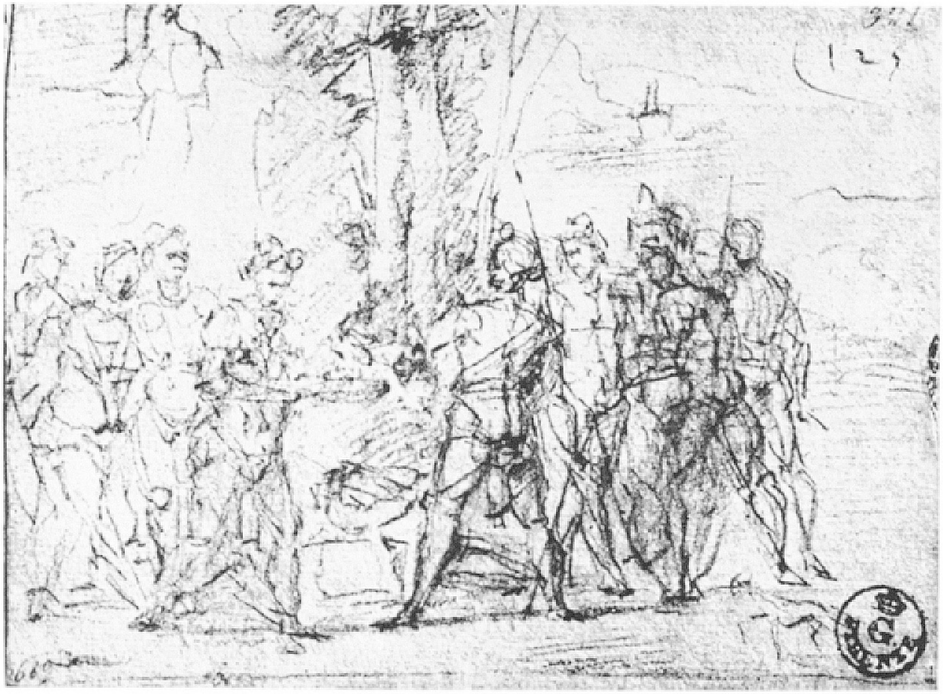
E-book, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb30523.0001.001.



129. BEHEADING OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST. Florence, Chiostro dello Scalzo



130. Study for the *Beheading of St. John the Baptist.* Florence, Uffizi no. 652Er



131. Study for the *Beheading of St. John the Baptist.* Florence, Uffizi no. 321F

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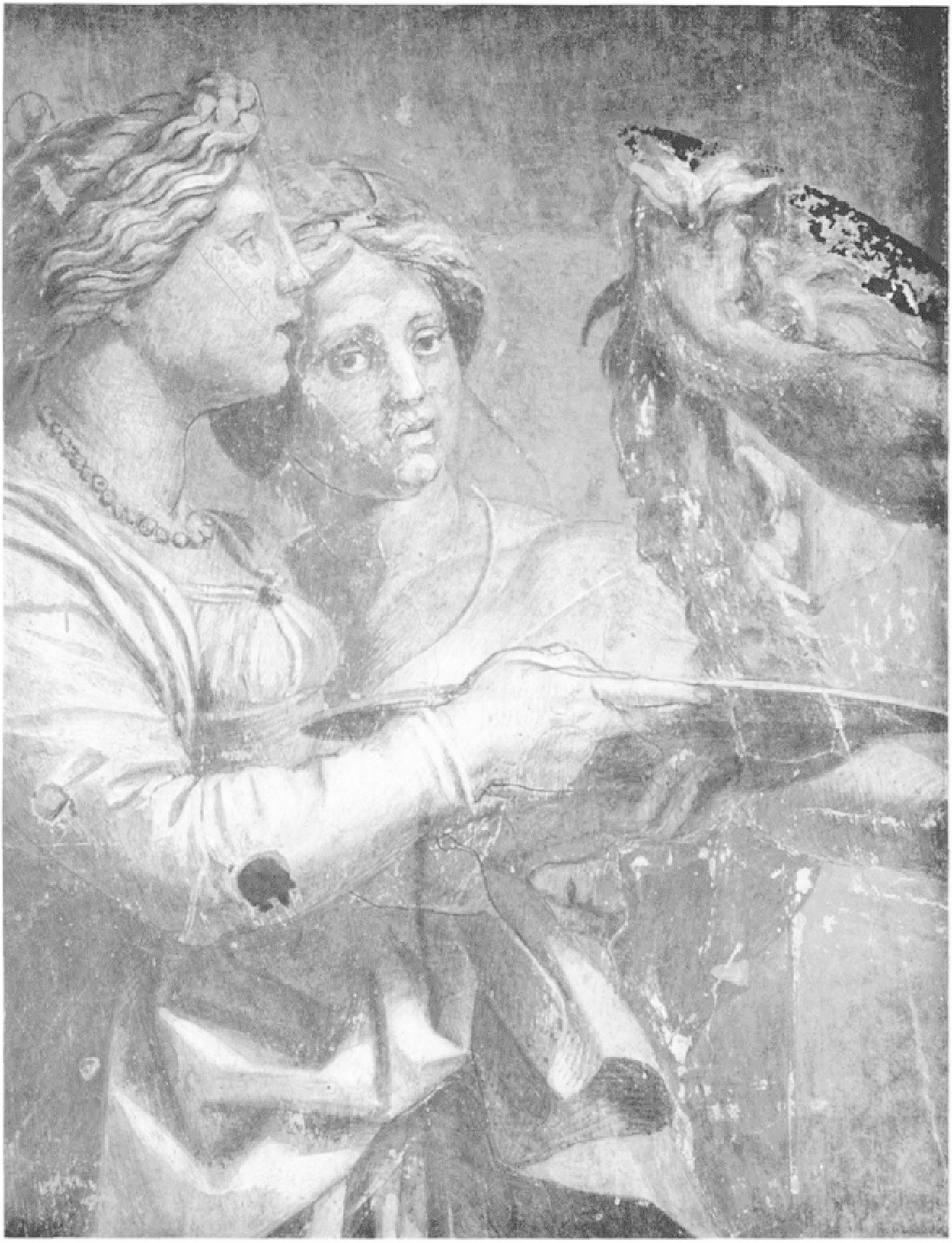
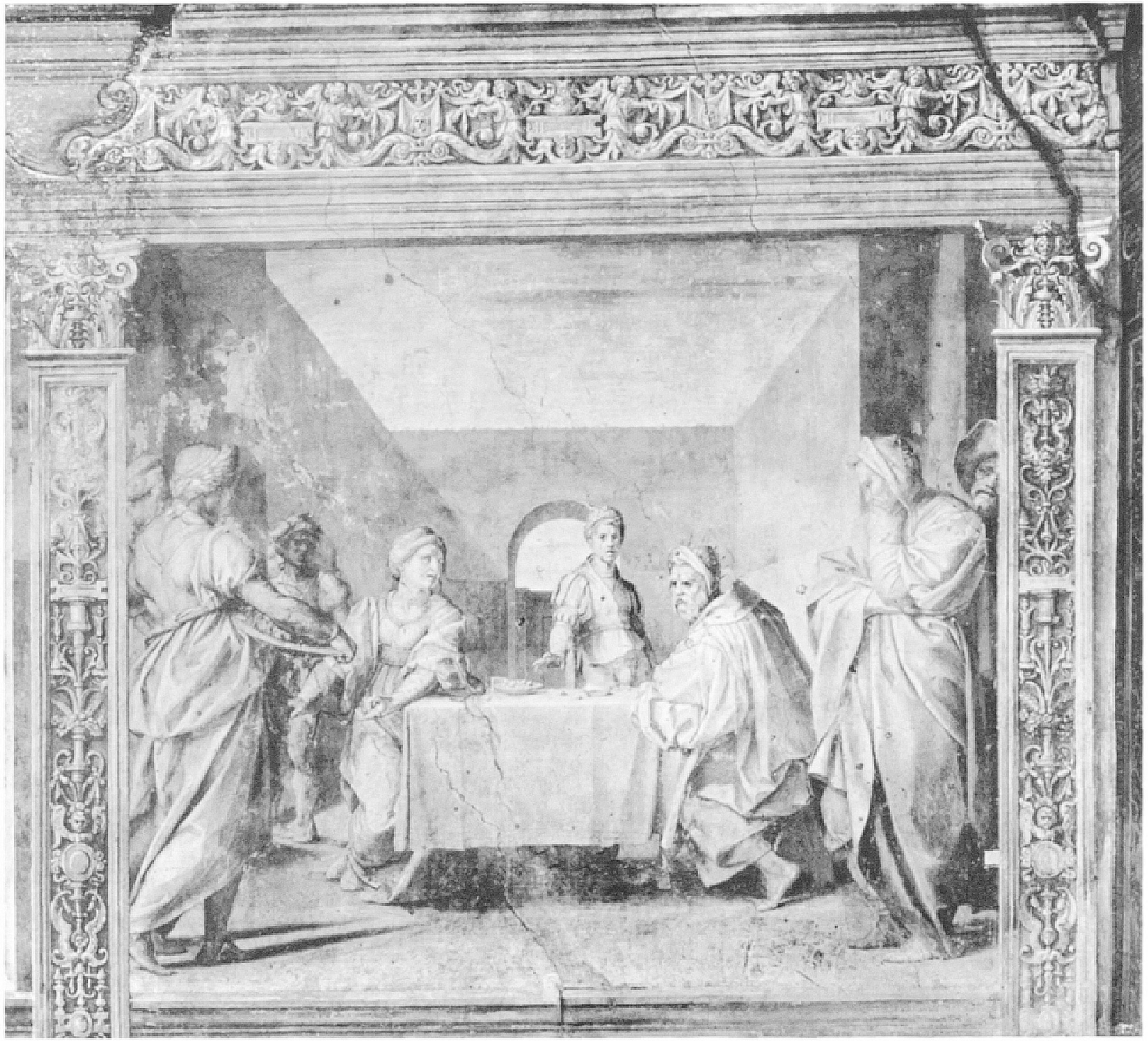
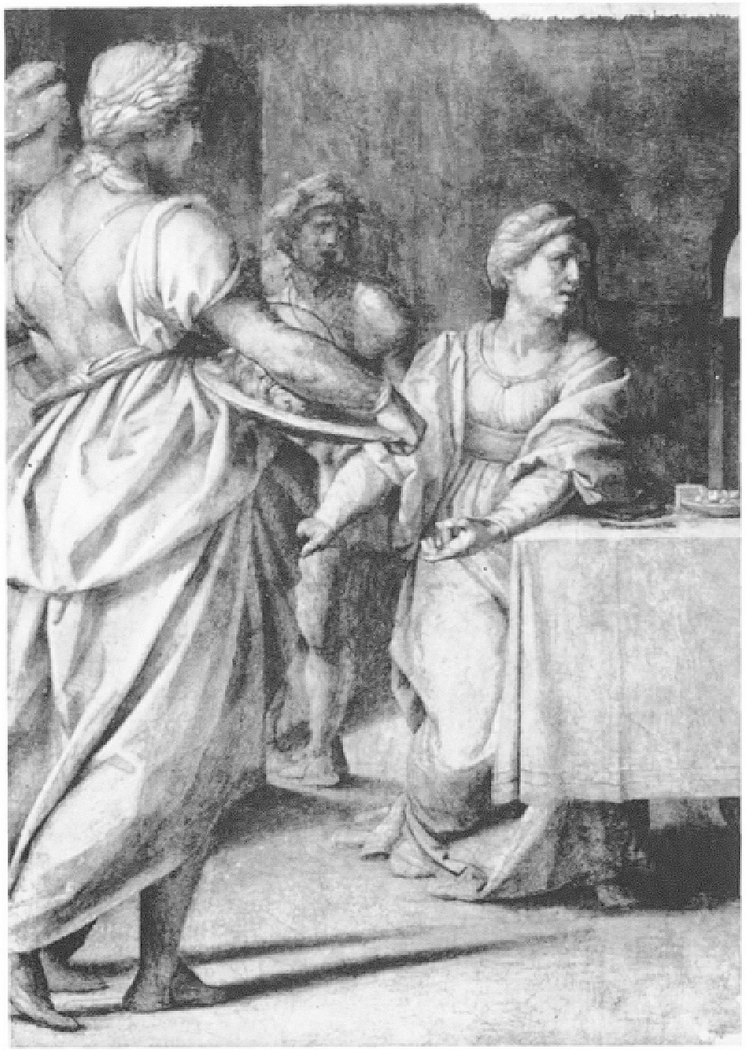
E-book, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb30523.0001.001.



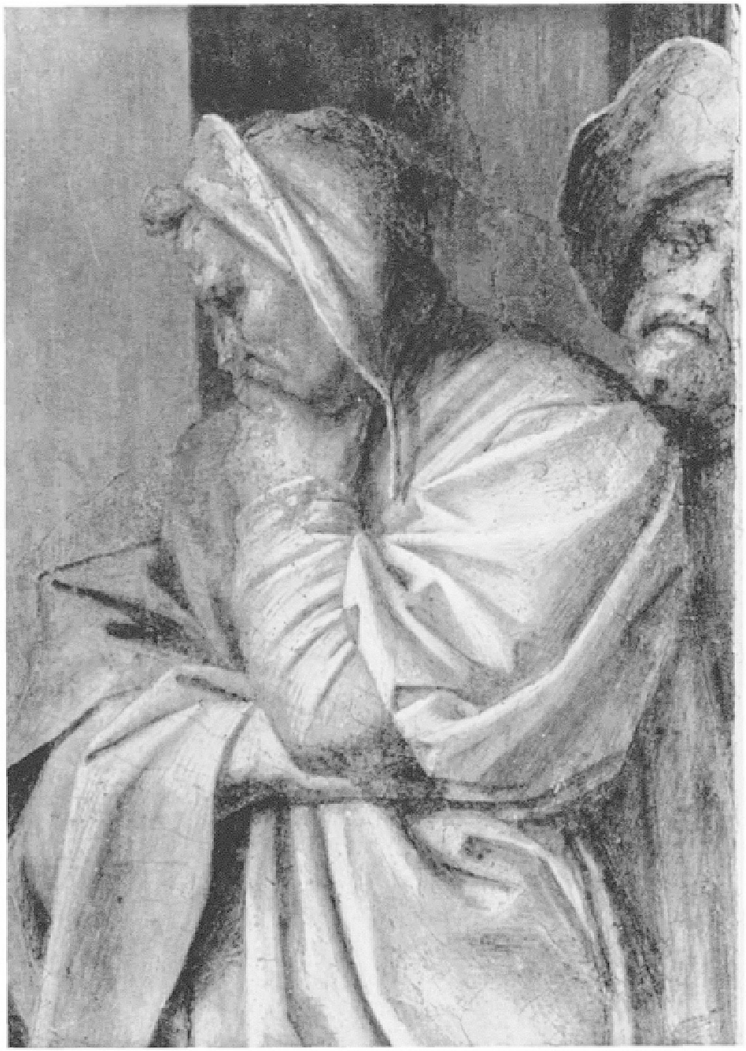
132. Detail of fig. 129



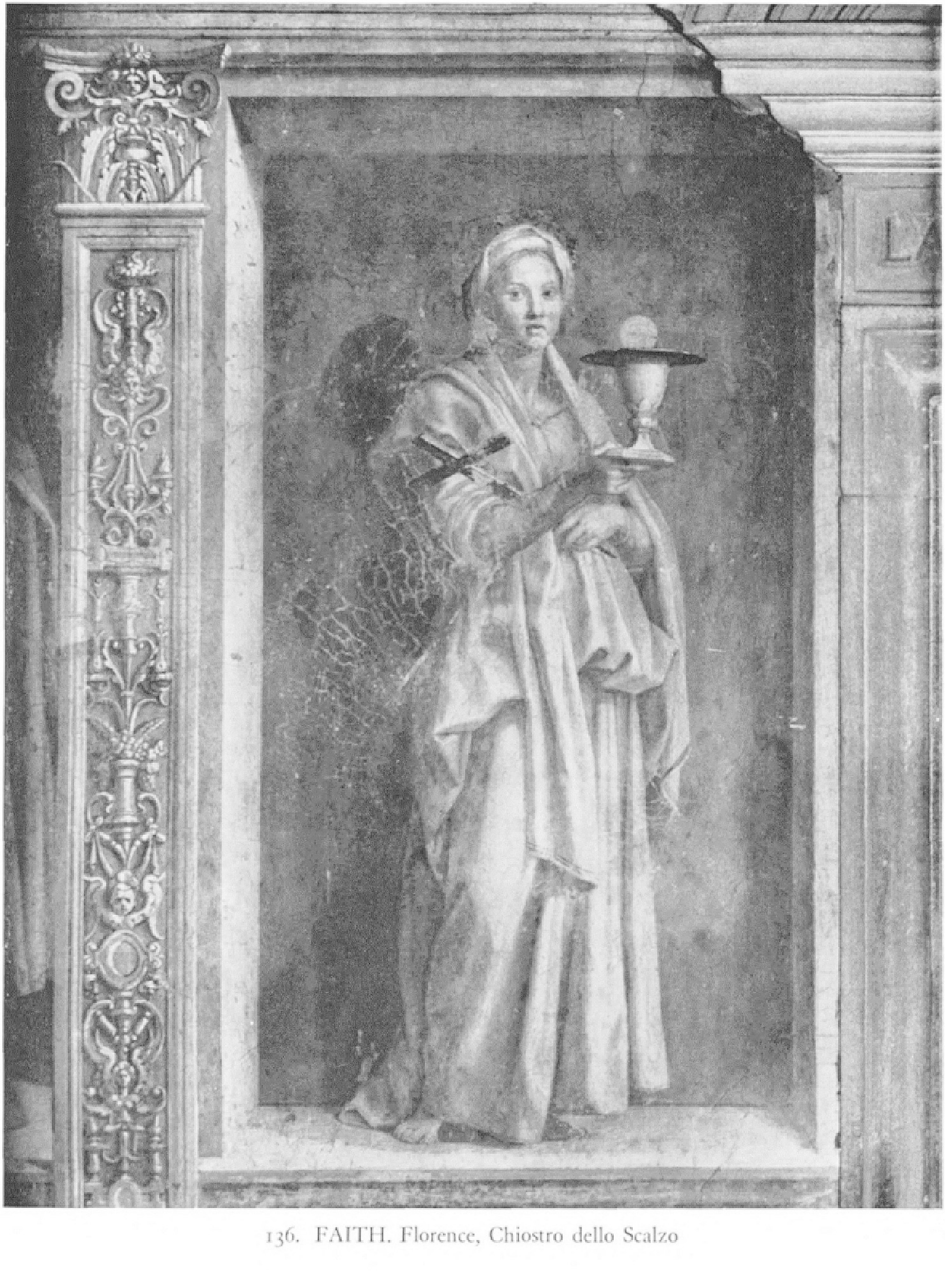
133. PRESENTATION OF THE HEAD OF ST. JOHN. Florence, Chiostro dello Scalzo



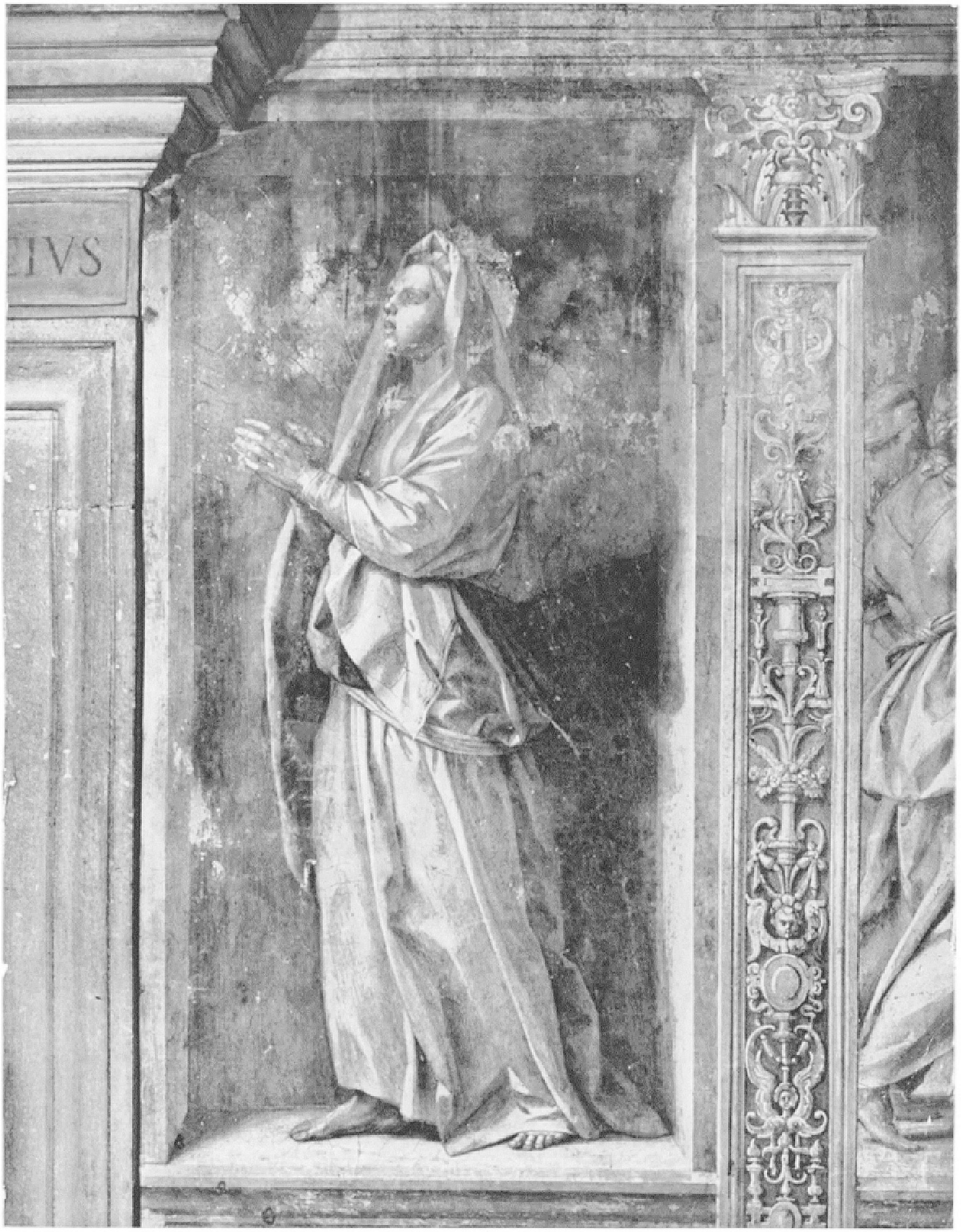
134. Detail from the *Presentation of the Head of St. John* (after restoration)



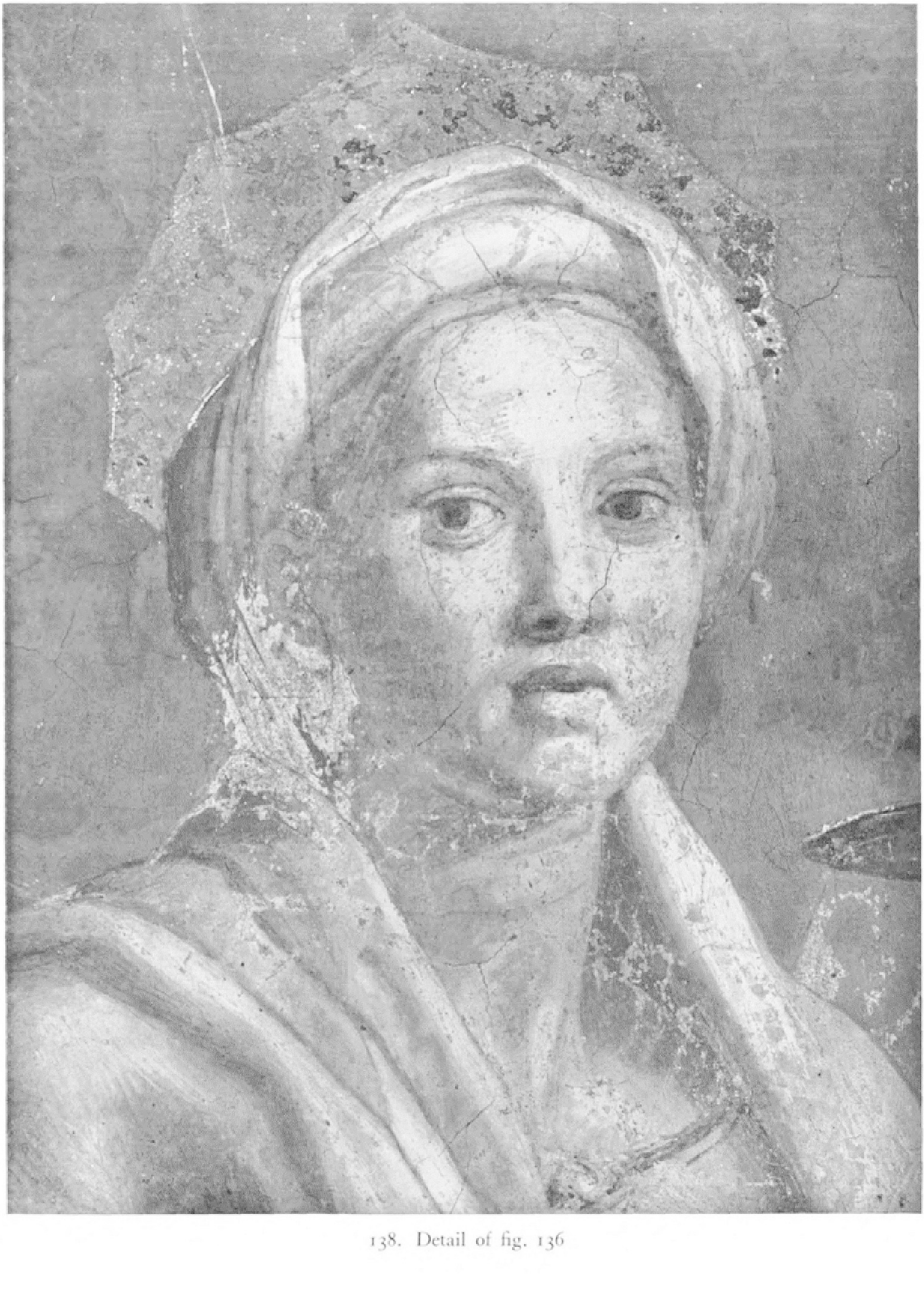
135. Detail from the *Presentation of the Head of St. John* (after restoration)



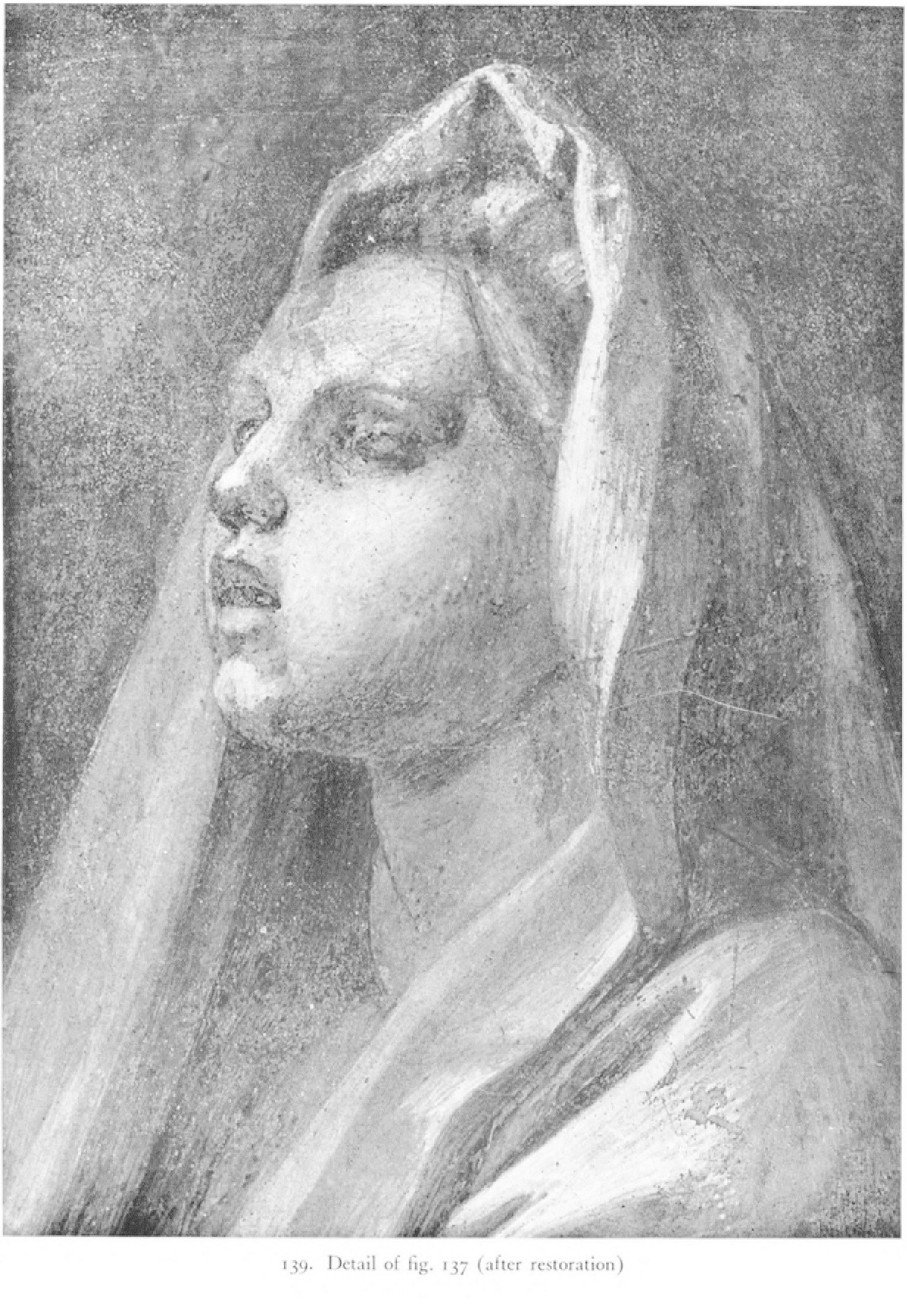
136. FAITH. Florence, Chiostro dello Scalzo



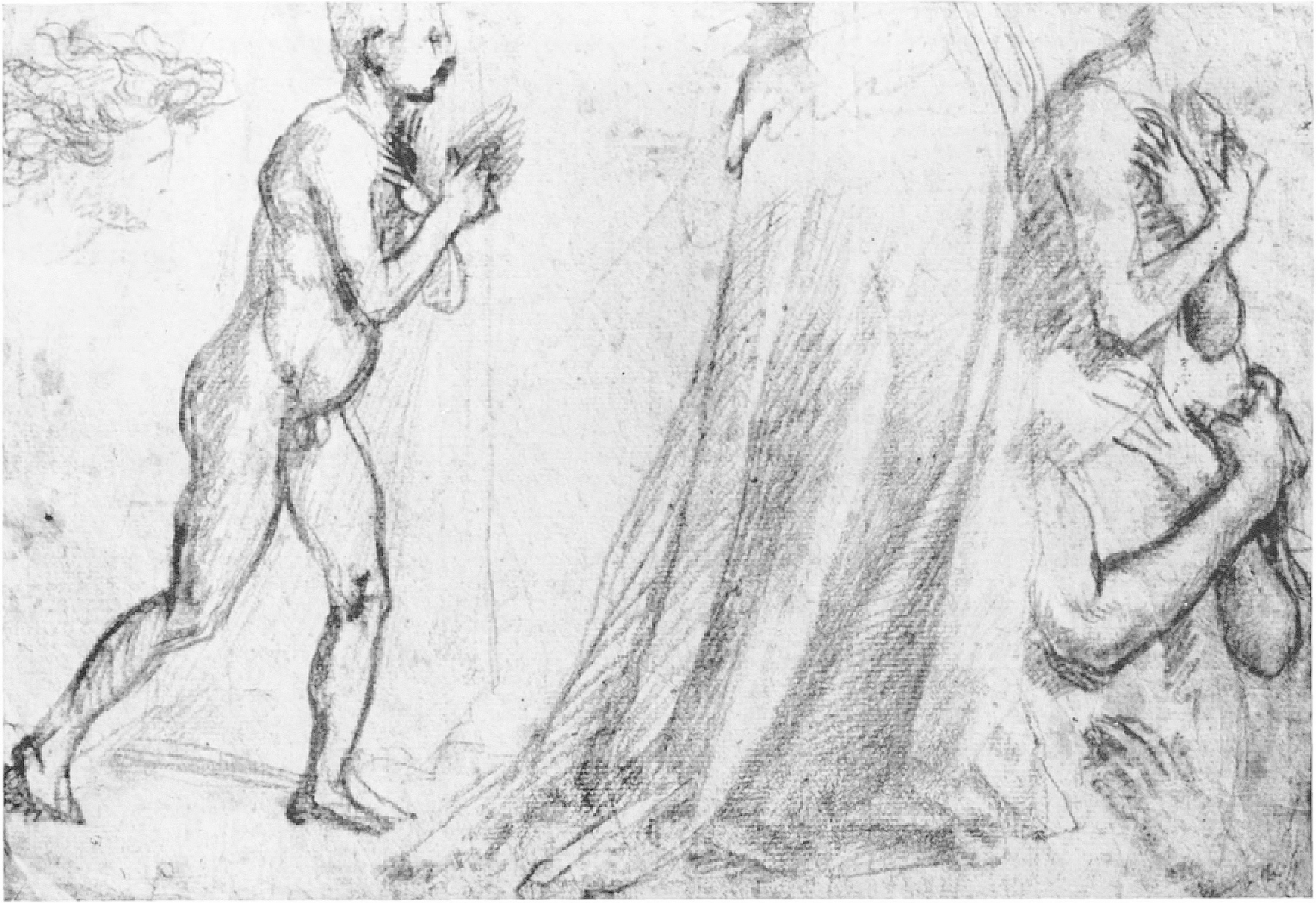
137. HOPE. Florence, Chiostro dello Scalzo



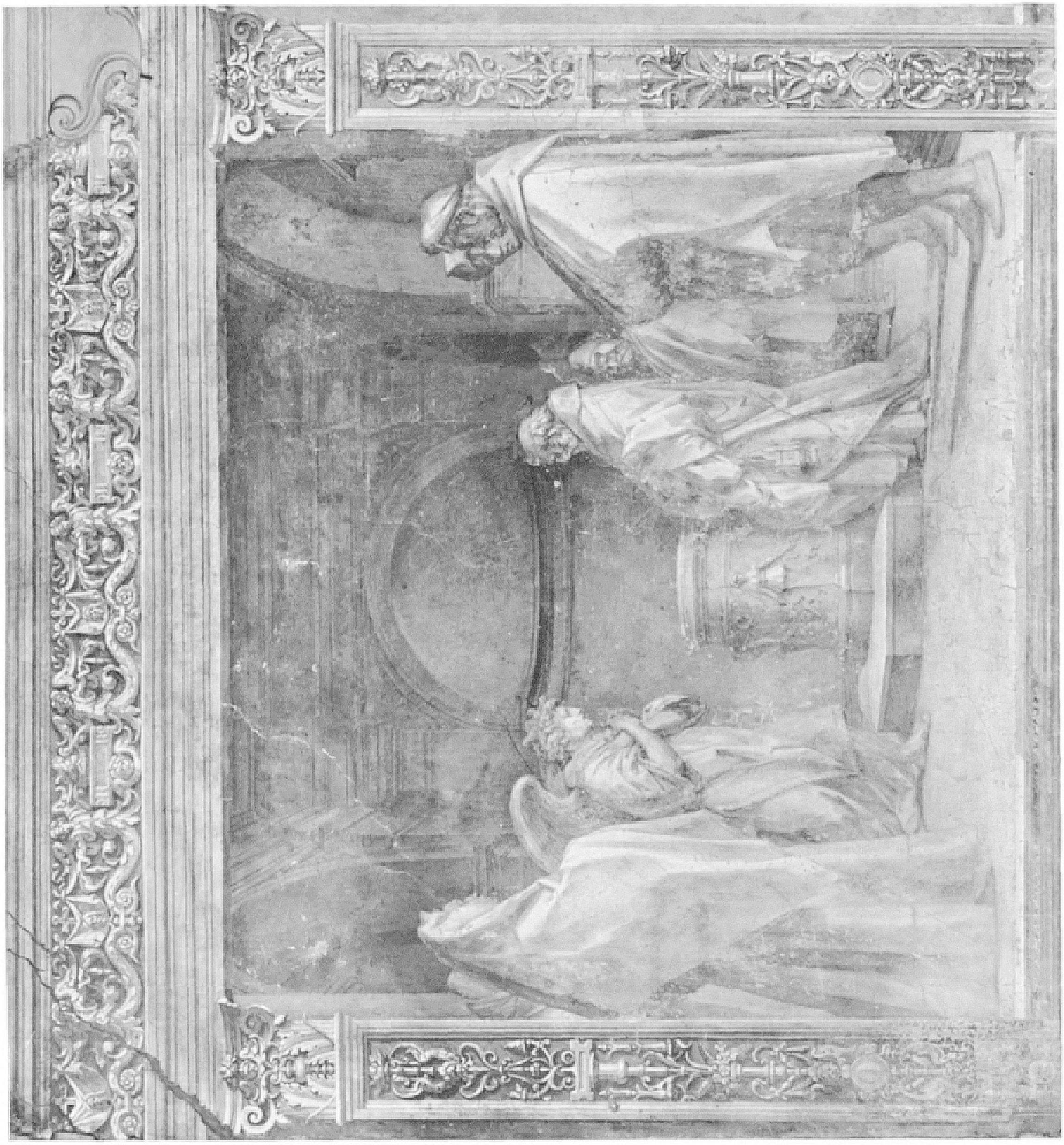
138. Detail of fig. 136



139. Detail of fig. 137 (after restoration)

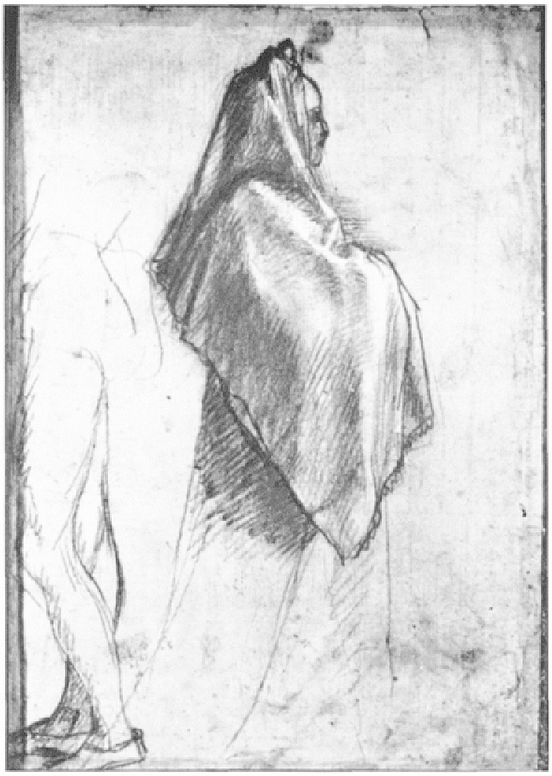


140. Study for the *Annunciation to Zachary*. Madrid, Prado no. 2767r

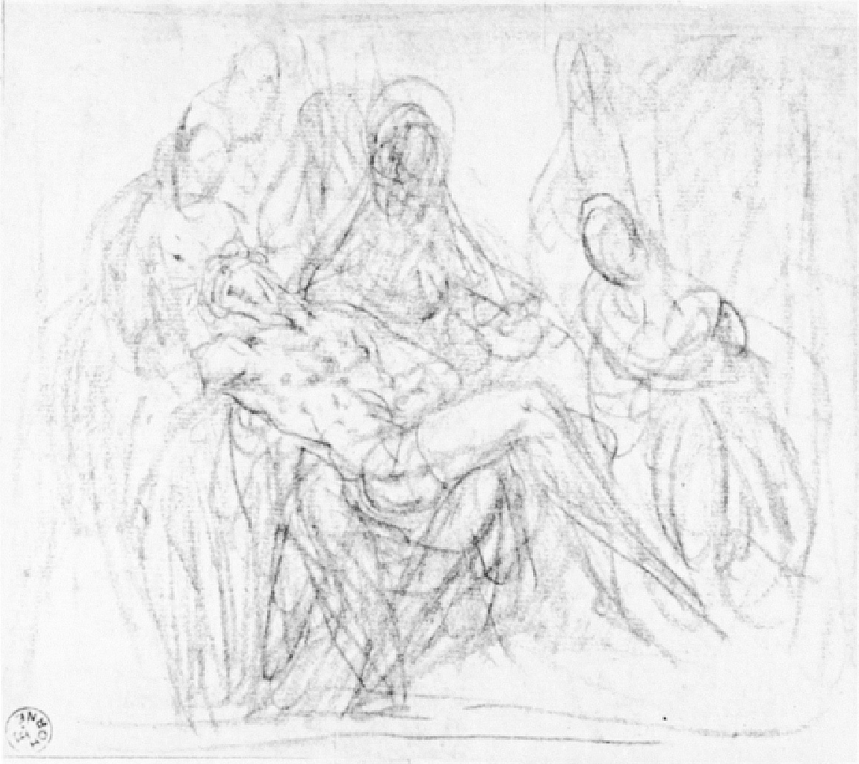


141. ANNUNCIATION TO ZACHARY. Florence, Chiostro dello Scalzo

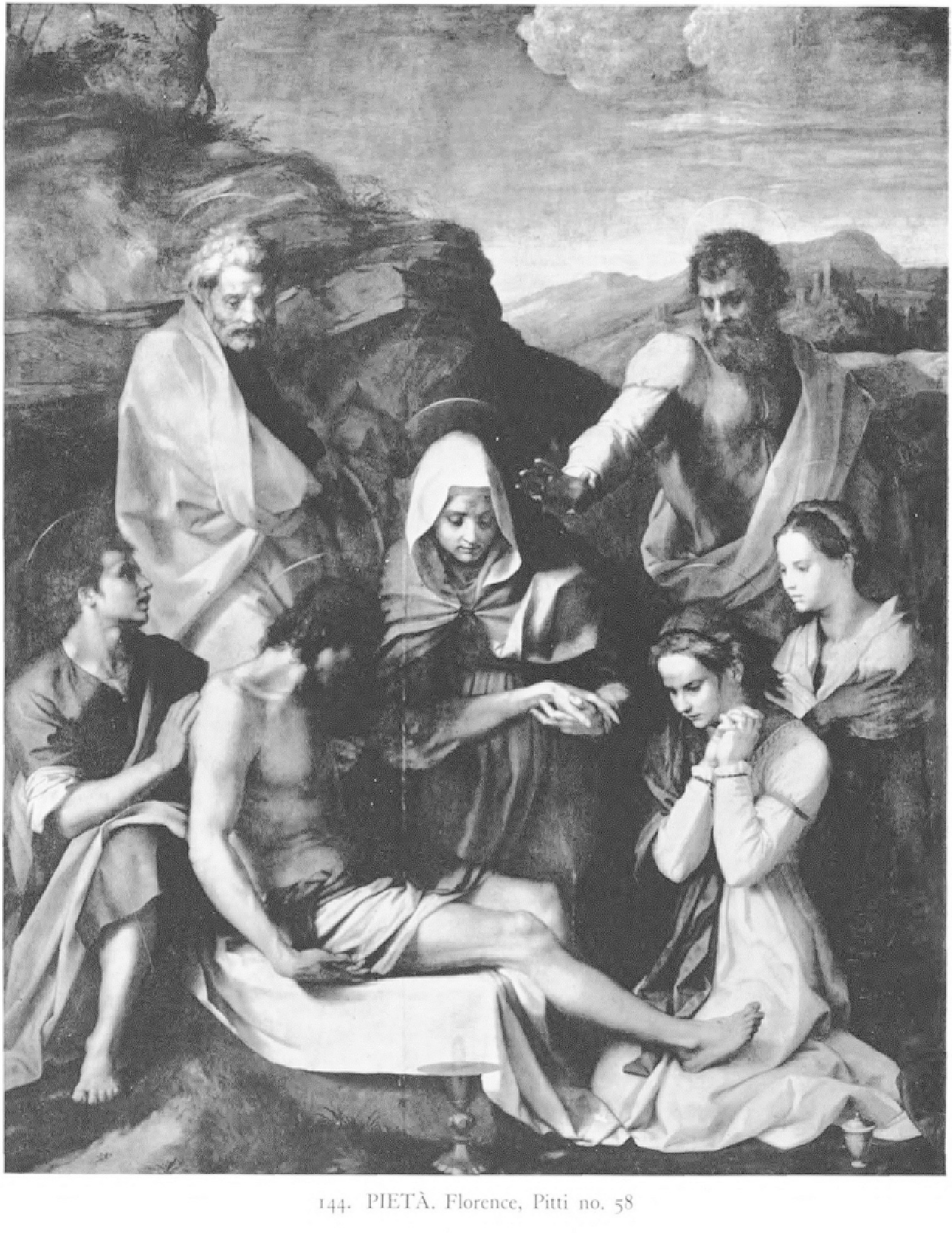
Freedberg, S. J. *Andrea Del Sarto: Text and Illustrations, Vol. 1.*
E-book, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb30523.0001.001.



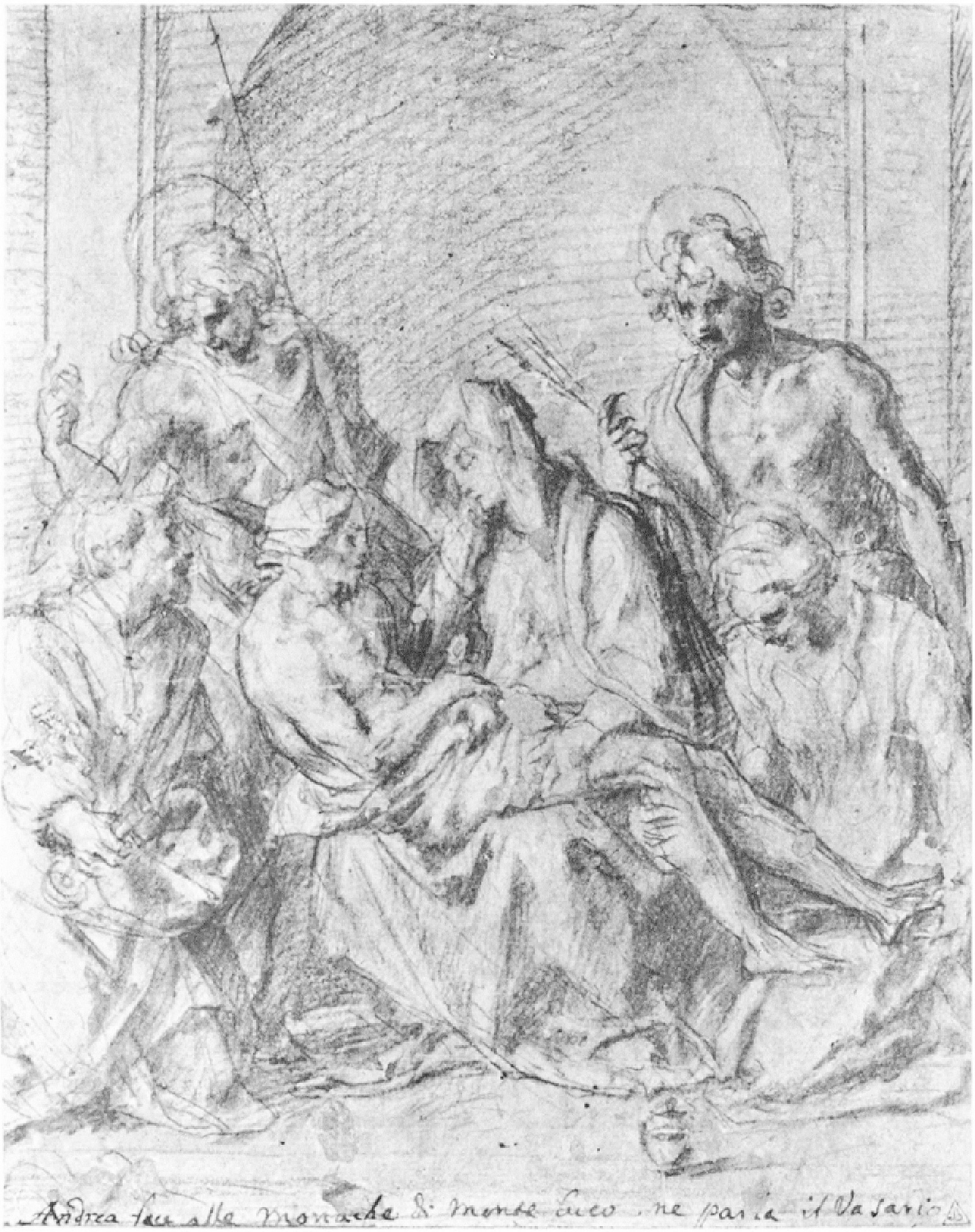
142. Study for the *Annunciation to Zachary*. Madrid, Prado no. 2767v



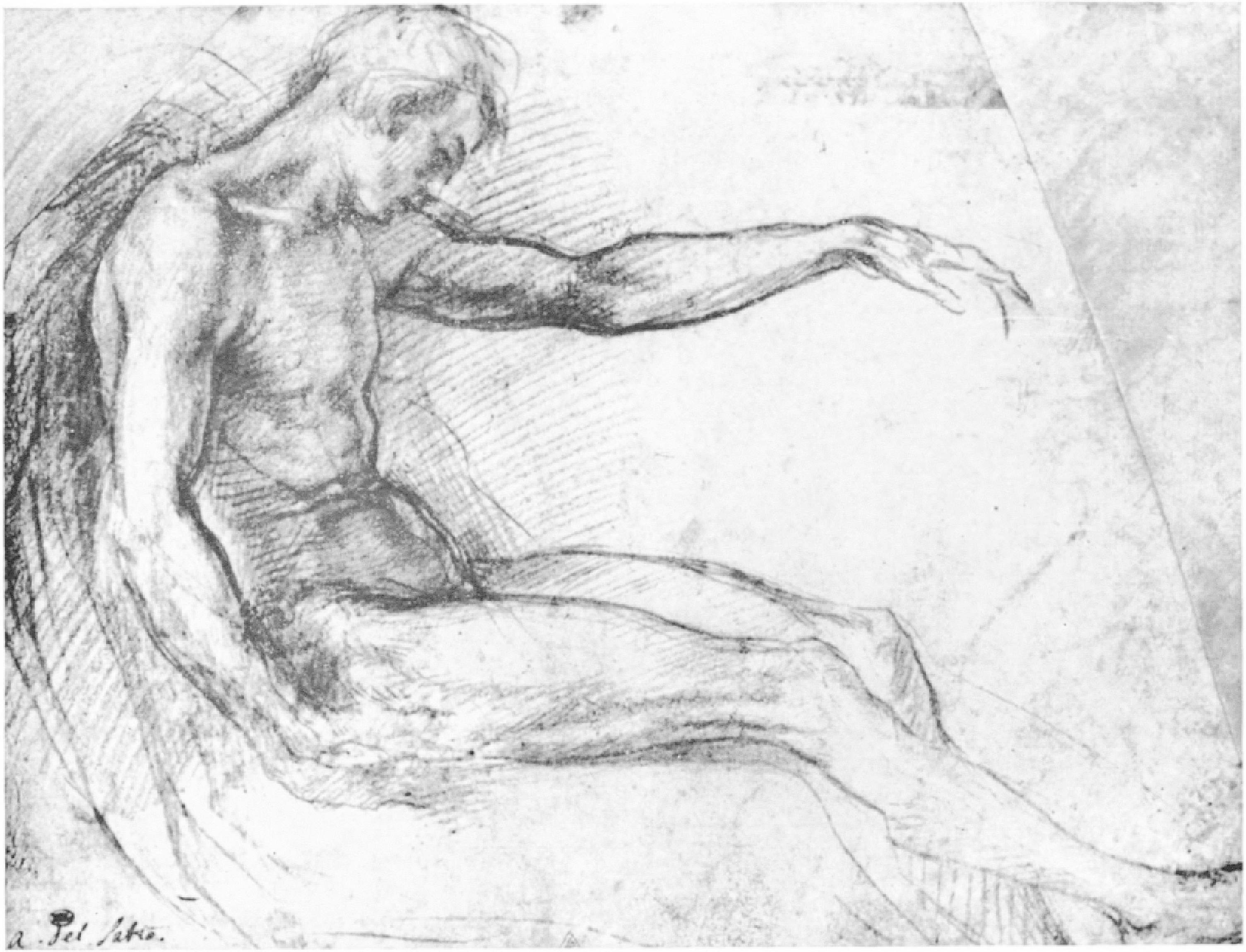
143. Study for the *Pietà*. Florence, Horne Foundation no. 5543



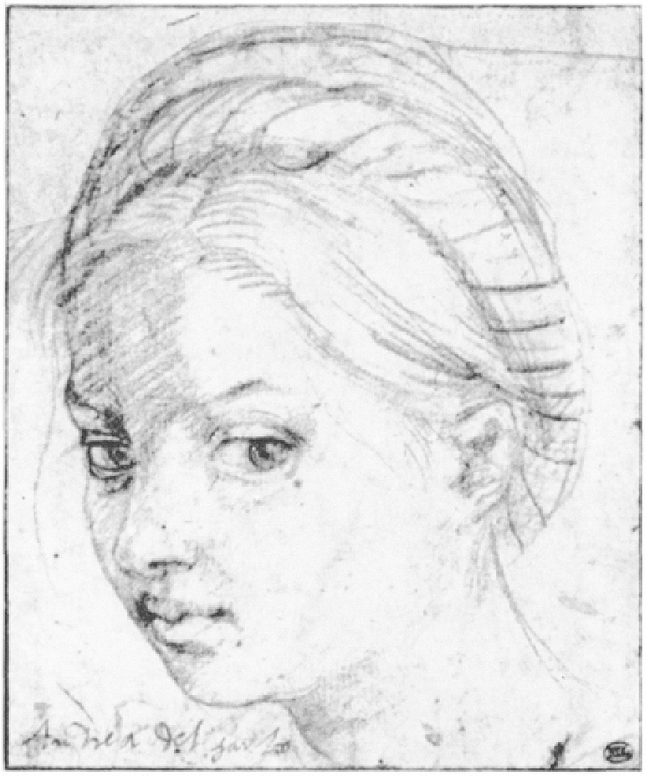
144. PIETÀ. Florence, Pitti no. 58


Andrea fece alle Monache di monte Luco . ne parla il Vasario

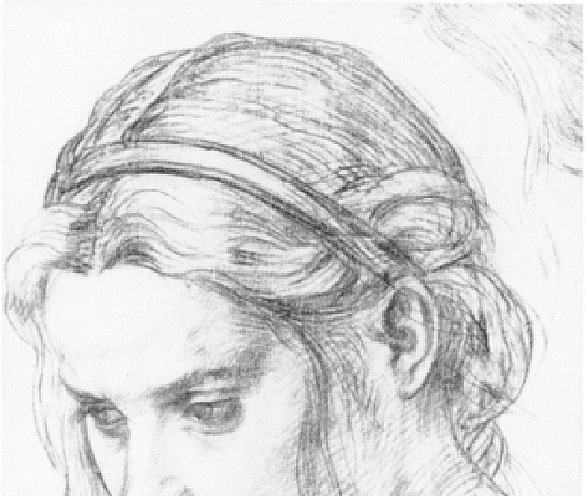
145. Study for the *Pietà*. London, British Museum no. 1895–9–15–546



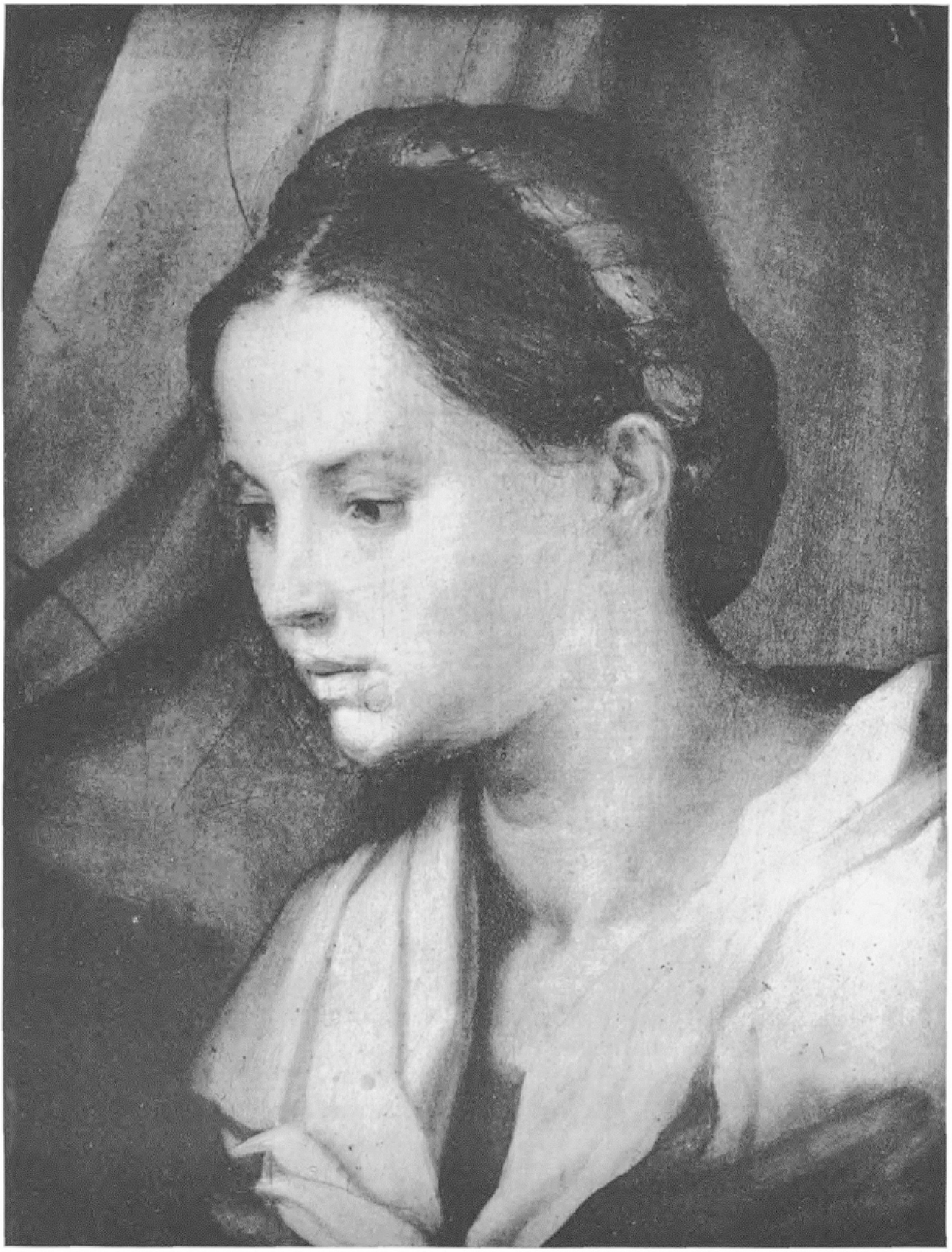
146. Study for the *Pietà*. Paris, Louvre no. 1715



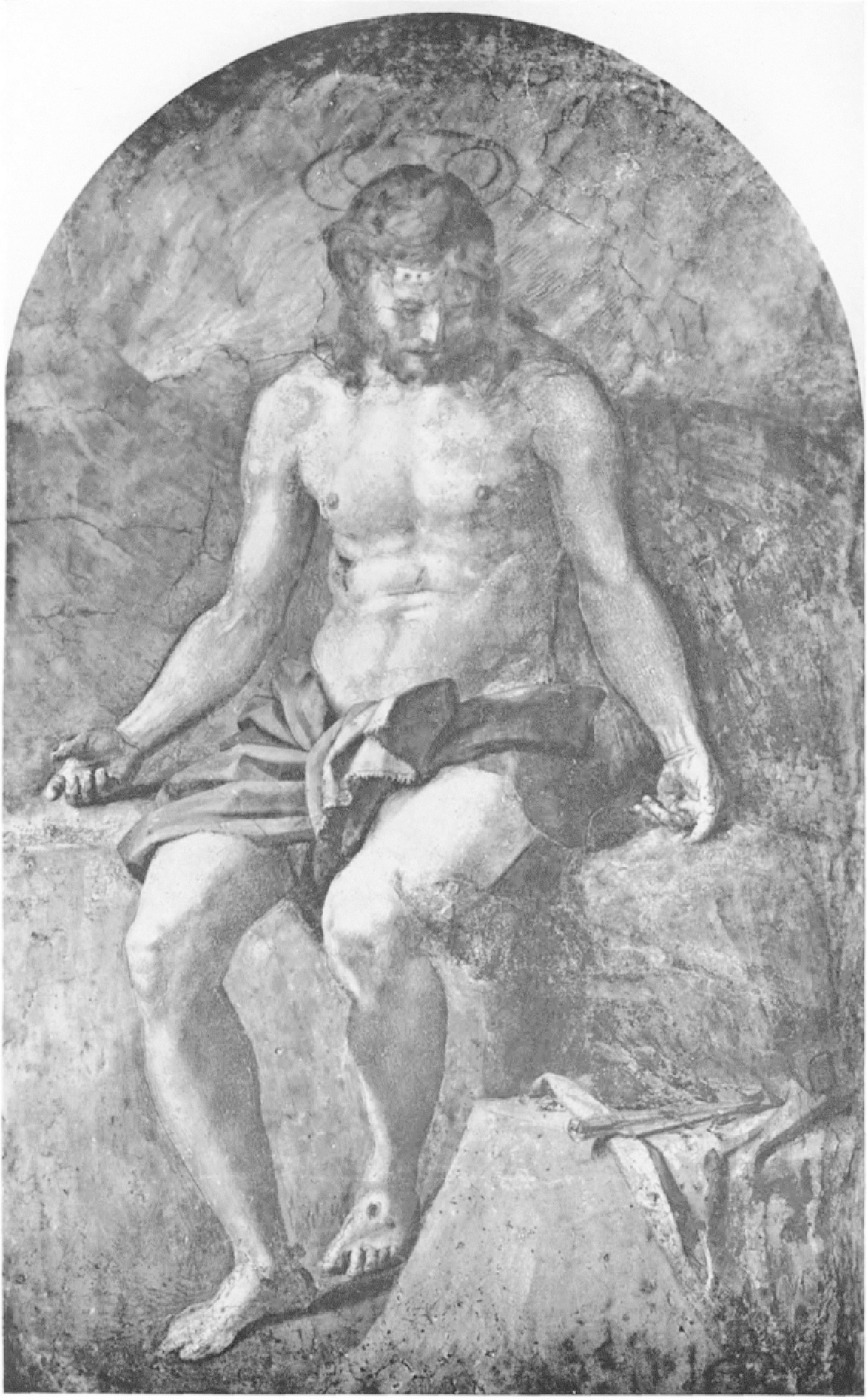
147. Study for St. Catherine in the *Pietà*.
Paris, Louvre no. 1716/1



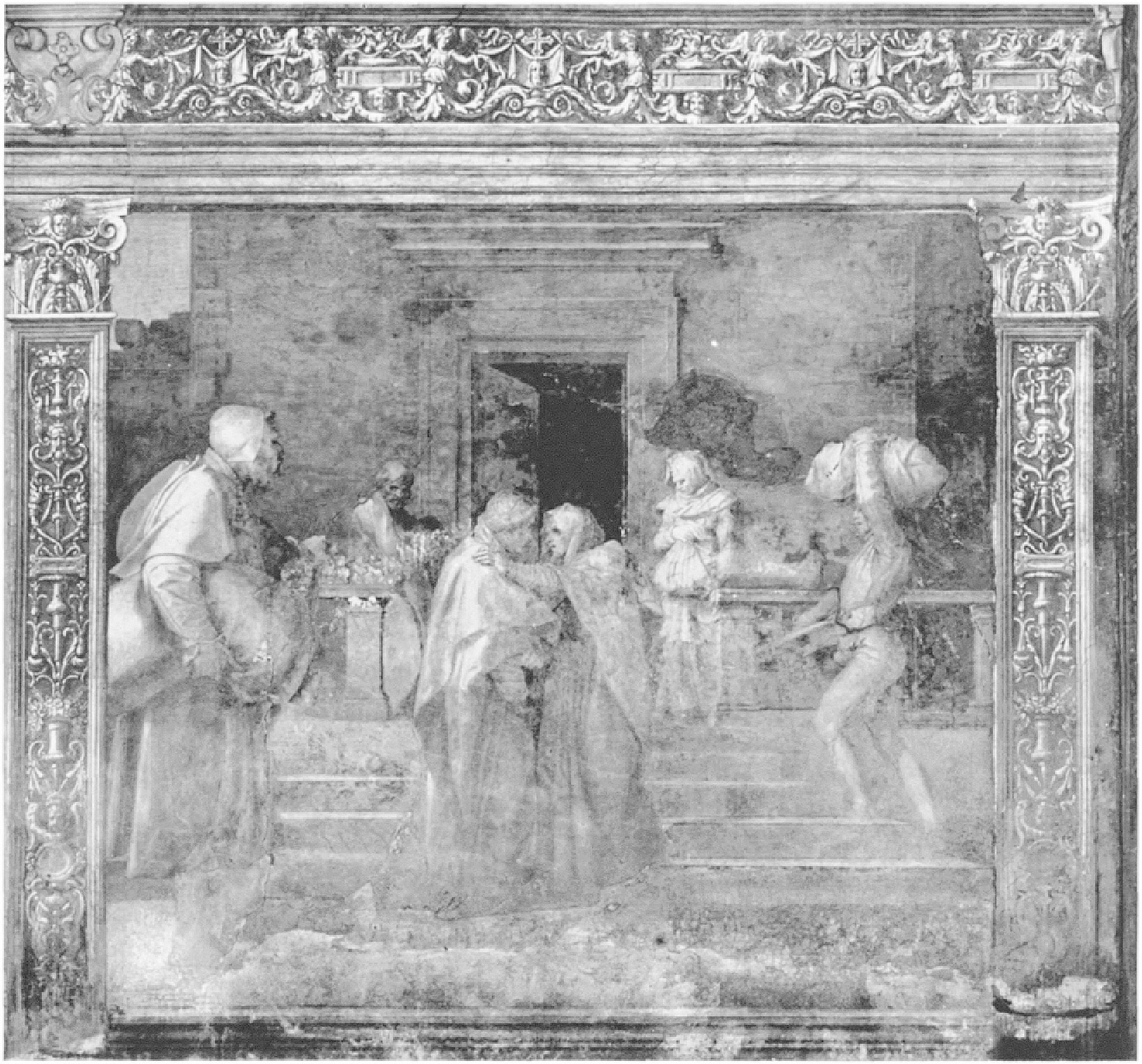
148. Study for the Magdalen in the *Pietà*.
Florence, Uffizi no. 644E



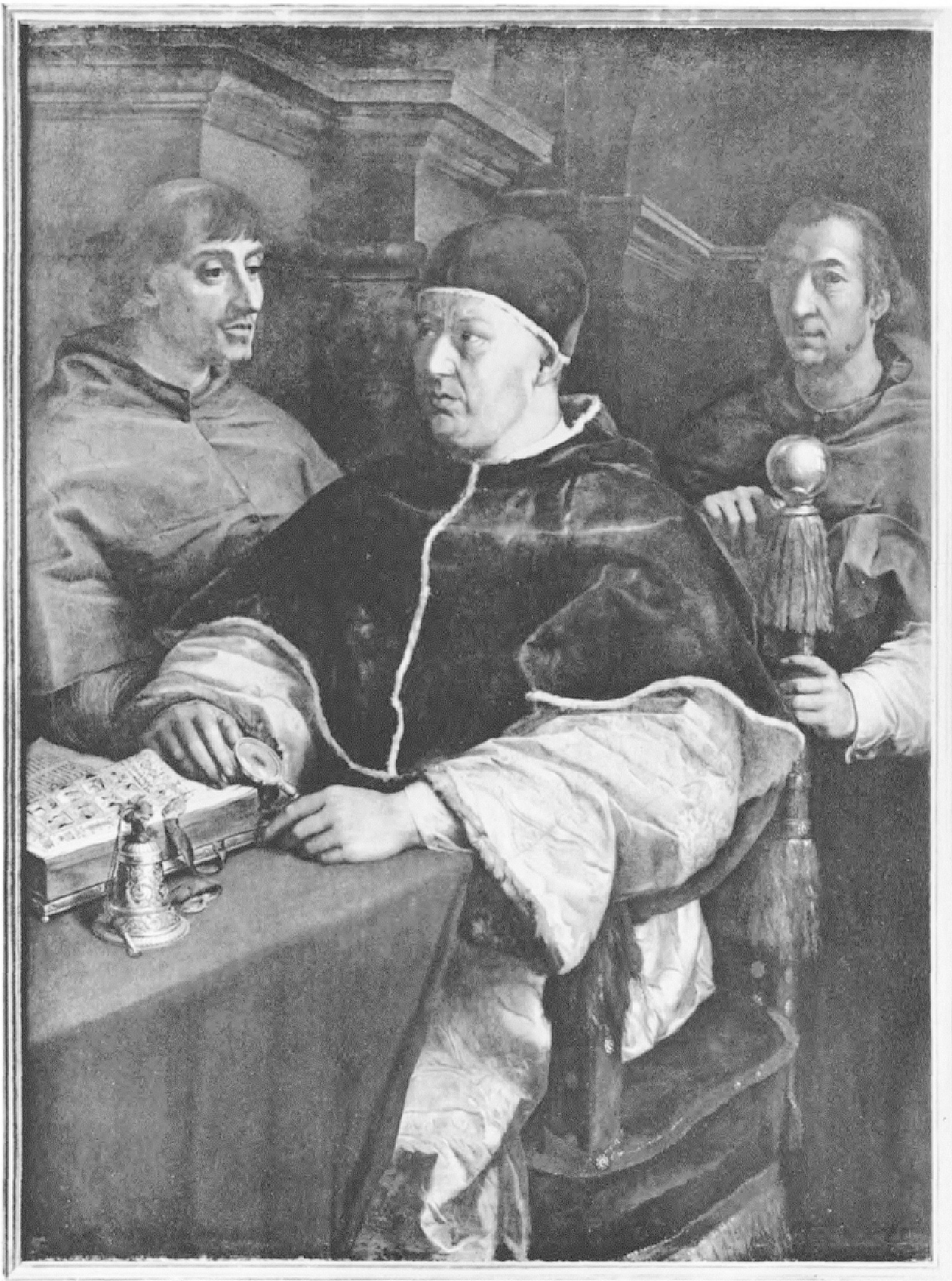
149. Detail of fig. 144, St. Catherine



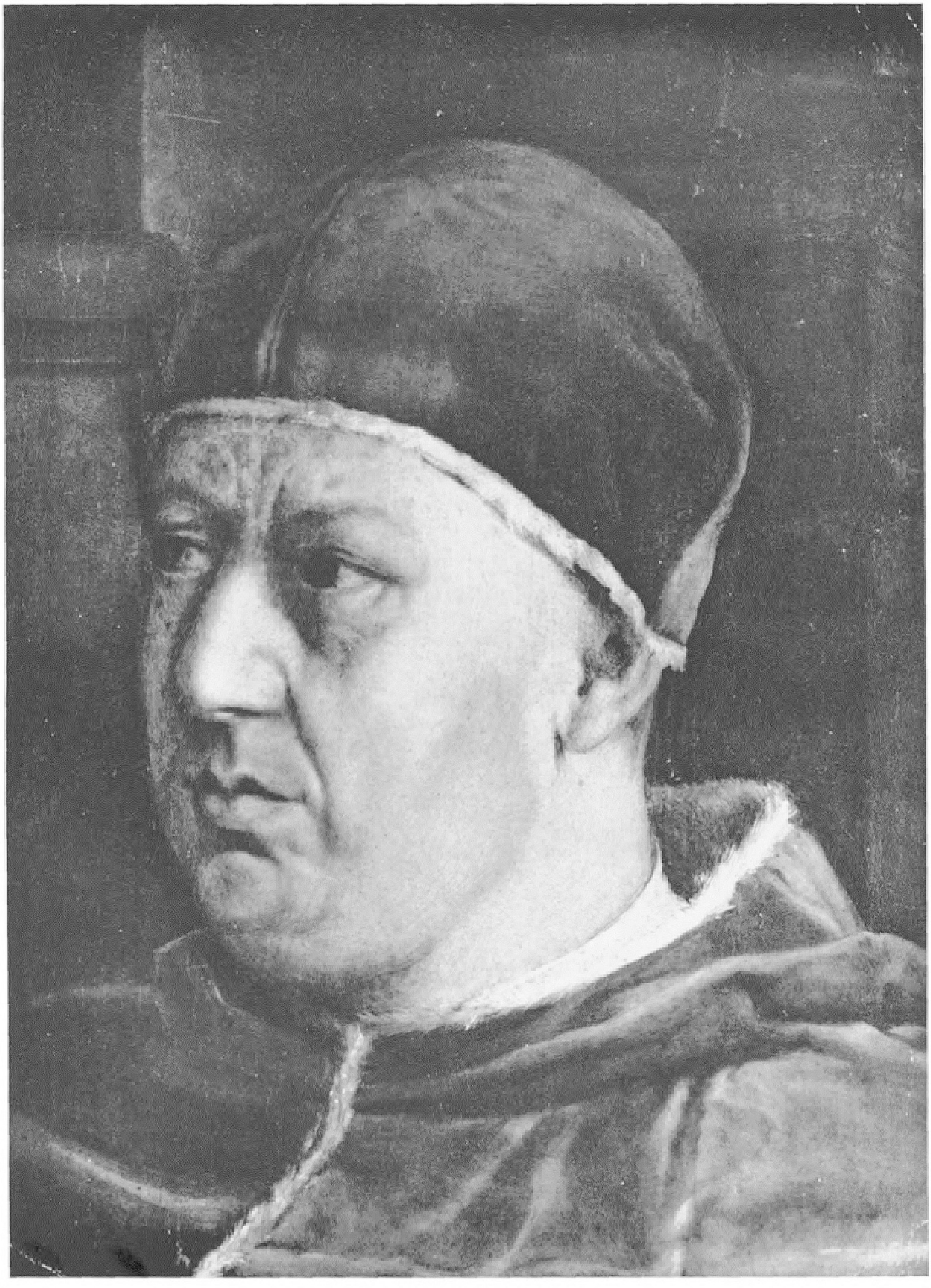
150. THE DEAD CHRIST, Florence, S. Salvi no. 8675



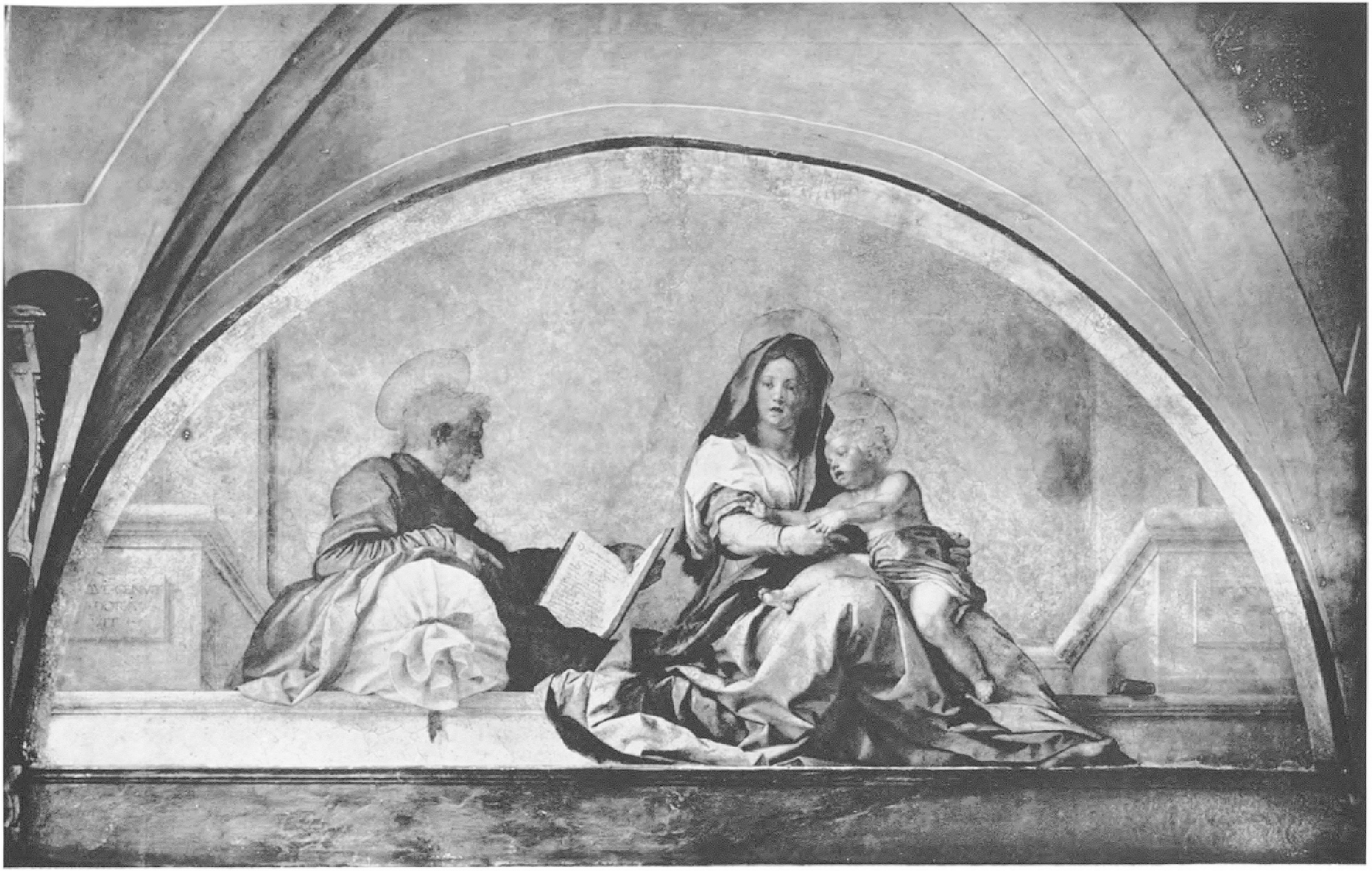
151. VISITATION. Florence, Chiostro dello Scalzo



152. Copy from Raphael's PORTRAIT OF LEO X WITH THE CARDINALS GIULIO DE' MEDICI AND LUIGI ROSSI. Naples, Pinacoteca Nazionale no. 138

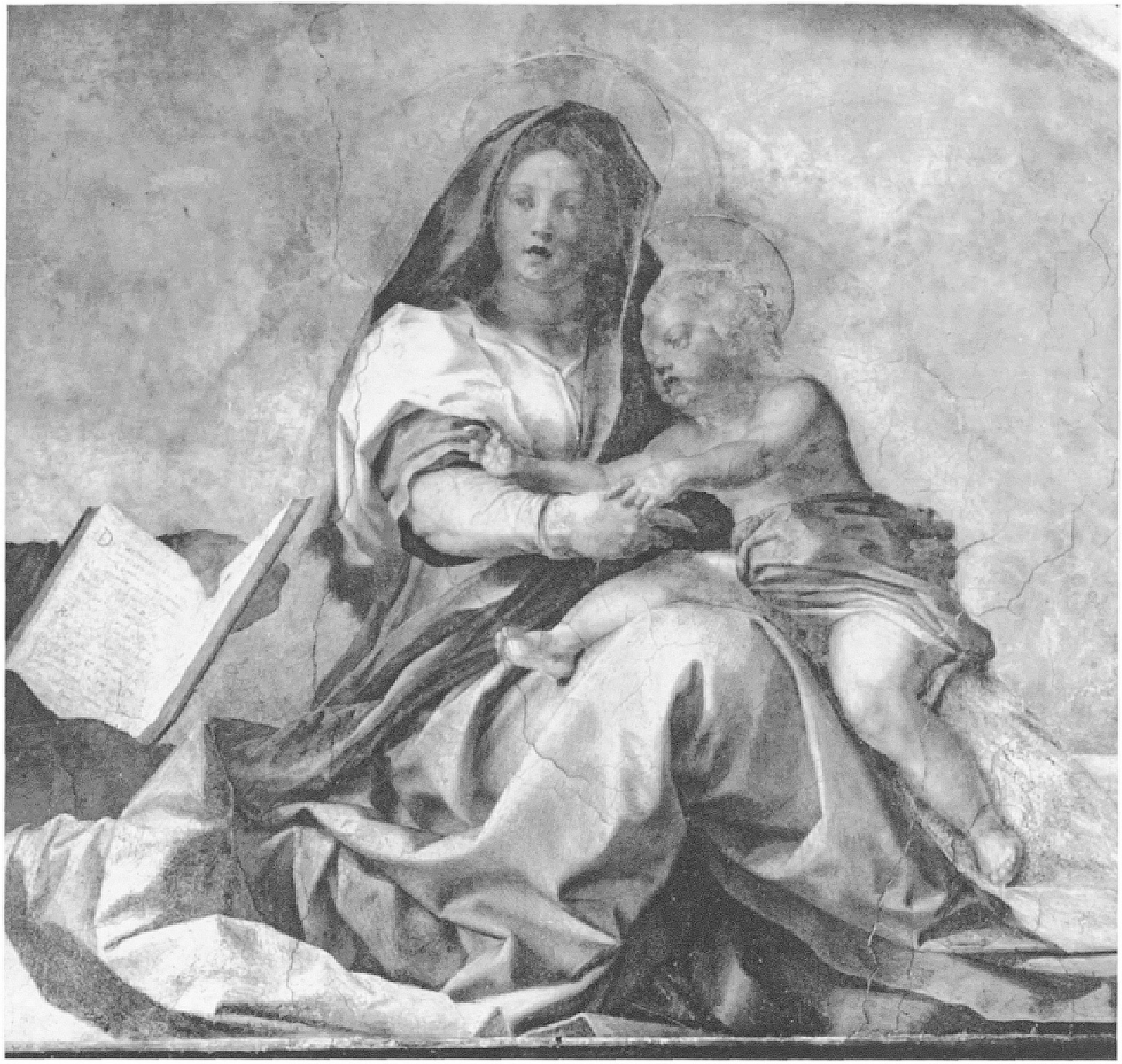


153. Detail of fig. 152, head of Leo

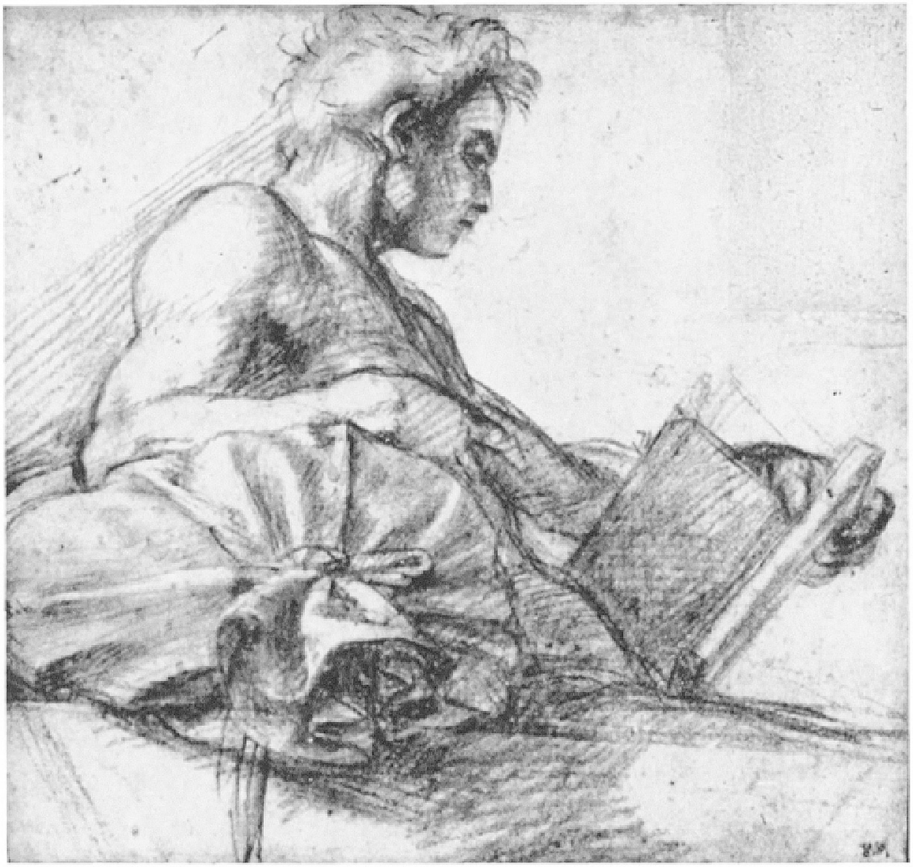


154. MADONNA DEL SACCO. Florence, SS. Annunziata, Cloister

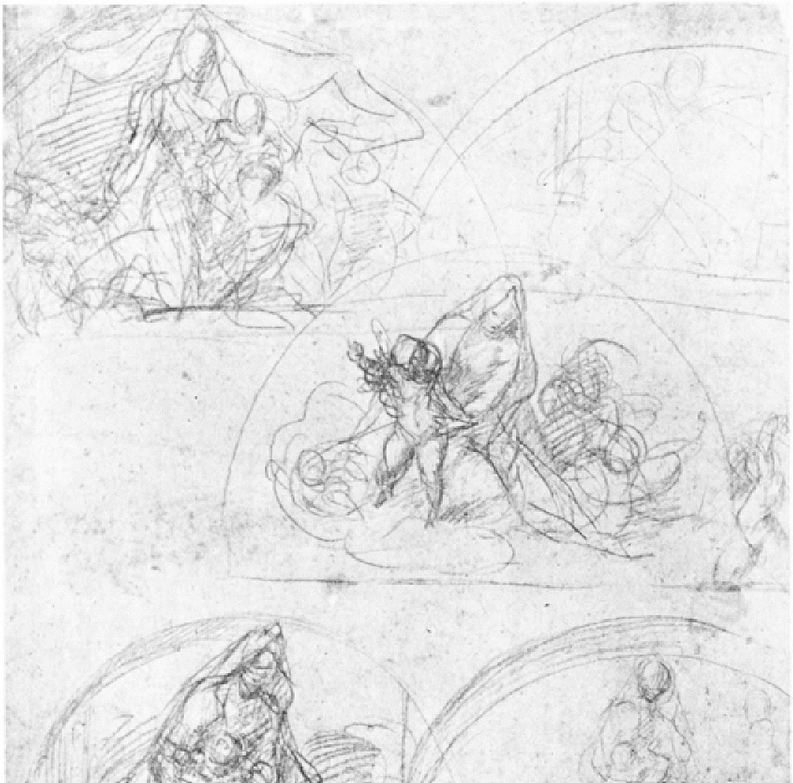
Freedberg, S. J. *Andrea Del Sarto: Text and Illustrations, Vol. 1.*
E-book, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb30523.0001.001.



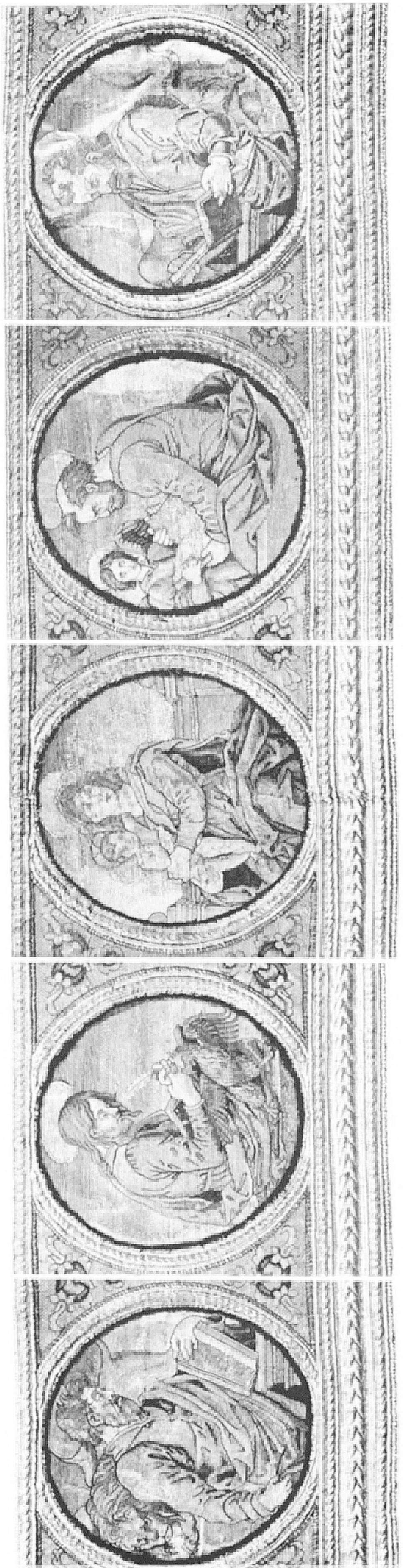
155. Detail of fig. 154



156. Study for the *Madonna del Sacco*. Paris, Louvre no. 1675

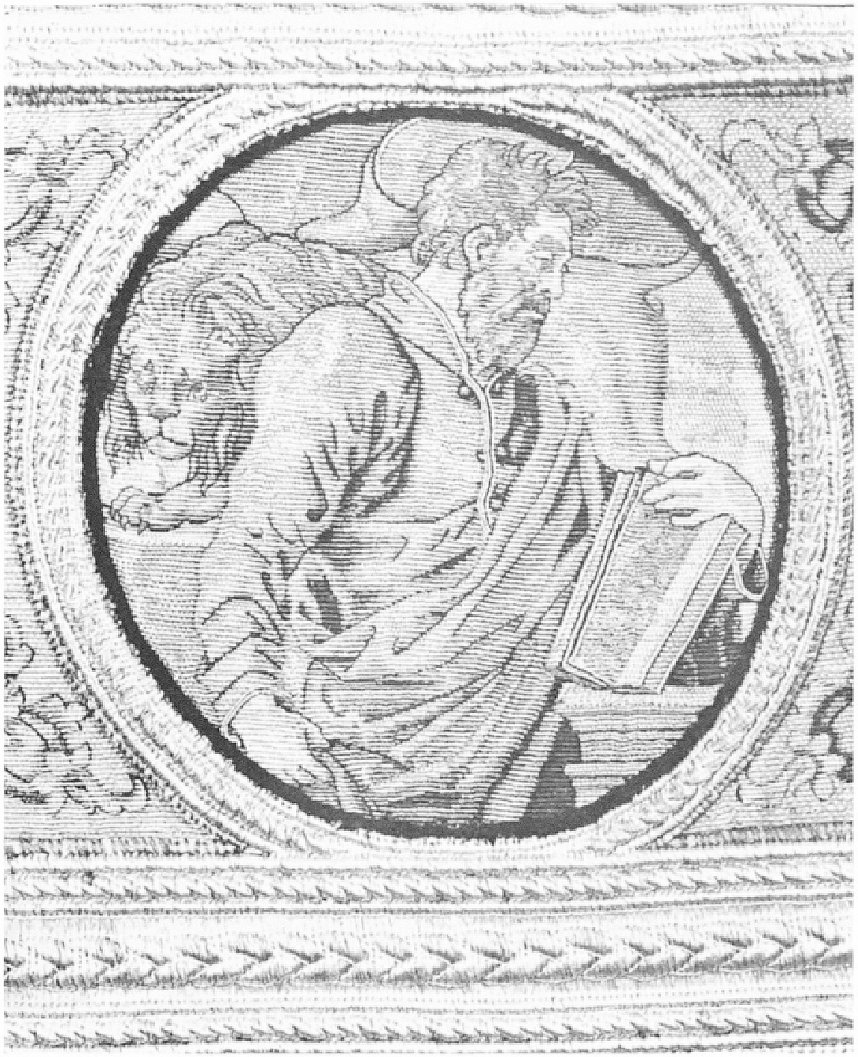


157. Study for the *Madonna del Sacco*.
London, British Museum no. 1912–12–14–2

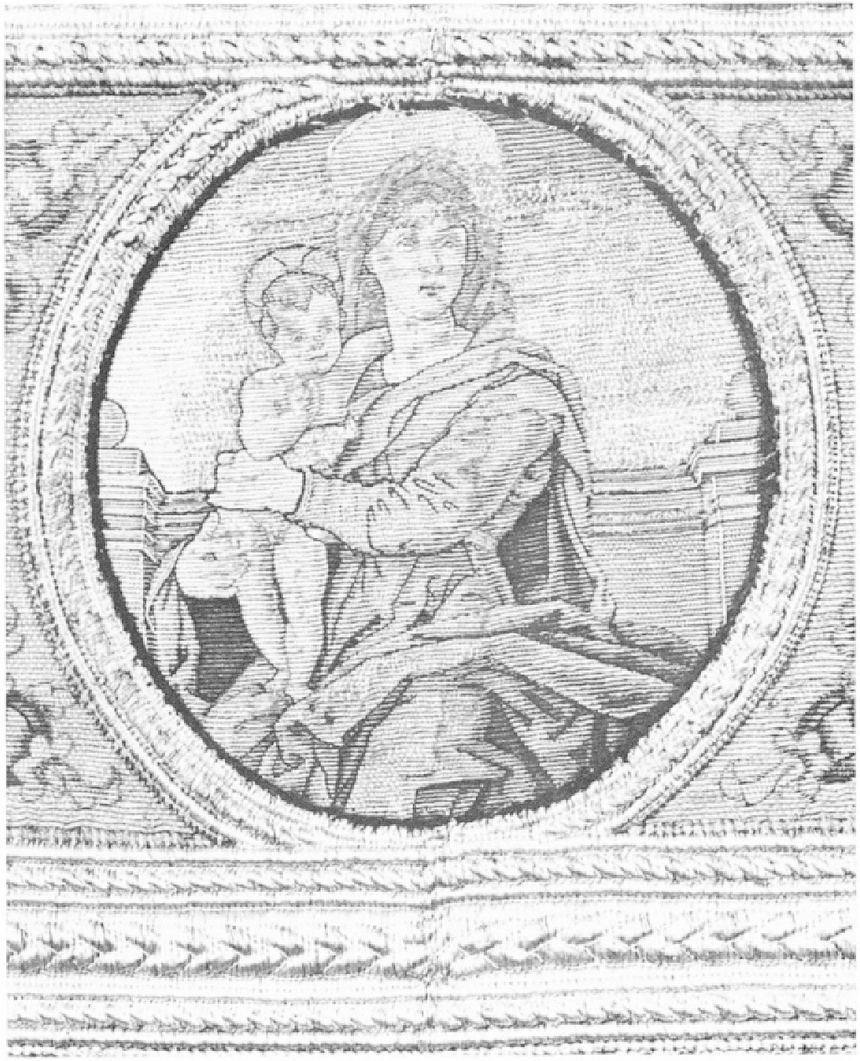


158. Five embroidered tondi from the *paliotto* of Cardinal Passerini. Cortona, Museo Diocesano

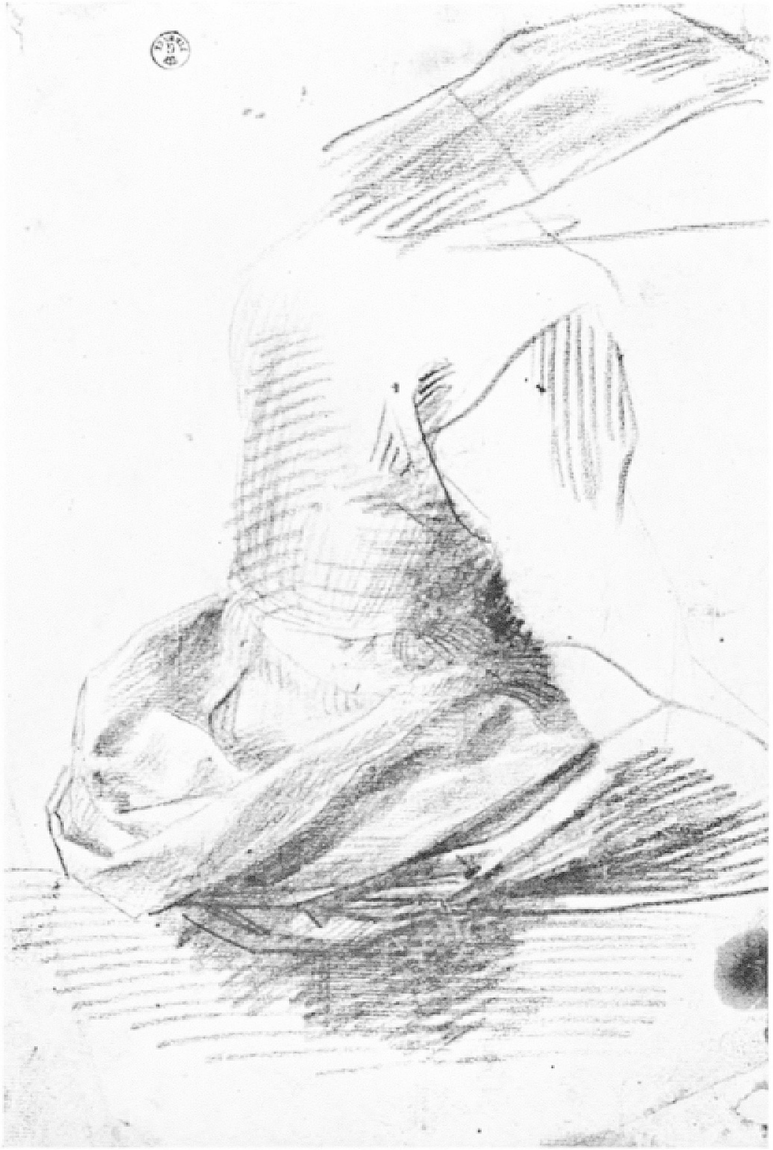
Freedberg, S. J. *Andrea Del Sarto: Text and Illustrations, Vol. 1*.
E-book, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb30523.0001.001.



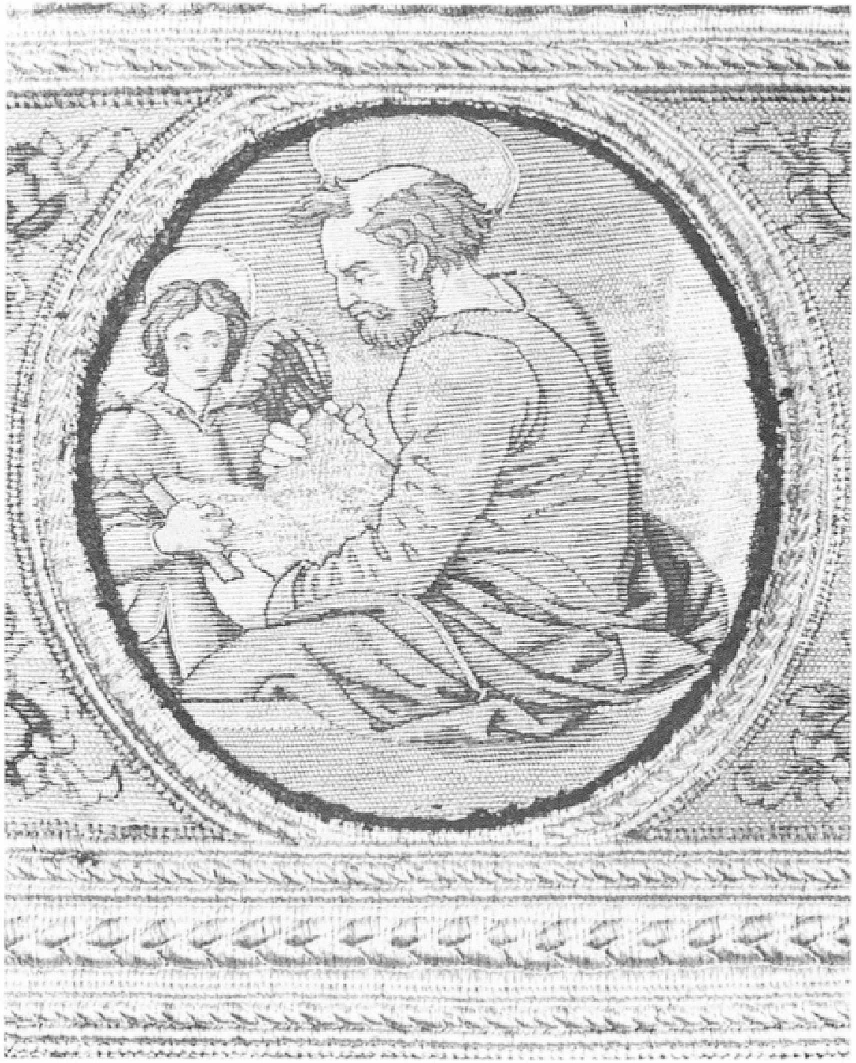
159. St. Mark, from fig. 158



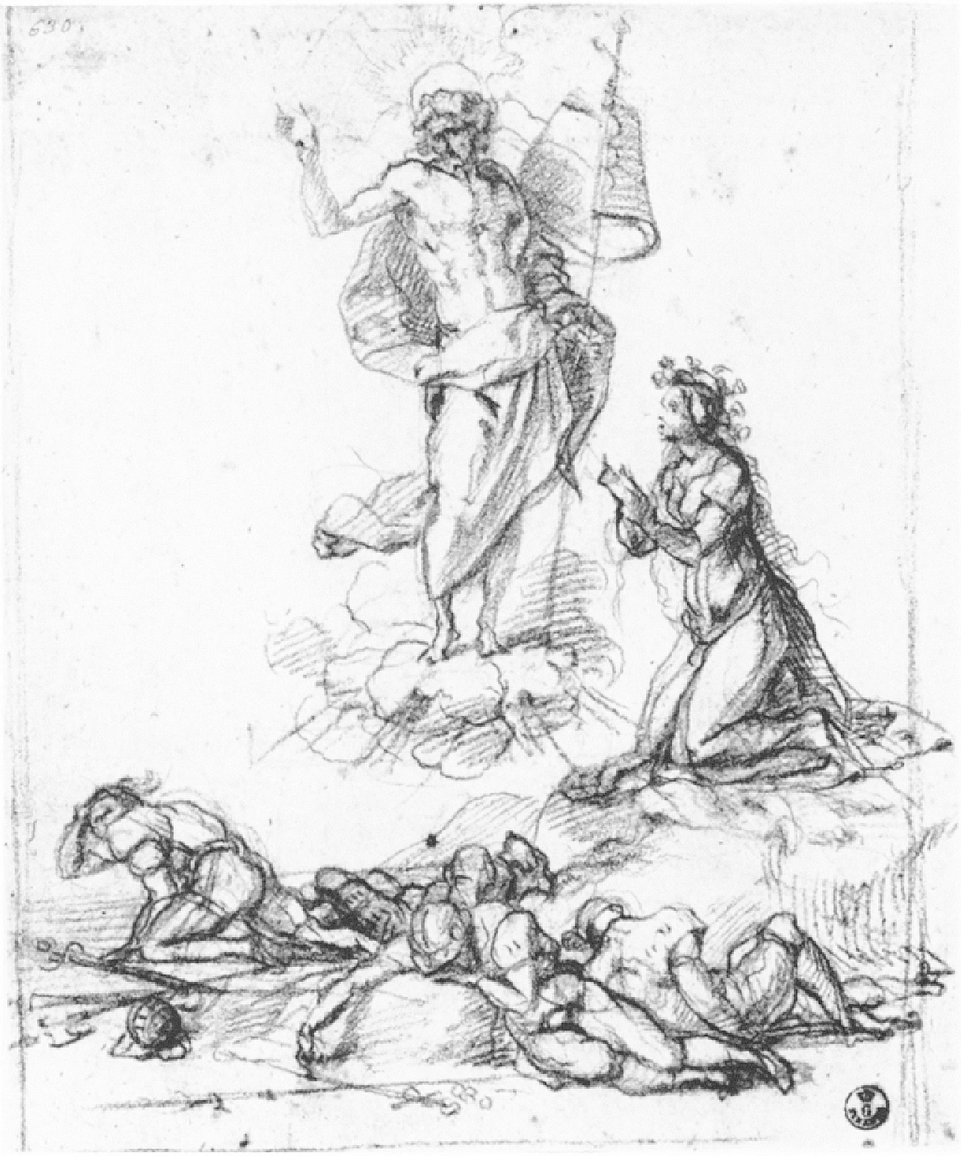
160. Madonna, from fig. 158



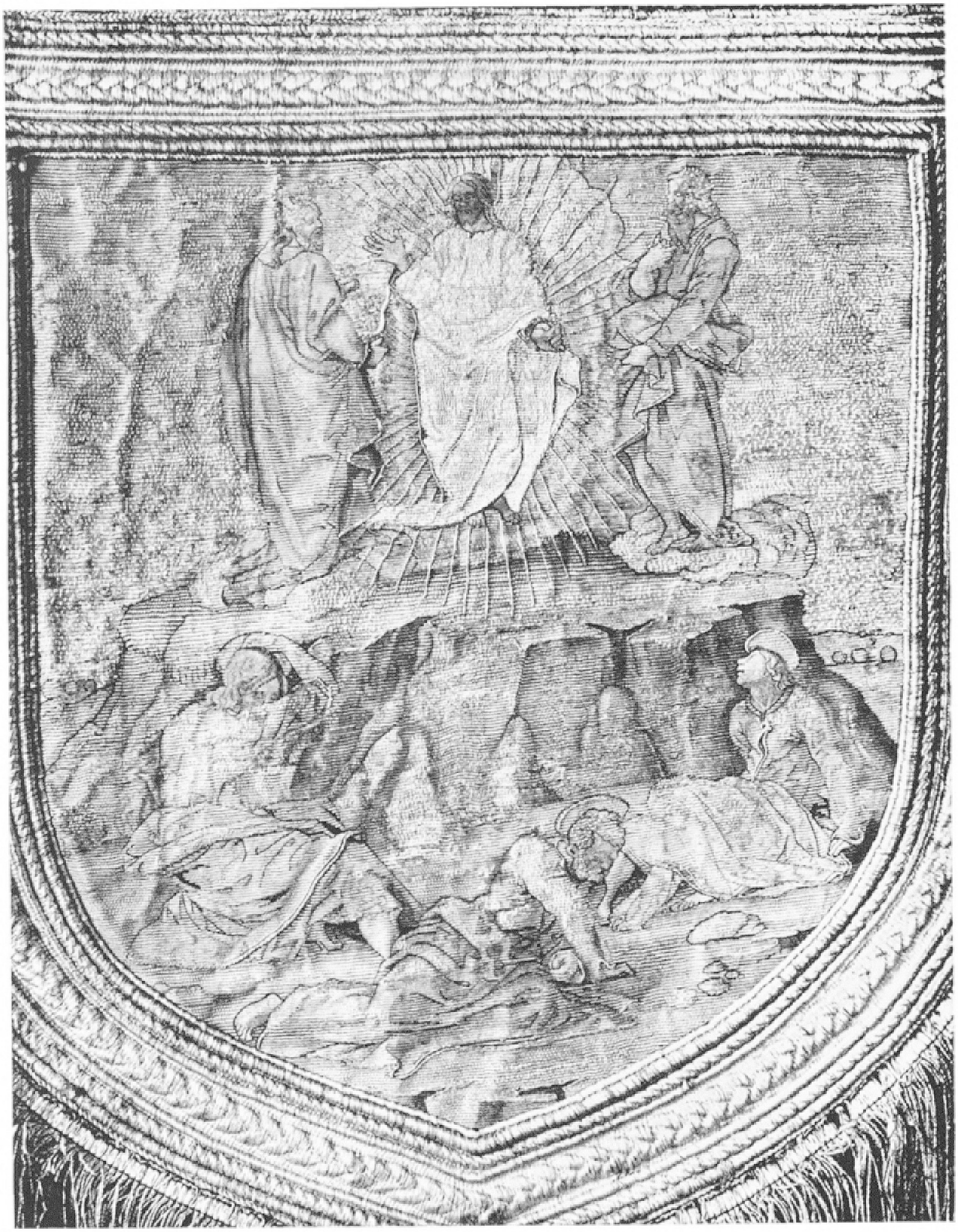
161. Study for the *paliotto* of Cardinal Passerini.
Florence, Uffizi no. 6447F



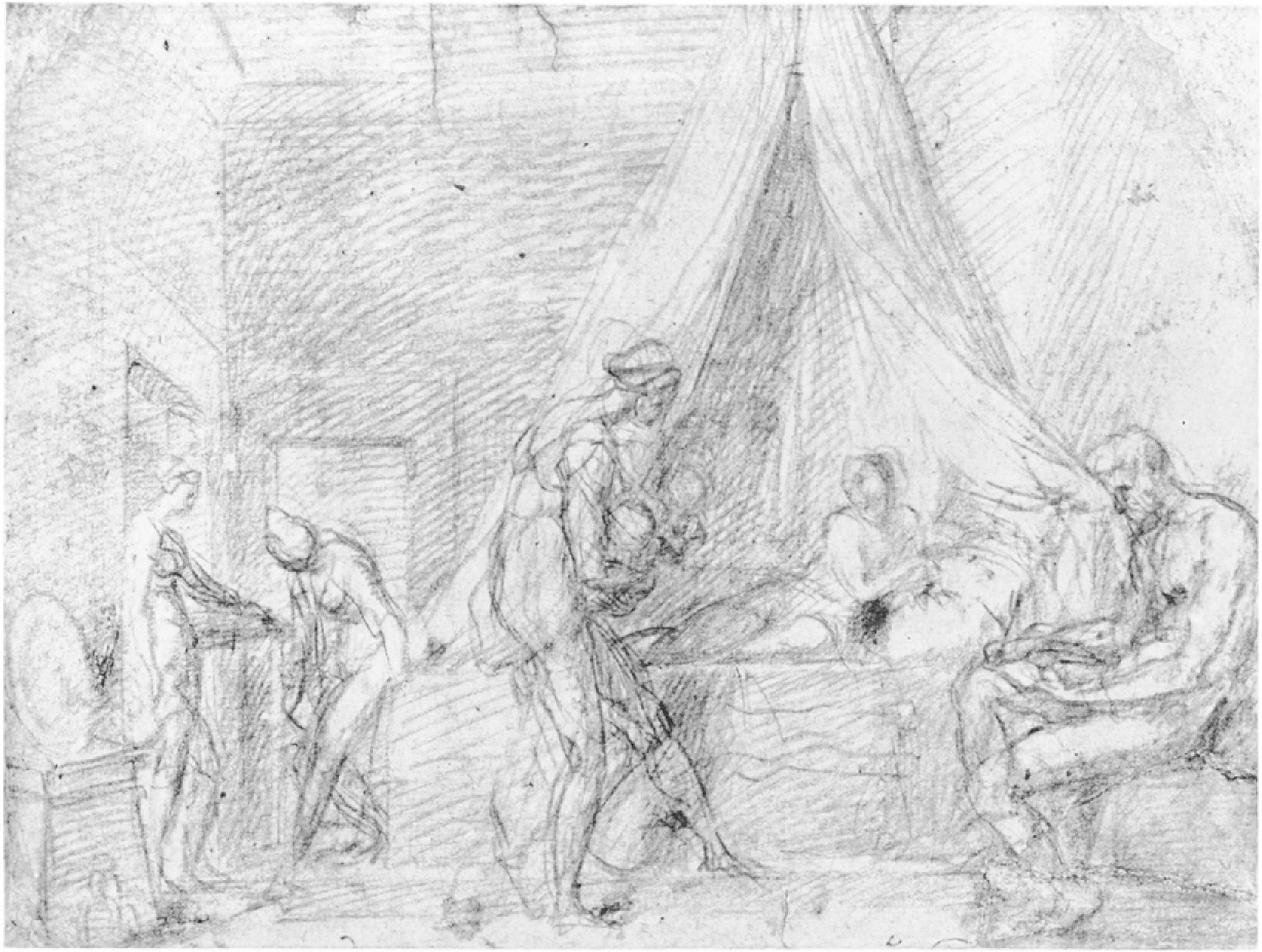
162. St. Matthew, from fig. 158



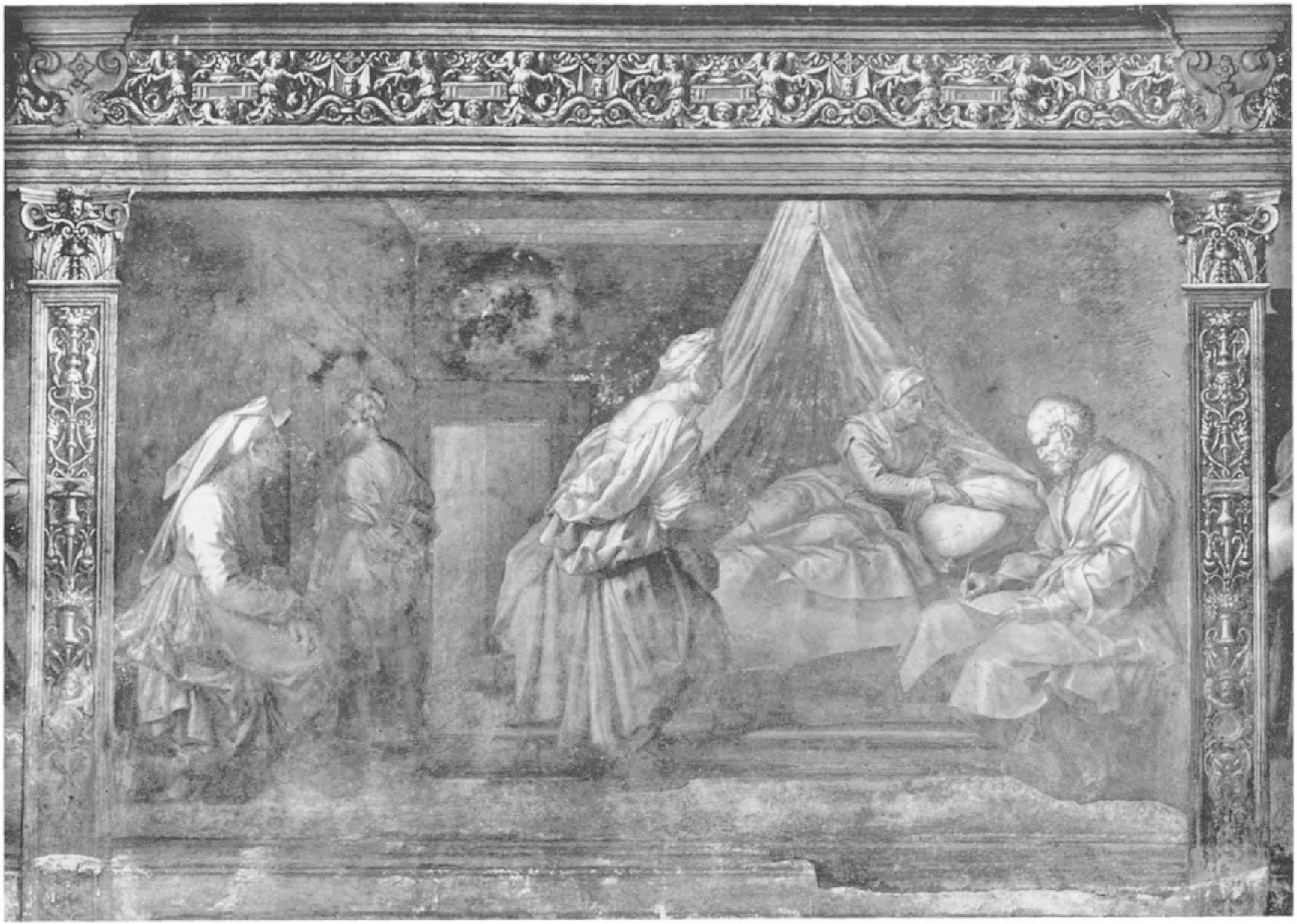
163. Study for a *Resurrection*. Florence, Uffizi no. 630E



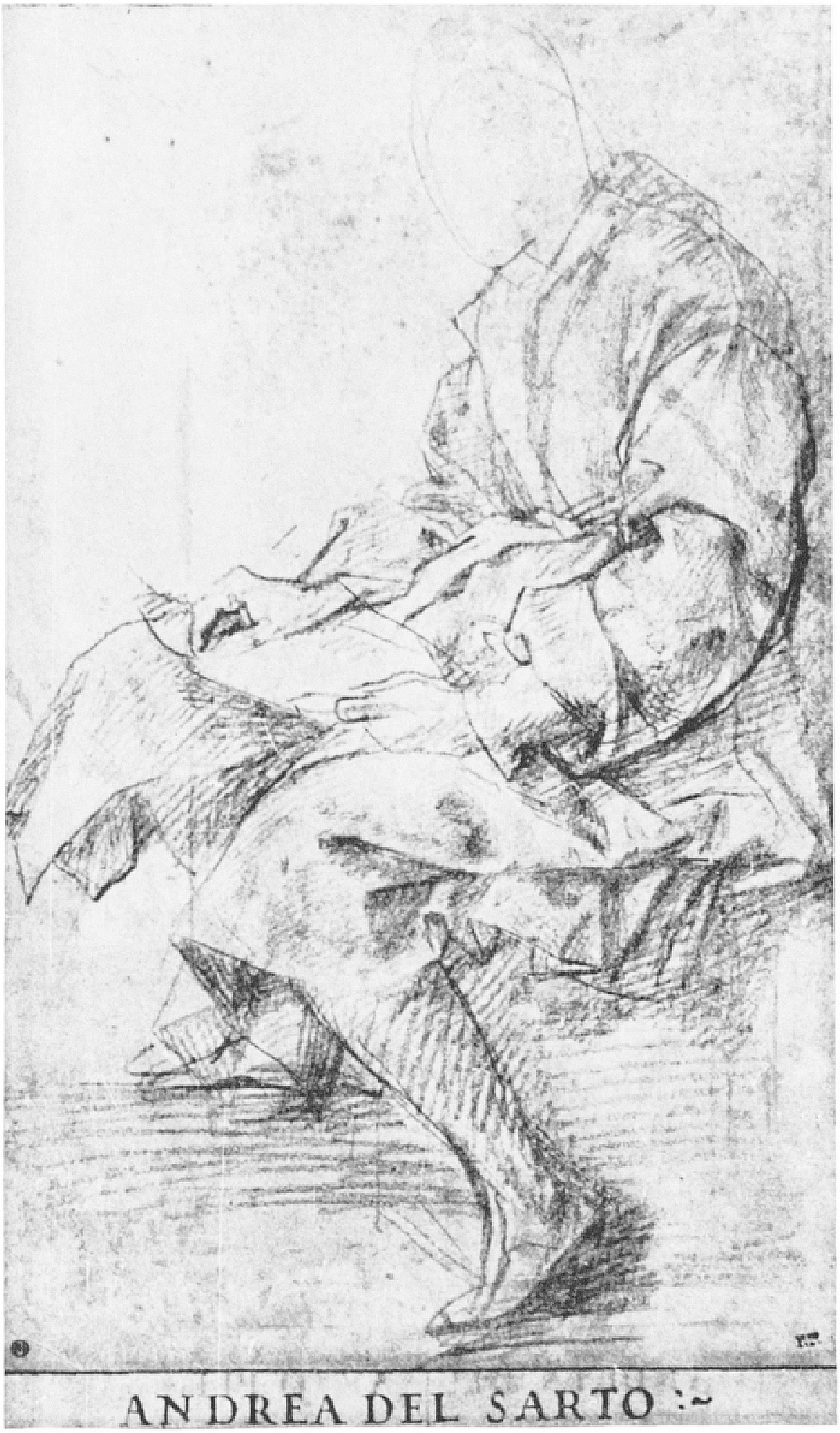
164. Embroidered *capotto* from the *paramento* of Cardinal Passerini. Cortona, Museo Diocesano



165. Study for the *Naming of St. John the Baptist*. London, British Museum, Sloane no. 5226–86

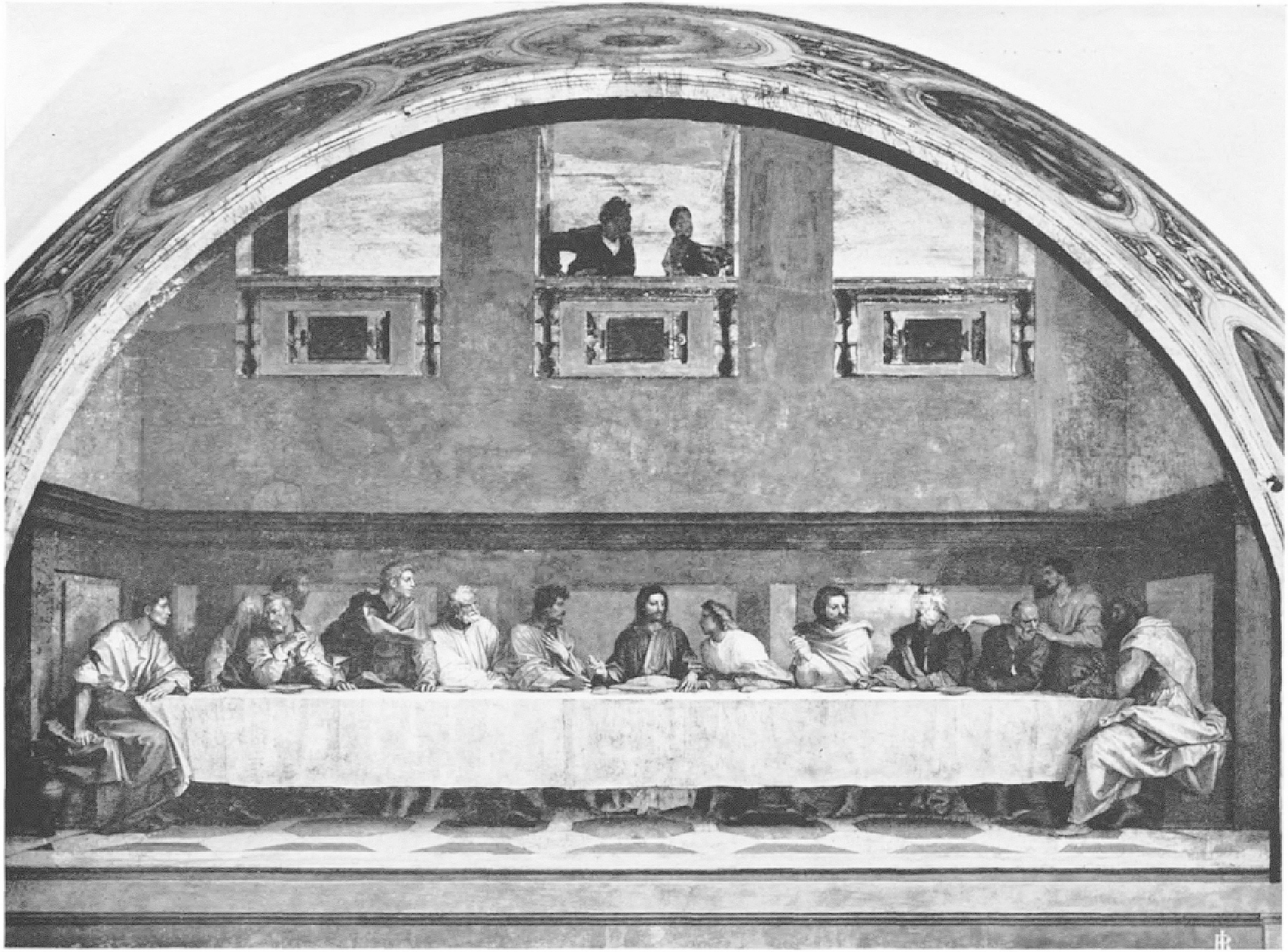


166. NAMING OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST (*Birth of the Baptist*). Florence, Chiostro dello Scalzo

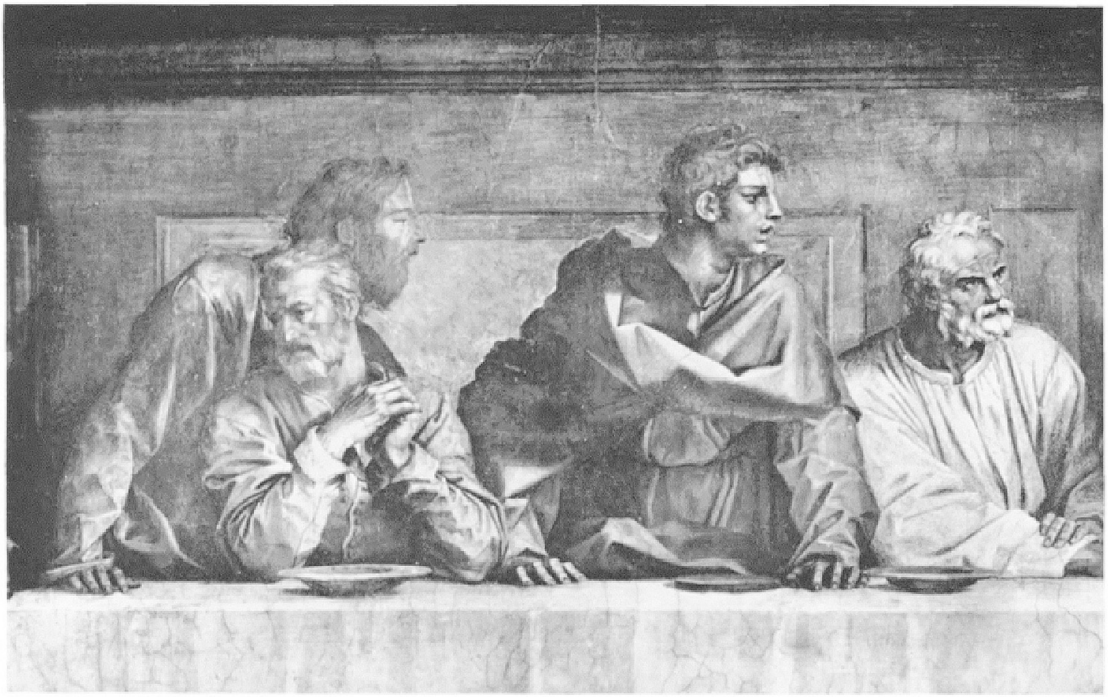

ANDREA DEL SARTO :~

167. Study for the Zachary of the *Naming of St. John the Baptist*. Paris, Louvre no. 1680r

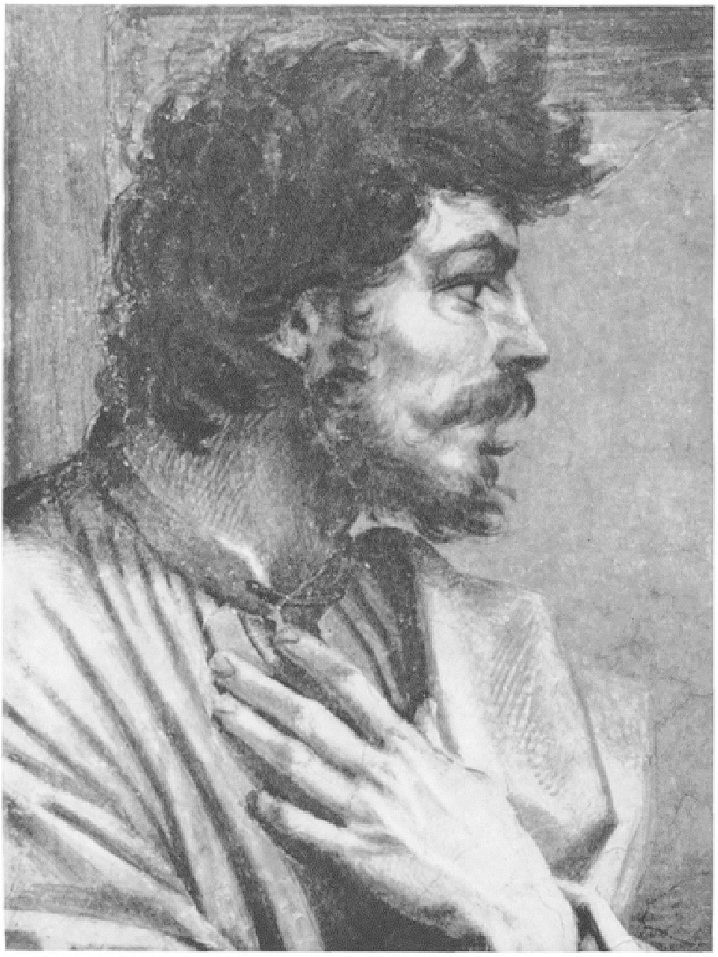
Freedberg, S. J. *Andrea Del Sarto: Text and Illustrations, Vol. 1.*
E-book, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb30523.0001.001.



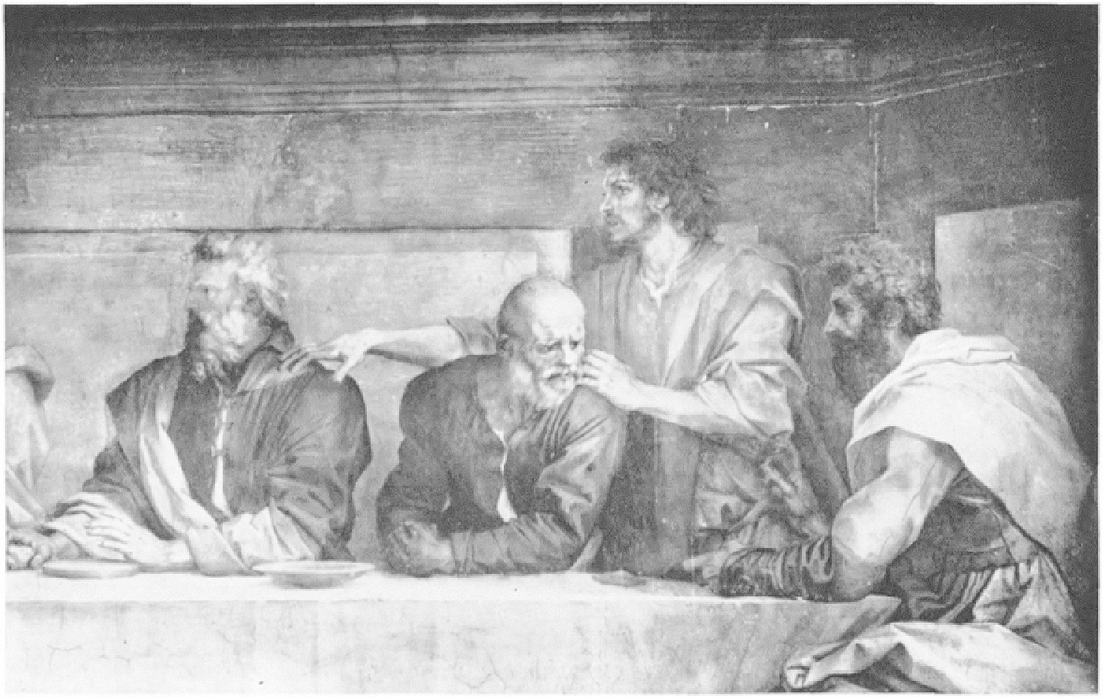
168. LAST SUPPER. Florence, S. Salvi



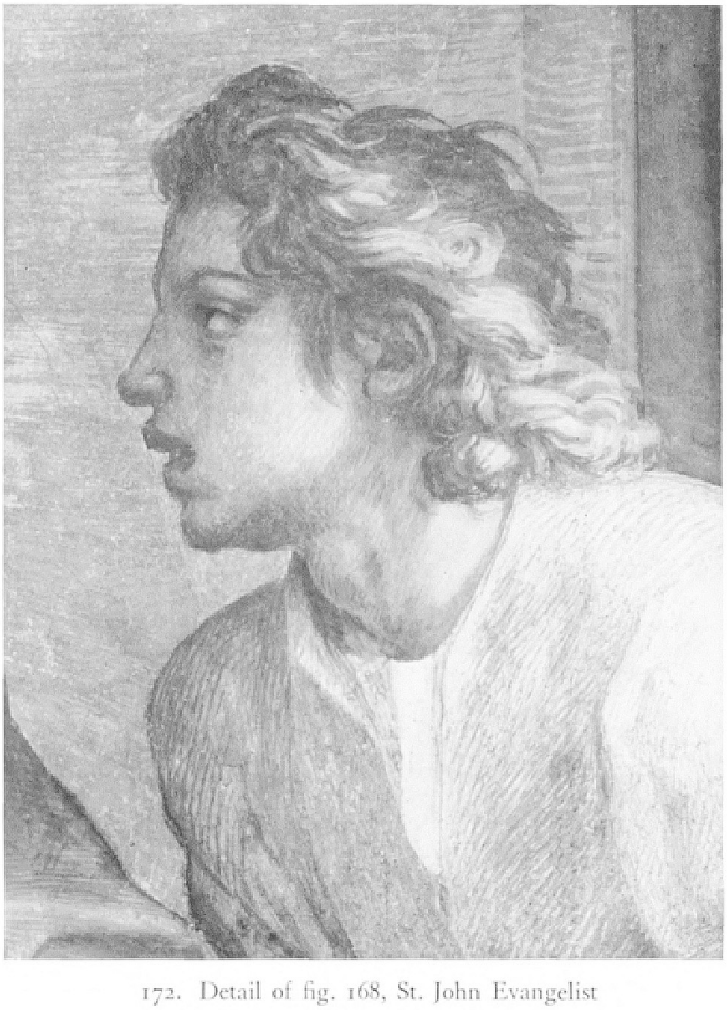
169. Detail of fig. 168, Apostles to the left



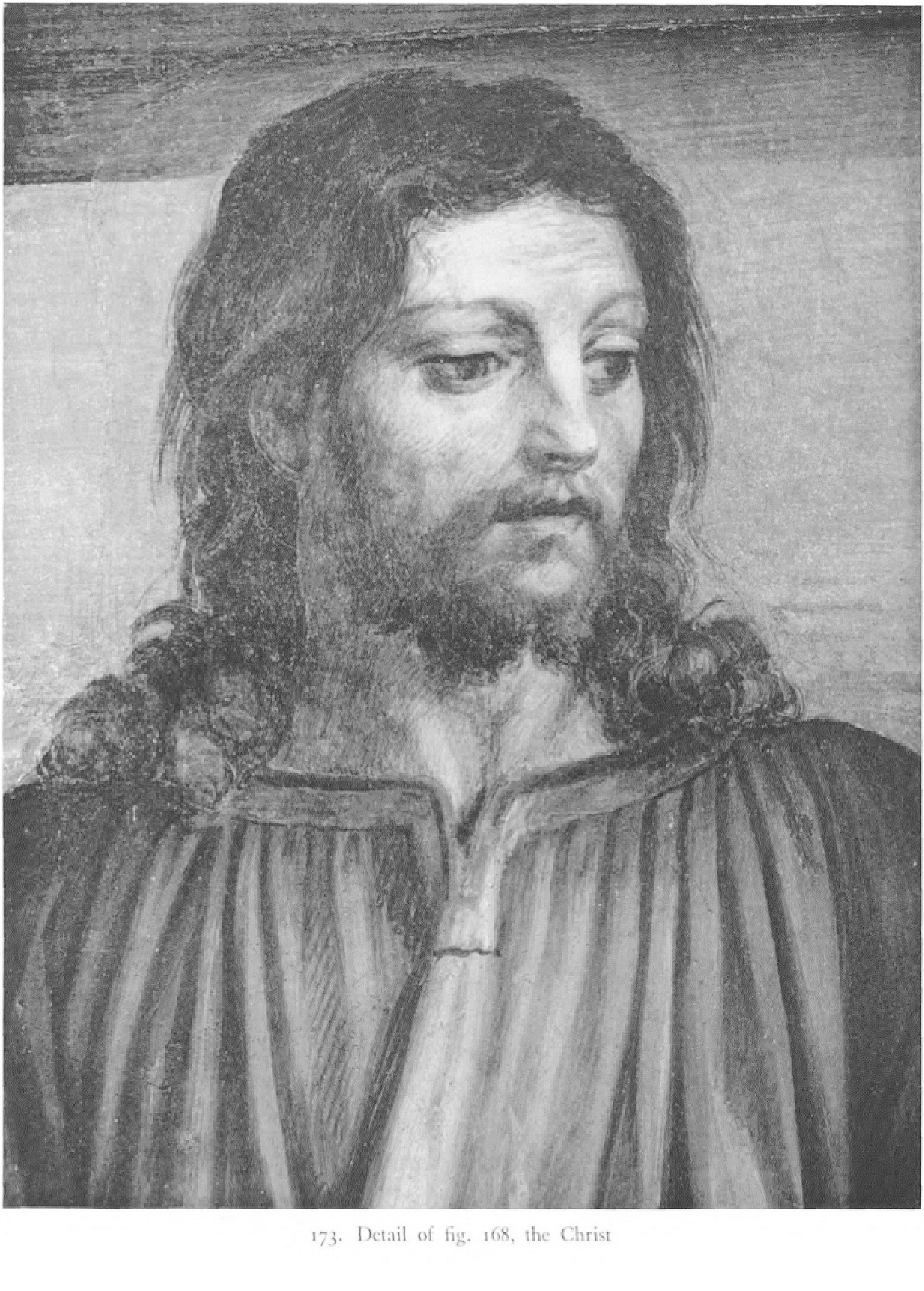
170. Detail of fig. 168, Judas



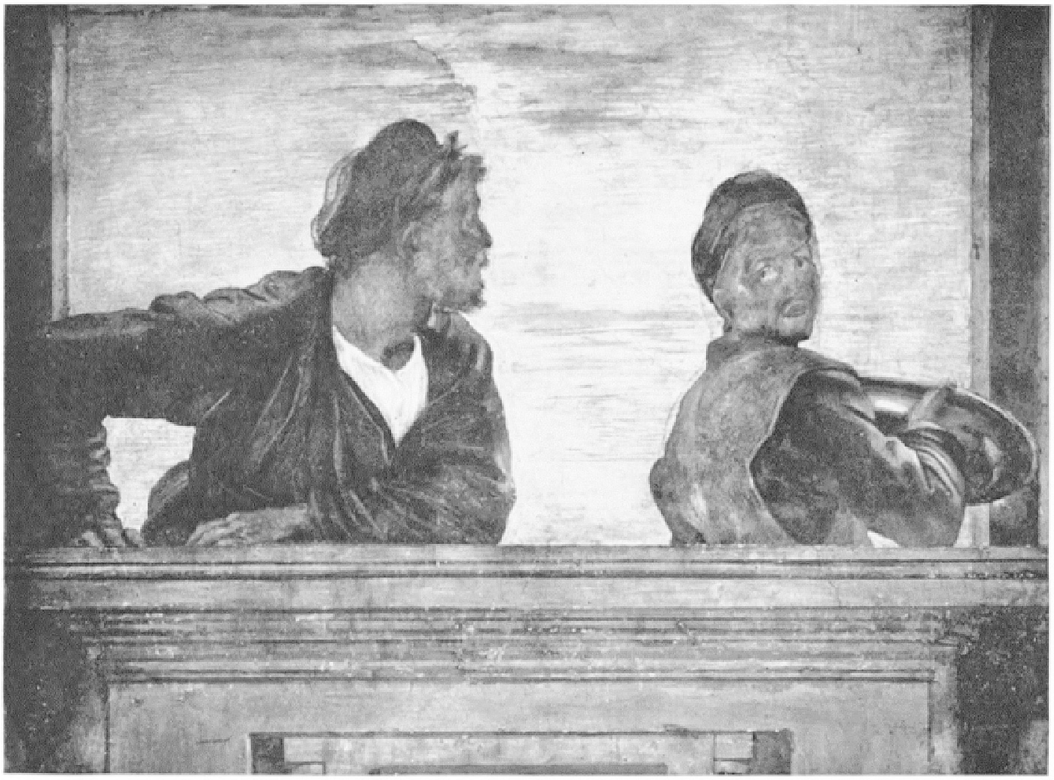
171. Detail of fig. 168, Apostles to the right



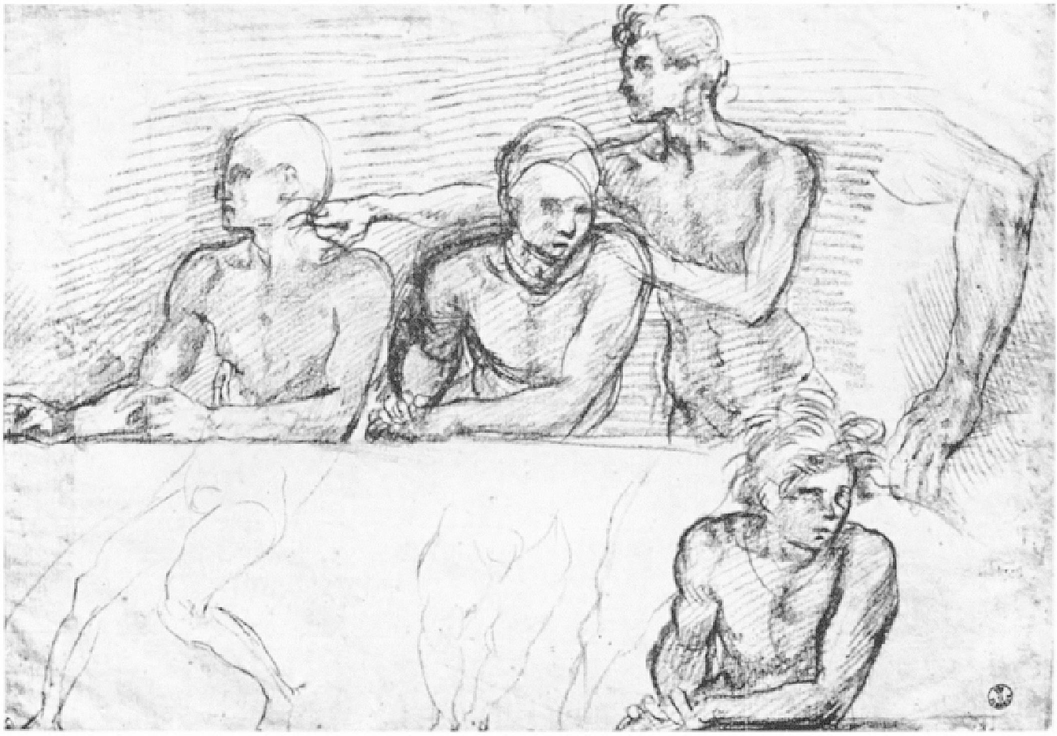
172. Detail of fig. 168, St. John Evangelist



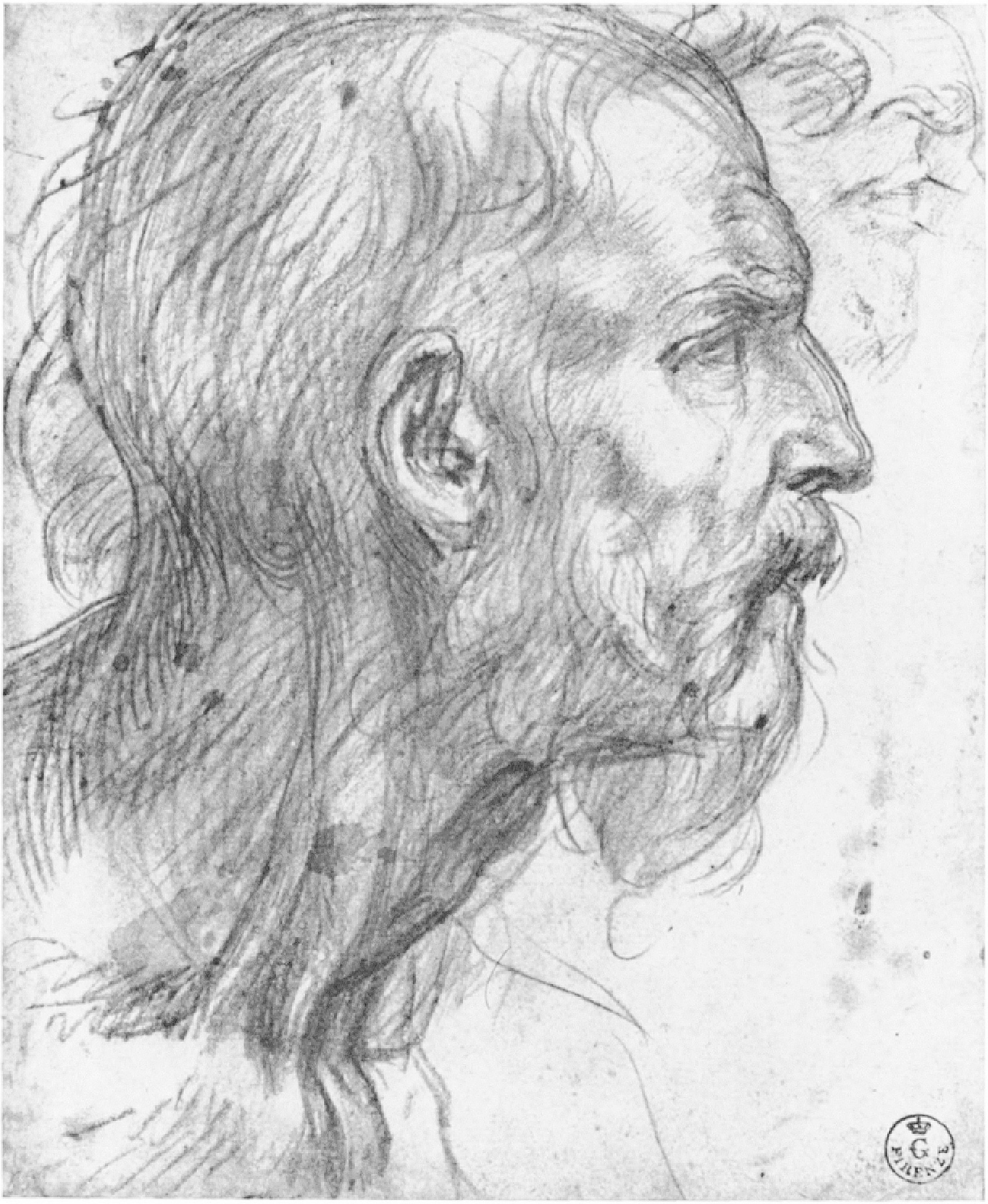
173. Detail of fig. 168, the Christ



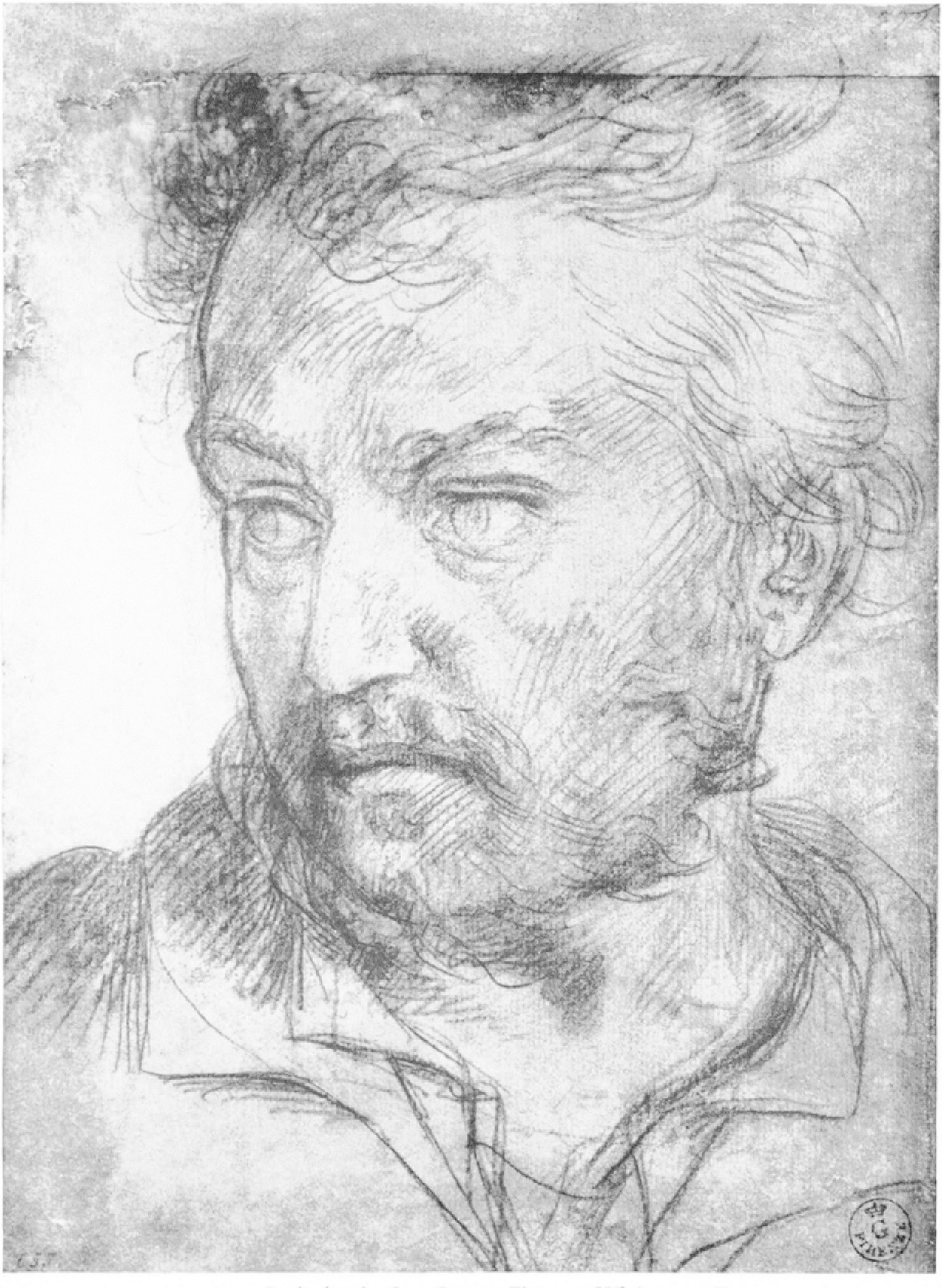
174. Detail of fig. 168, the servants



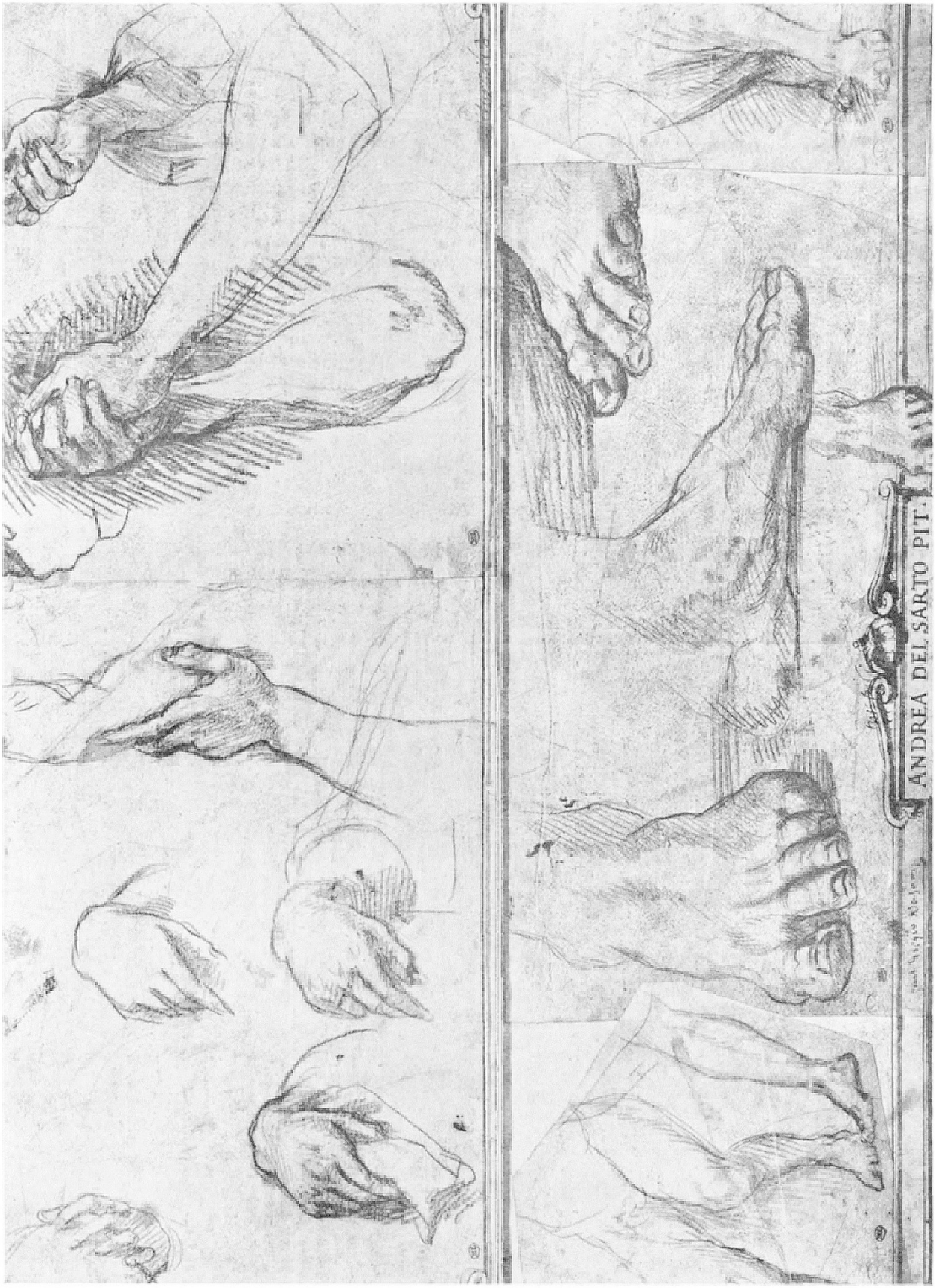
175. Study for the *Last Supper*. Florence, Uffizi no. 664Er



176. Study for the *Last Supper*. Florence, Uffizi no. 289F

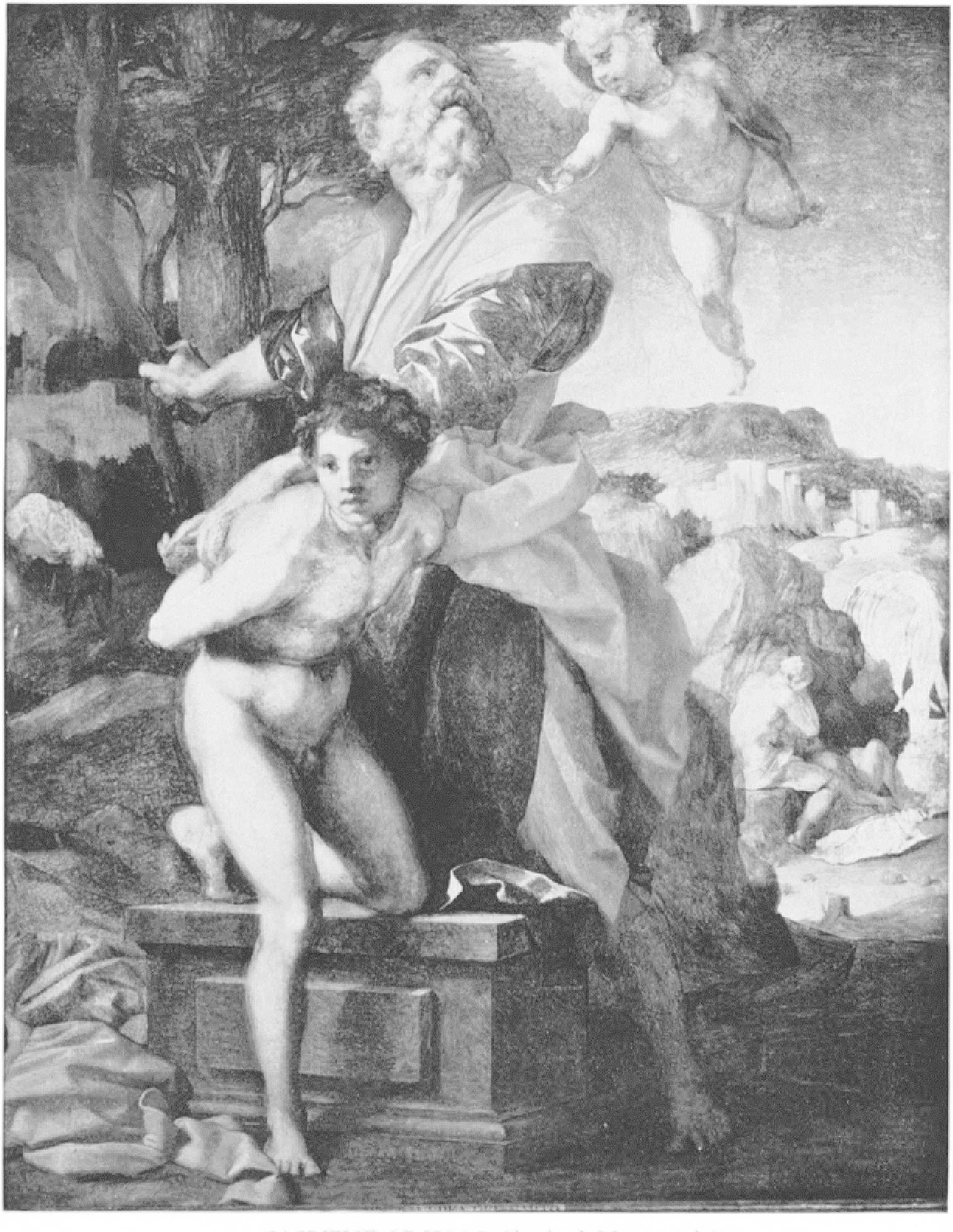


177. Study for the *Last Supper*. Florence, Uffizi no. 292F

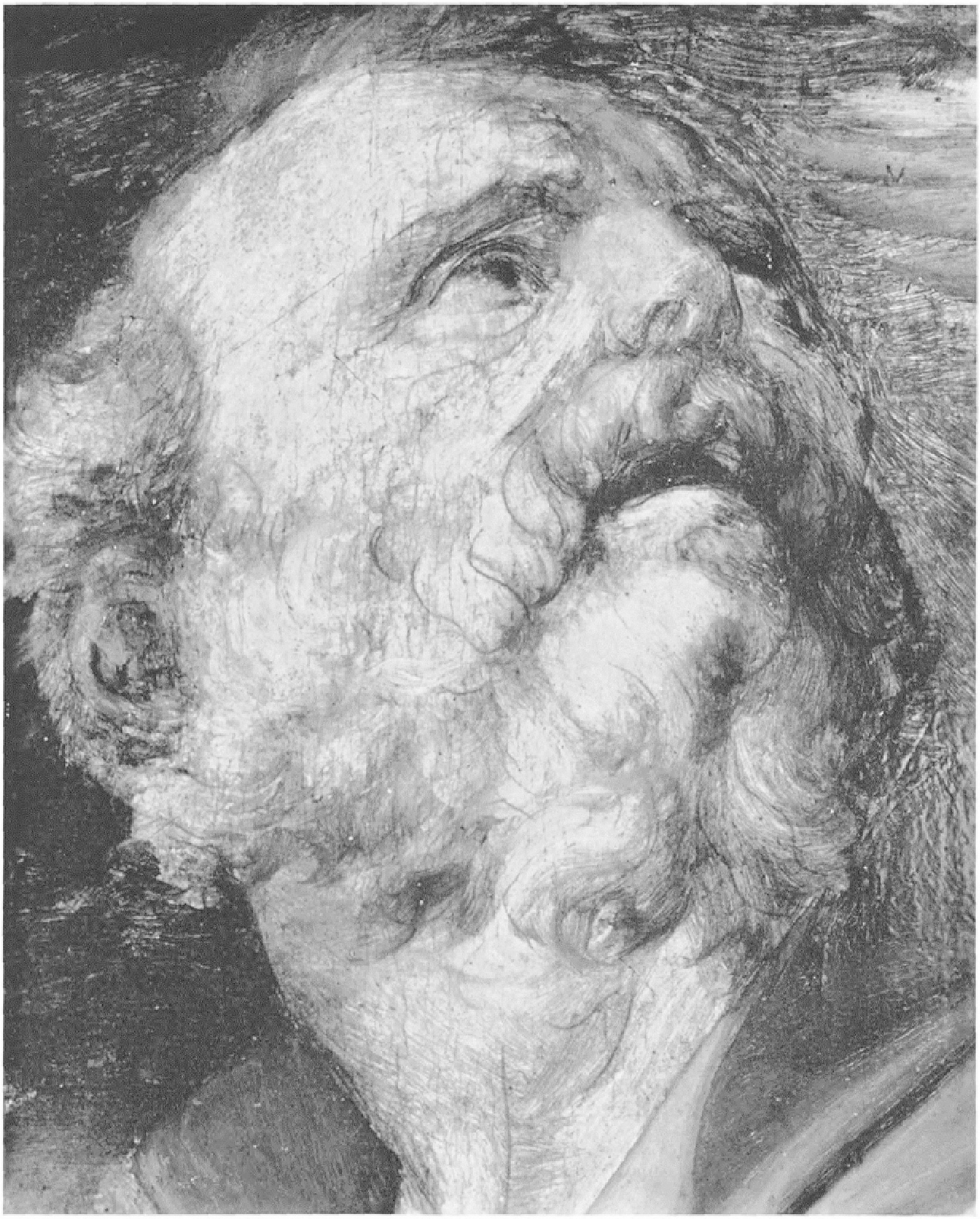

ANDREA DEL SARTO PIT.

178. Study for the *Last Supper*. Paris, Louvre no. 1714

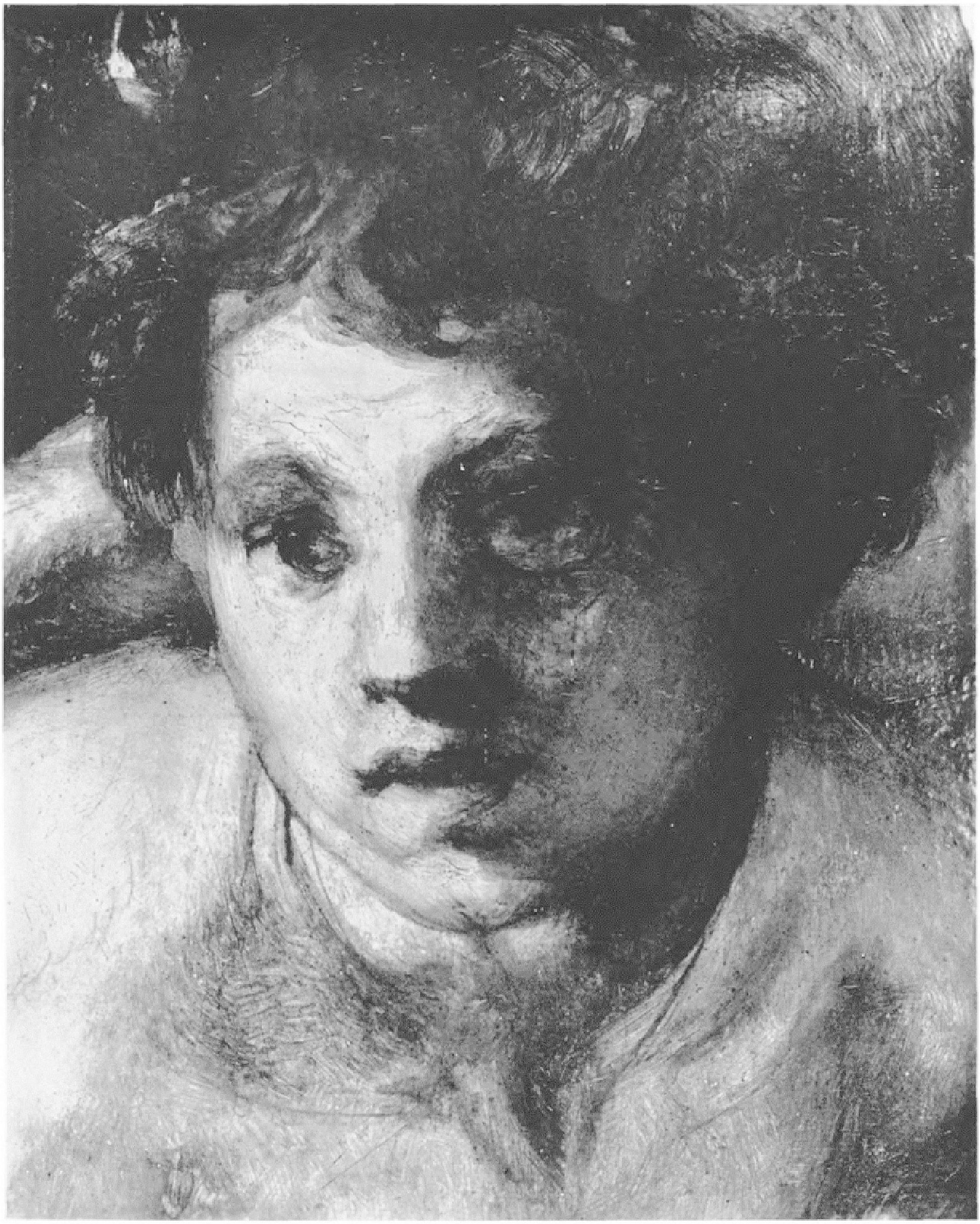
Freedberg, S. J. *Andrea Del Sarto: Text and Illustrations, Vol. 1.*
E-book, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb30523.0001.001.



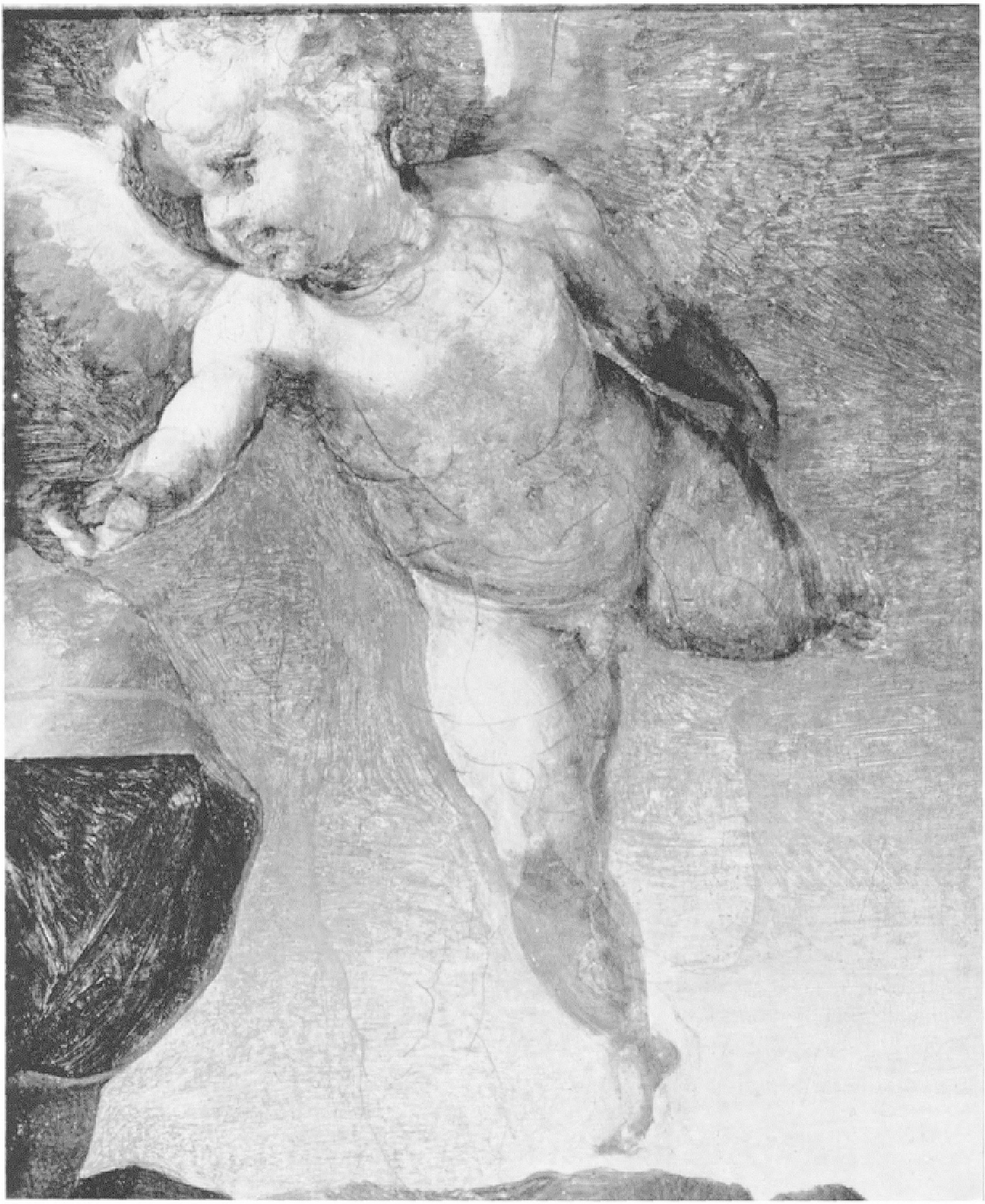
179. SACRIFICE OF ISAAC. Cleveland, Museum of Art



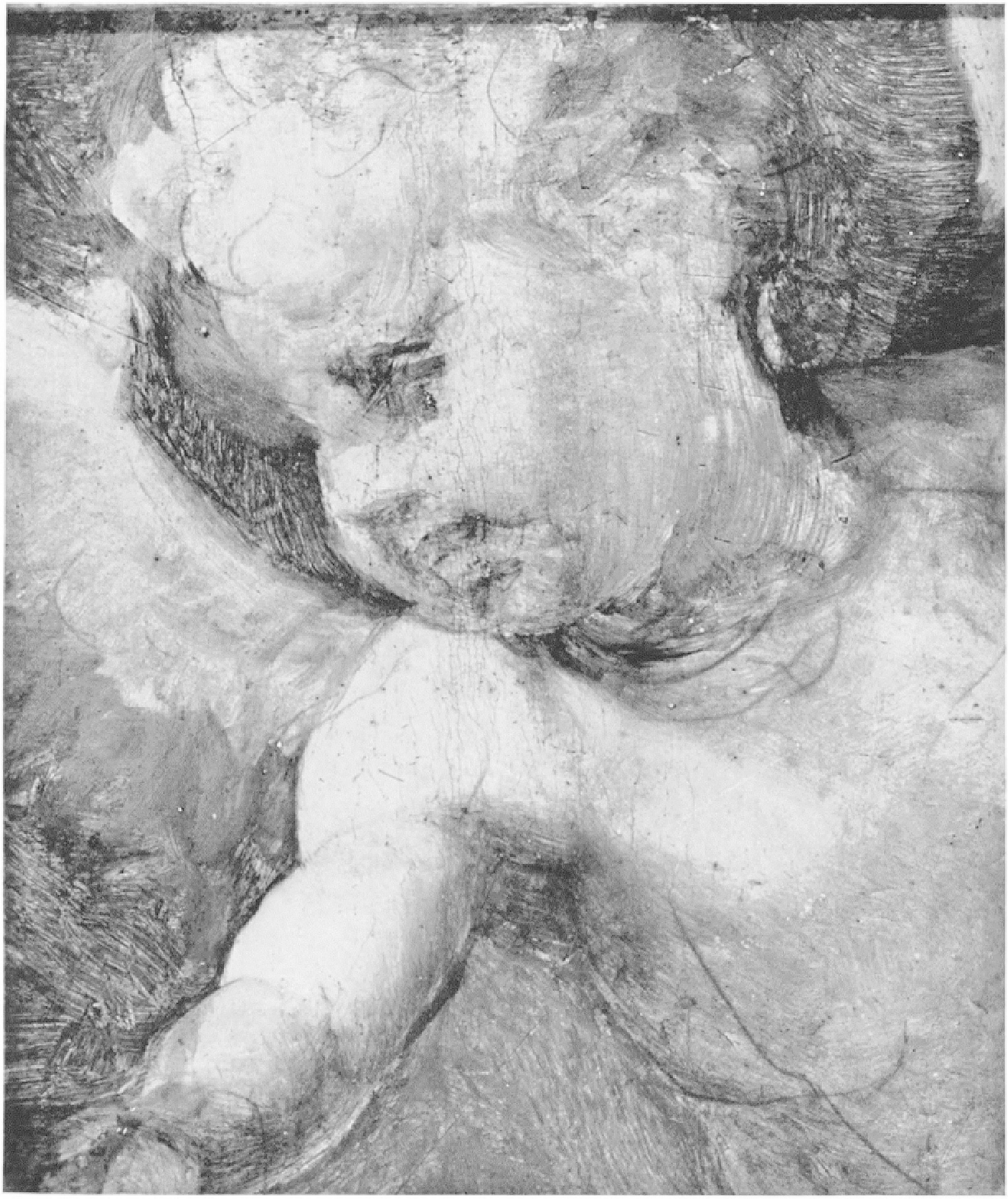
180. Detail of fig. 179, head of Abraham



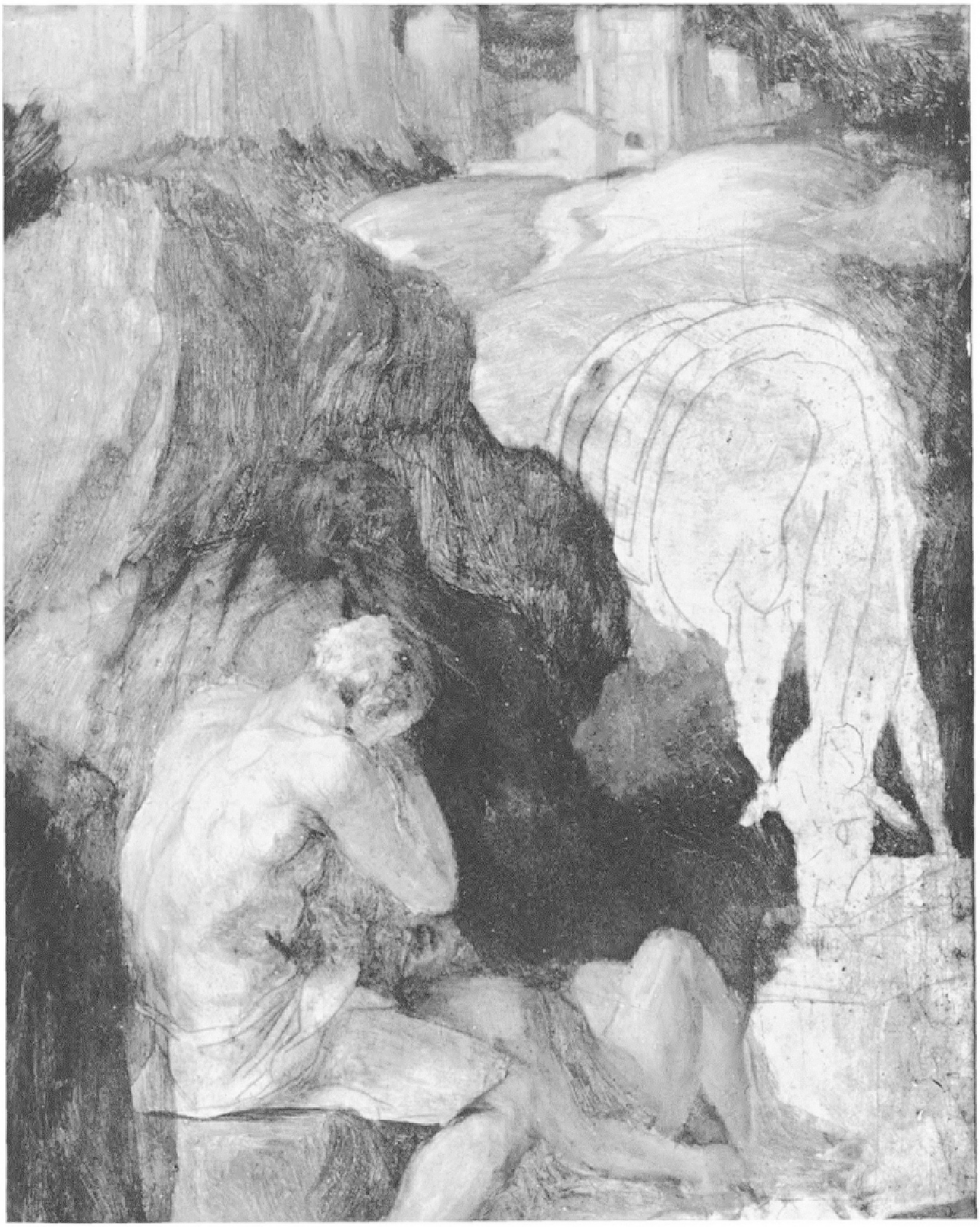
181. Detail of fig. 179, head of Isaac



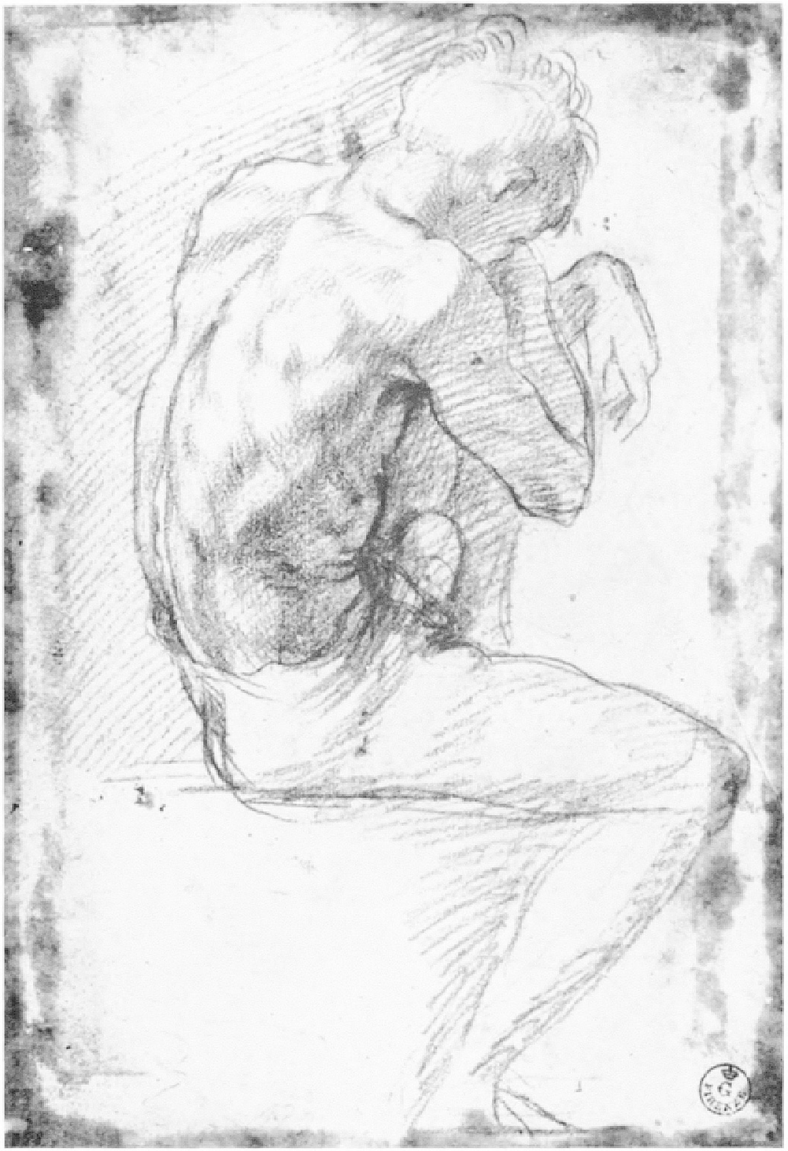
182. Detail of fig. 179, the angel



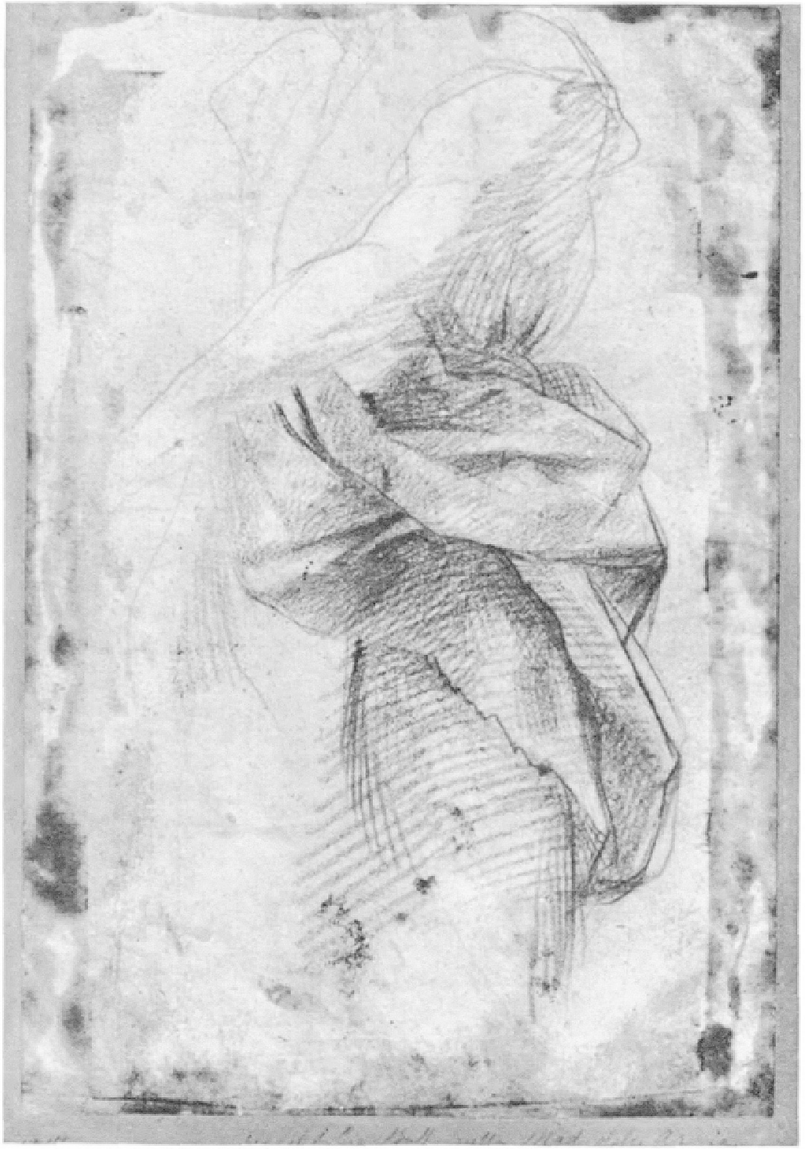
183. Detail of fig. 182, head of the angel



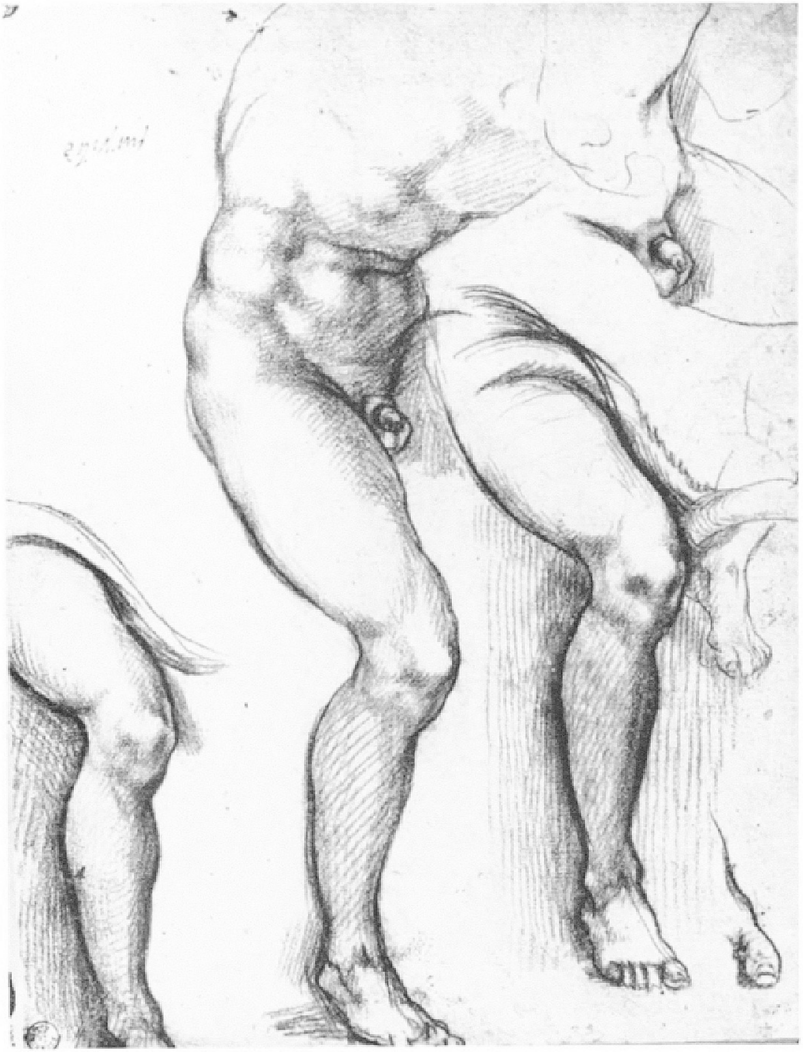
184. Detail of fig. 179, the servants



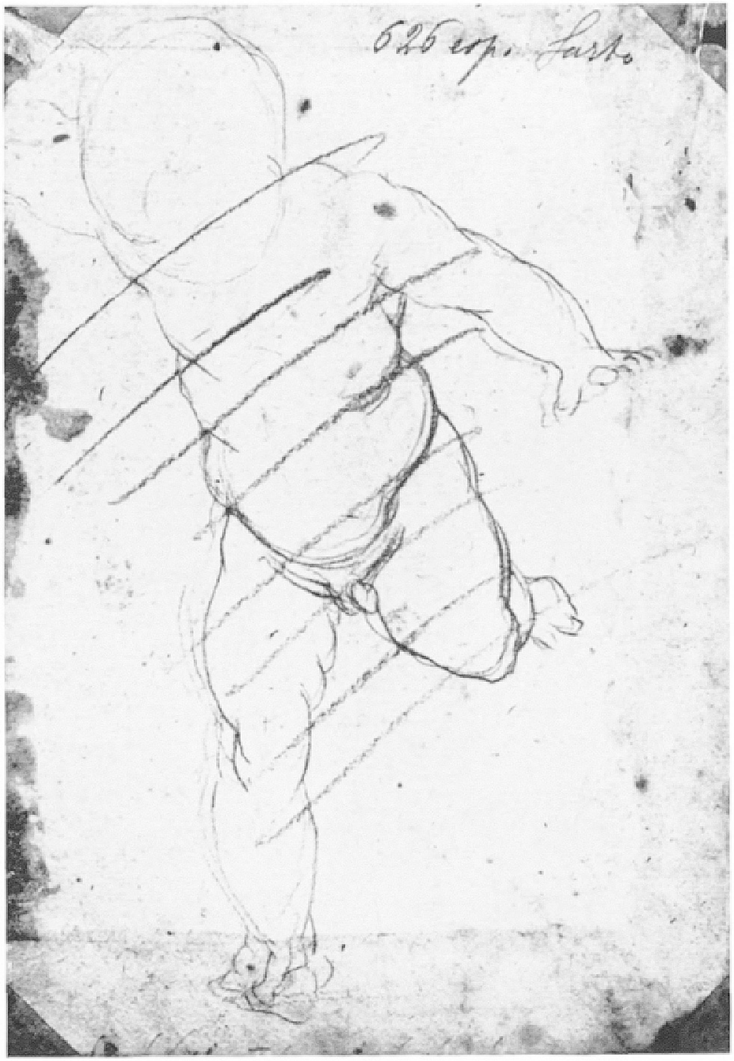
185. Study for the *Sacrifice of Isaac*. Florence, Uffizi no. 317Fr



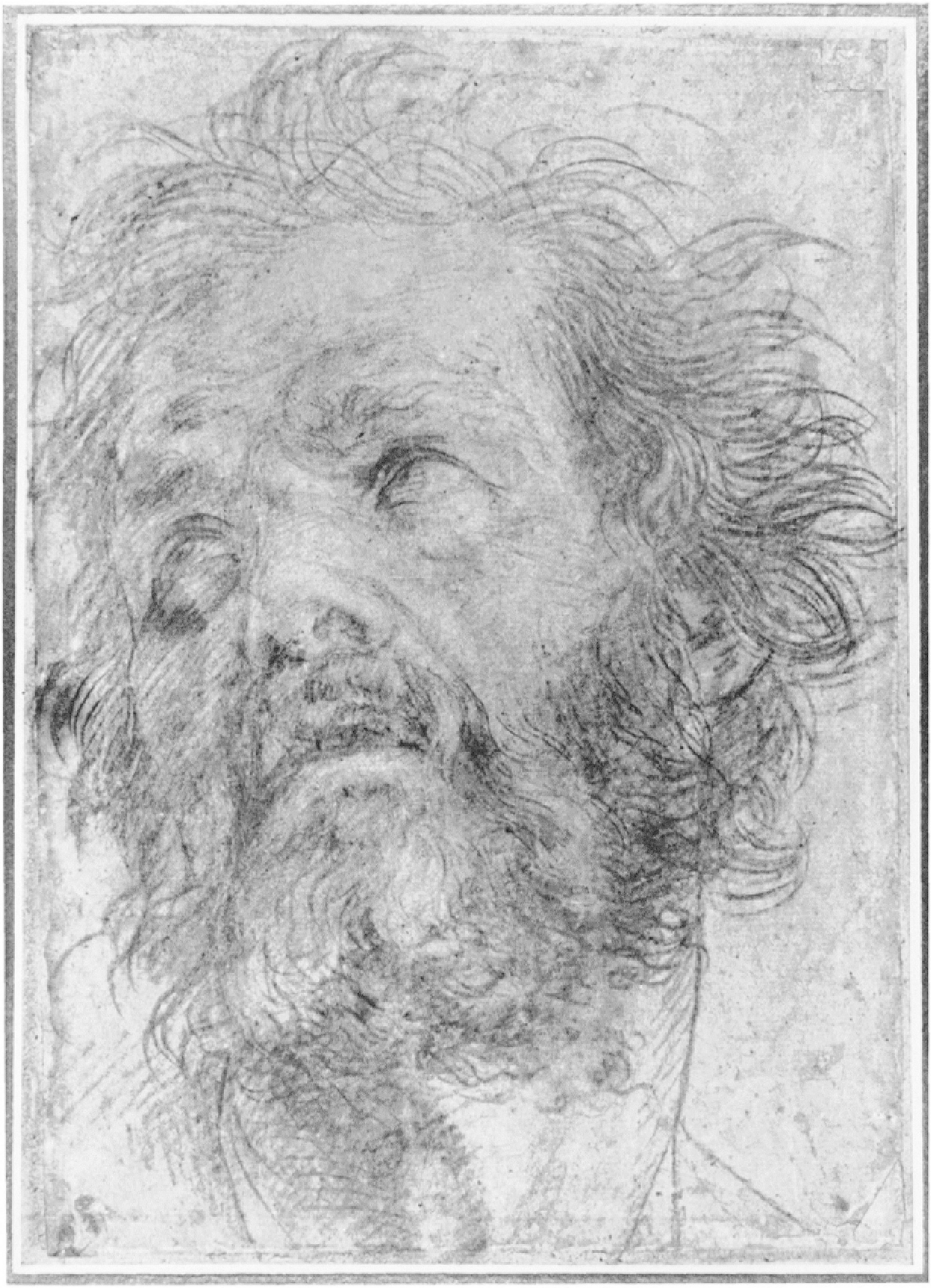
186. Study for the *Sacrifice of Isaac*. Florence, Uffizi no. 317Fv



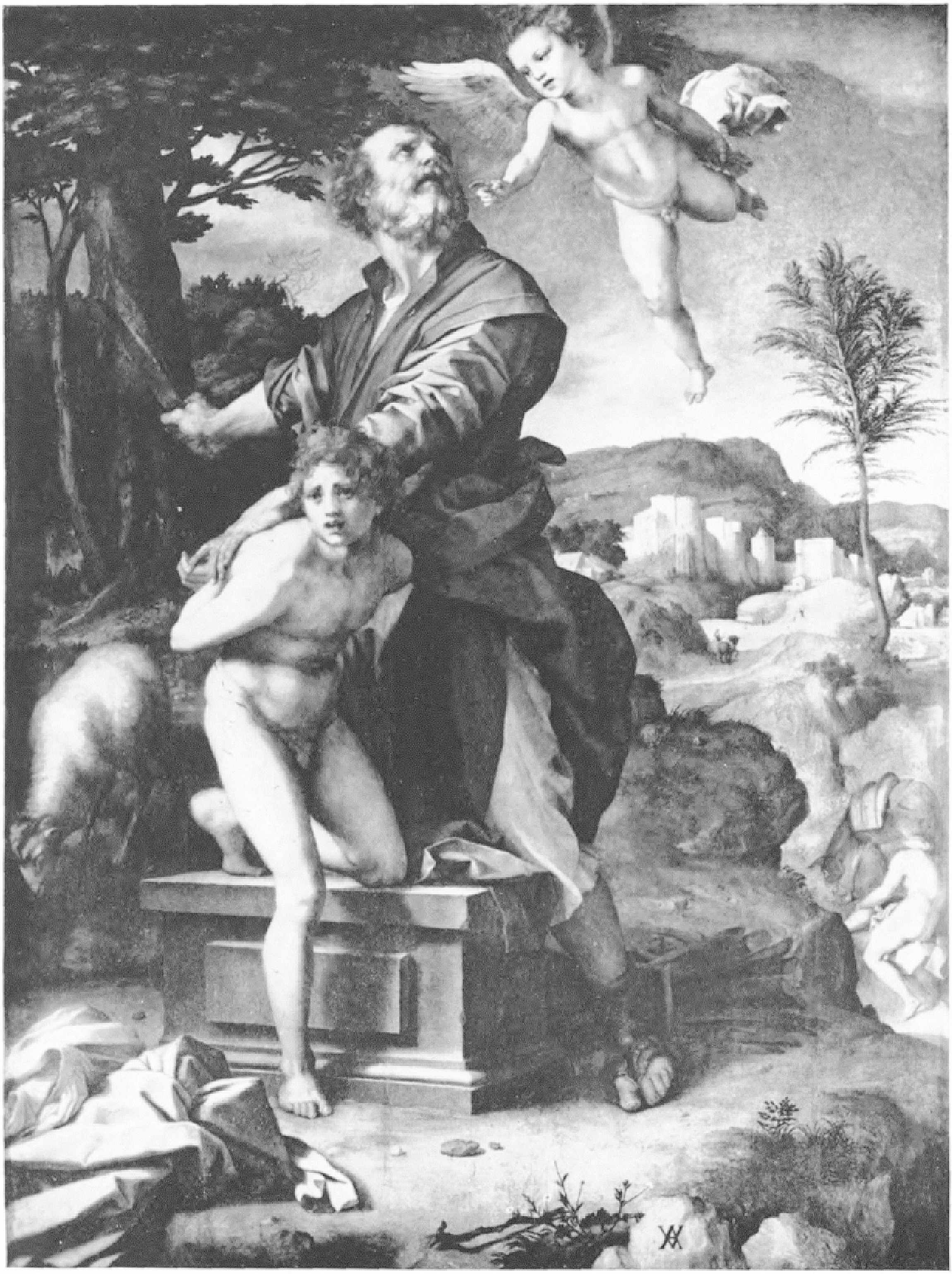
187. Study for the *Sacrifice of Isaac*. Florence, Uffizi no. 339F



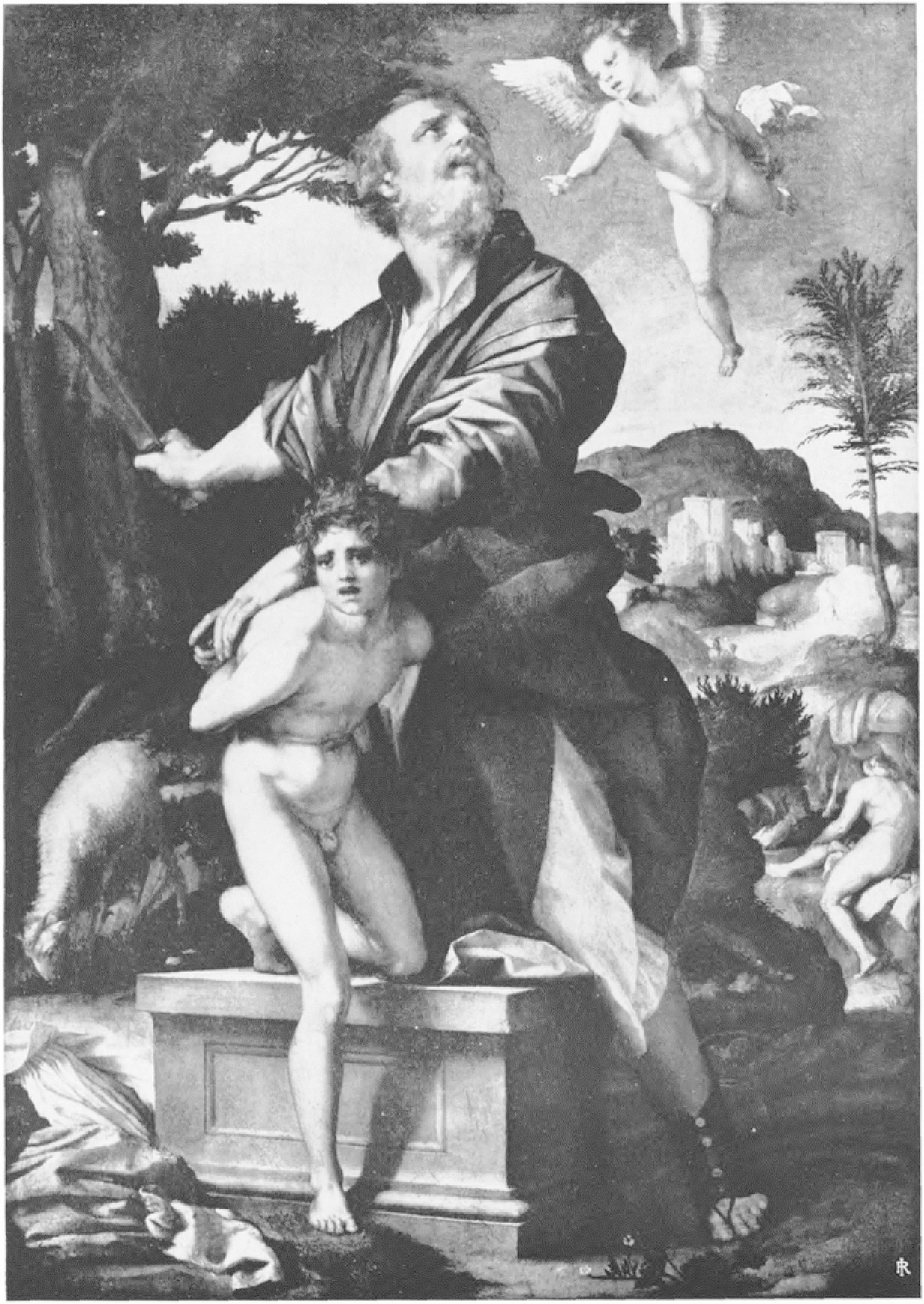
188. Study for the *Sacrifice of Isaac*. Florence, Uffizi no. 626Ev



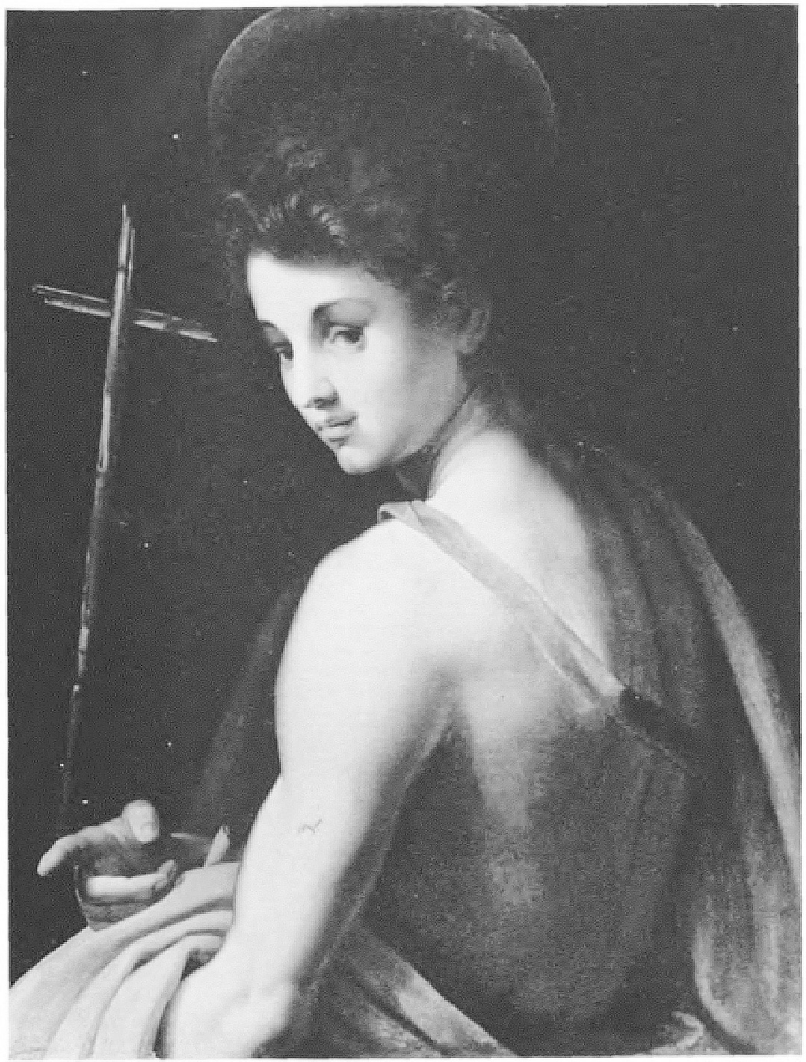
189. Study for the *Sacrifice of Isaac*. Oxford, Ashmolean no. 694



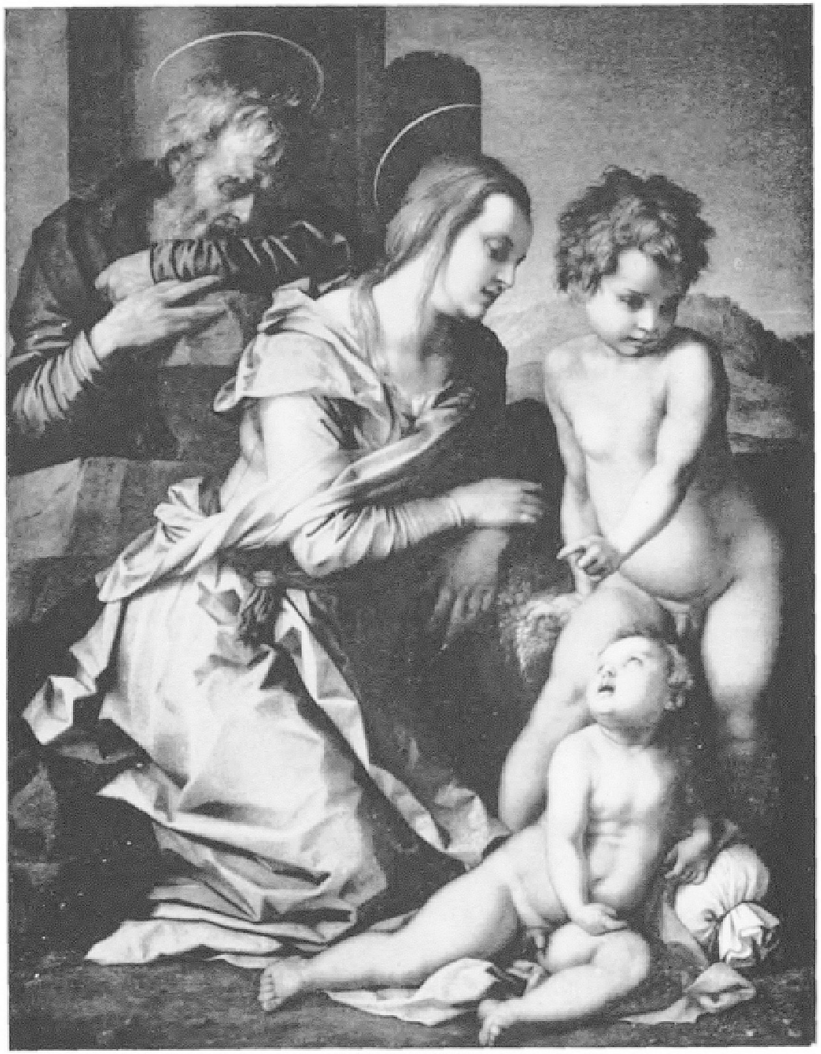
190. SACRIFICE OF ISAAC. Dresden, Gallery



191. SACRIFICE OF ISAAC. Madrid, Prado no. 336



192. ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST (copy). London, art market



193. HOLY FAMILY WITH THE INFANT ST. JOHN.
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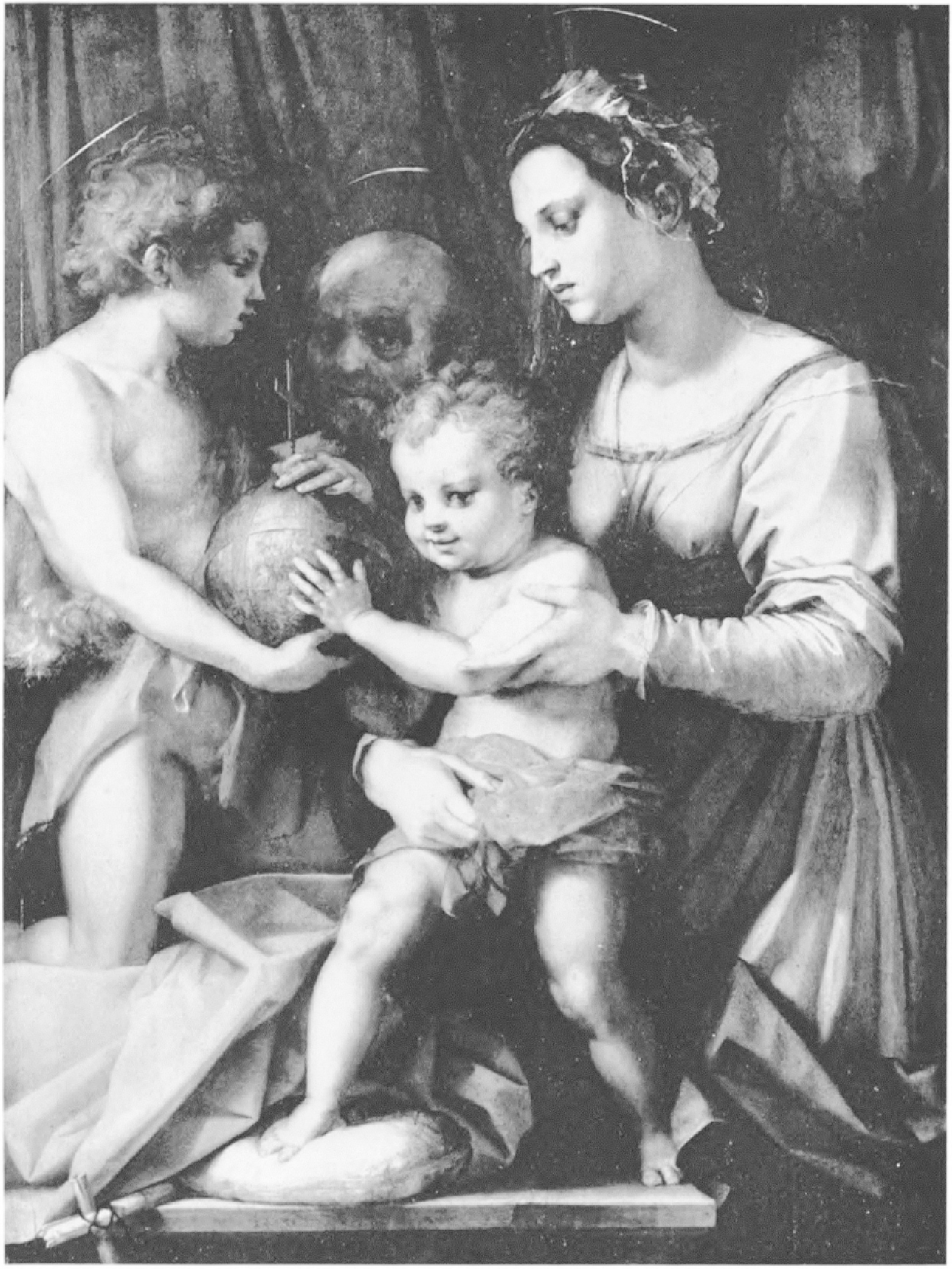

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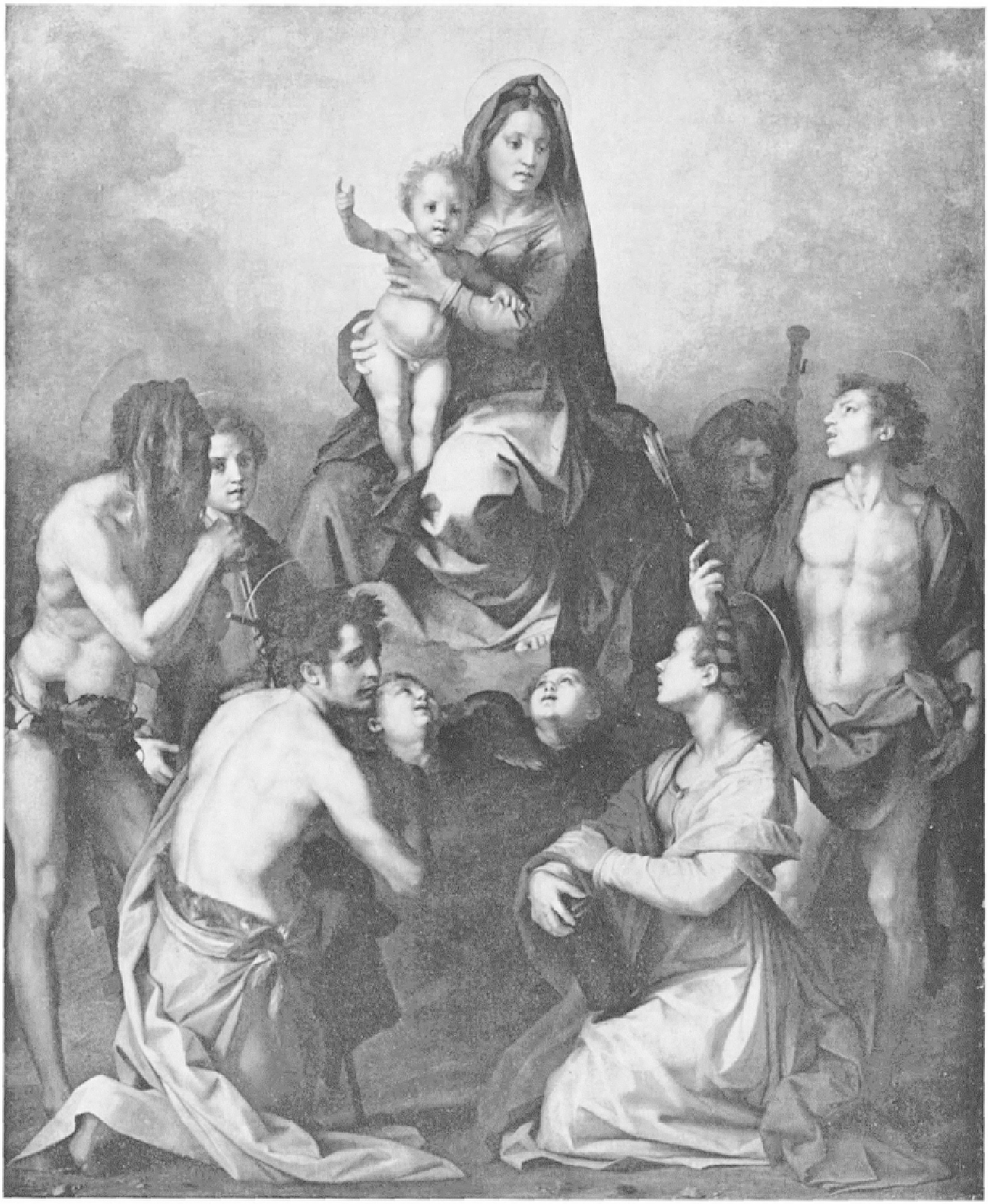

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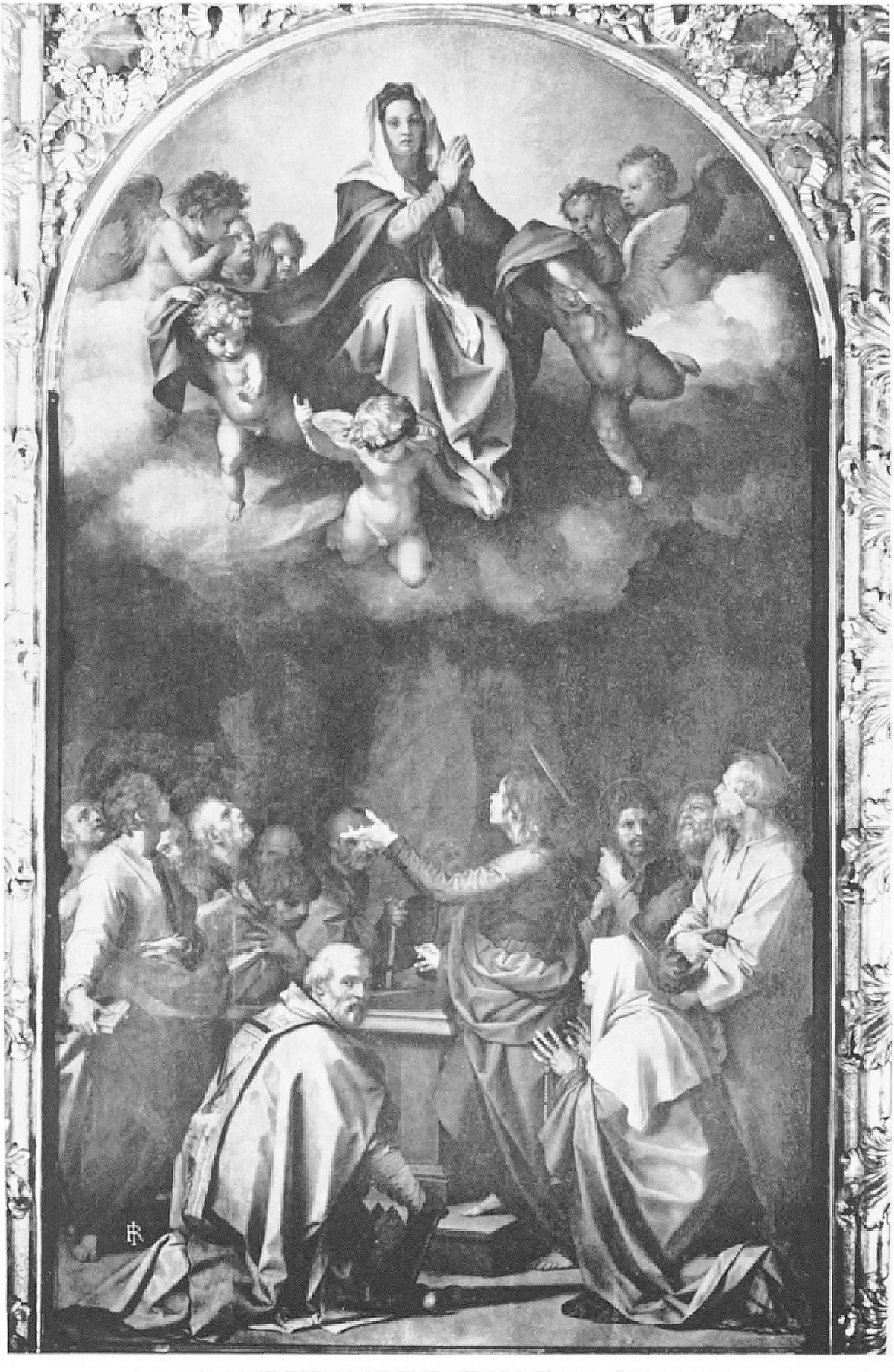

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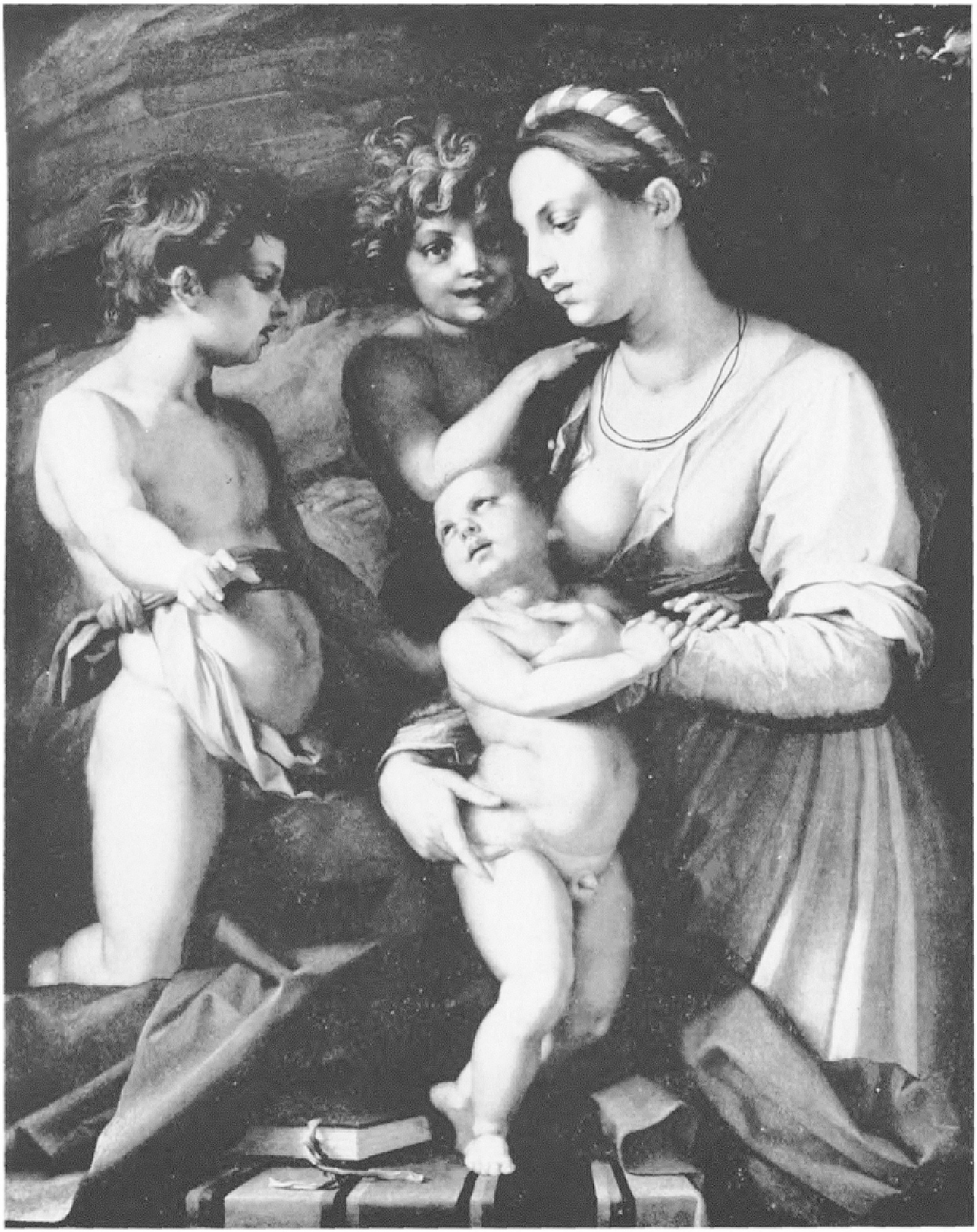

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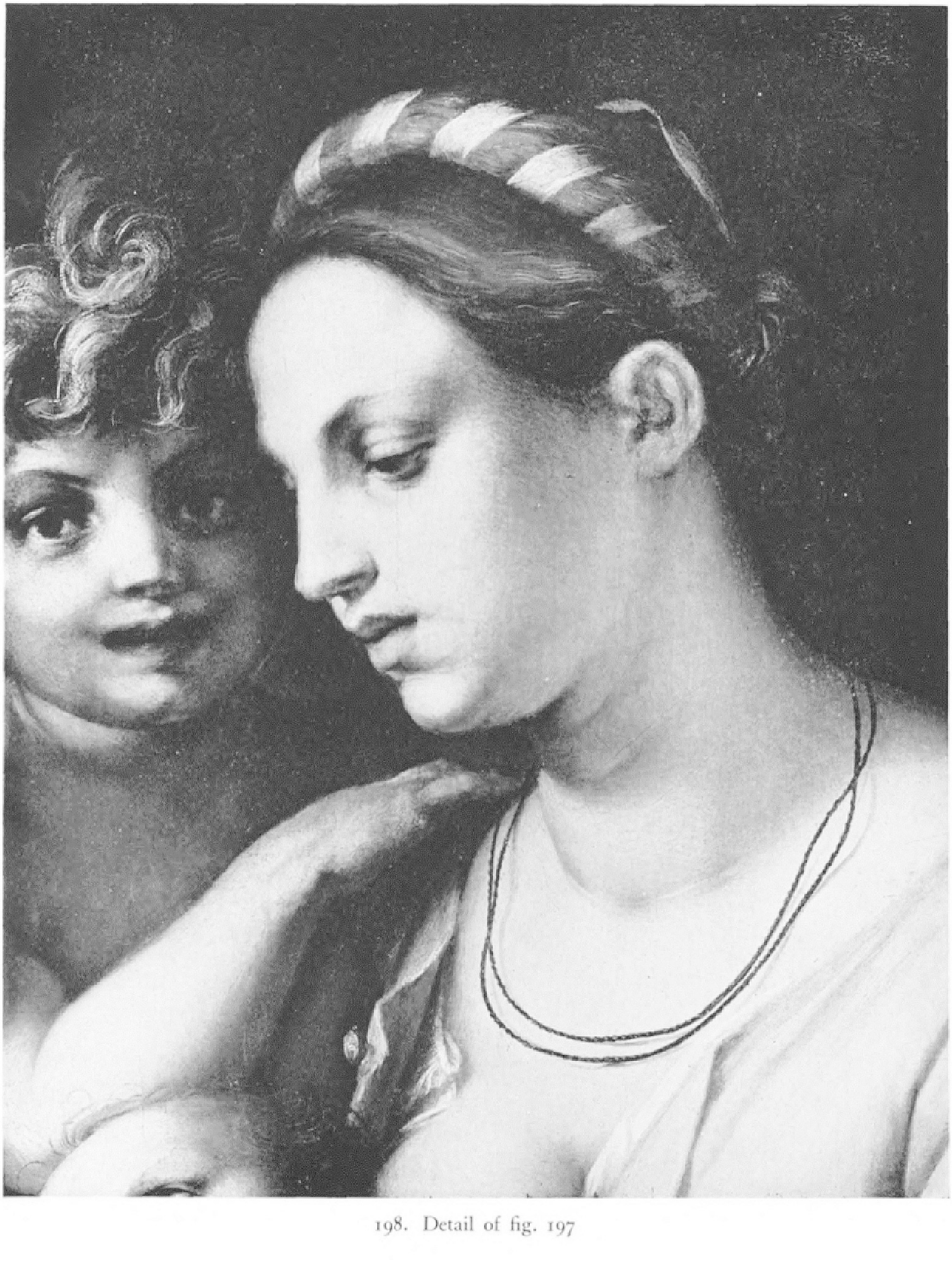
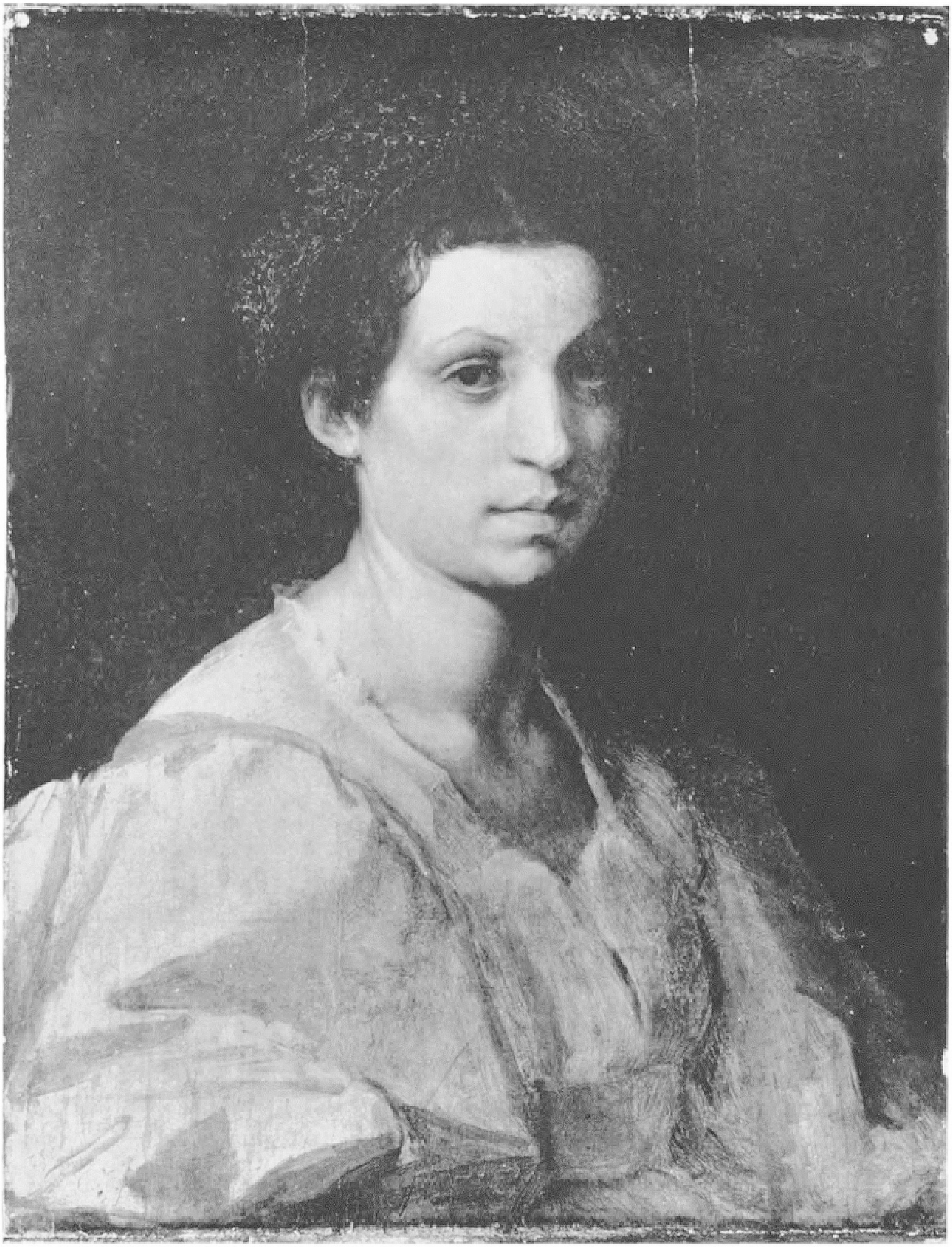


198. Detail of fig. 197



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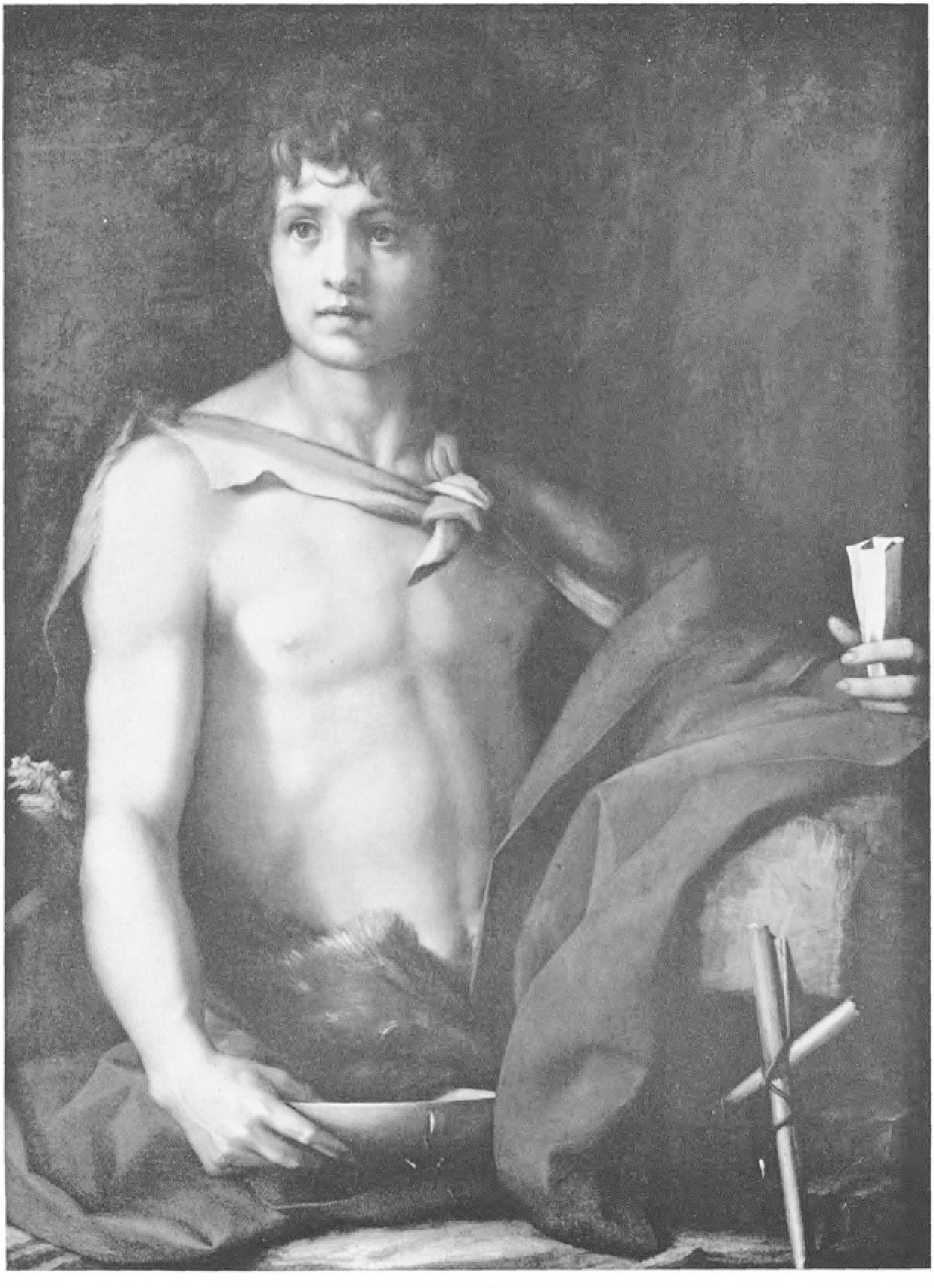

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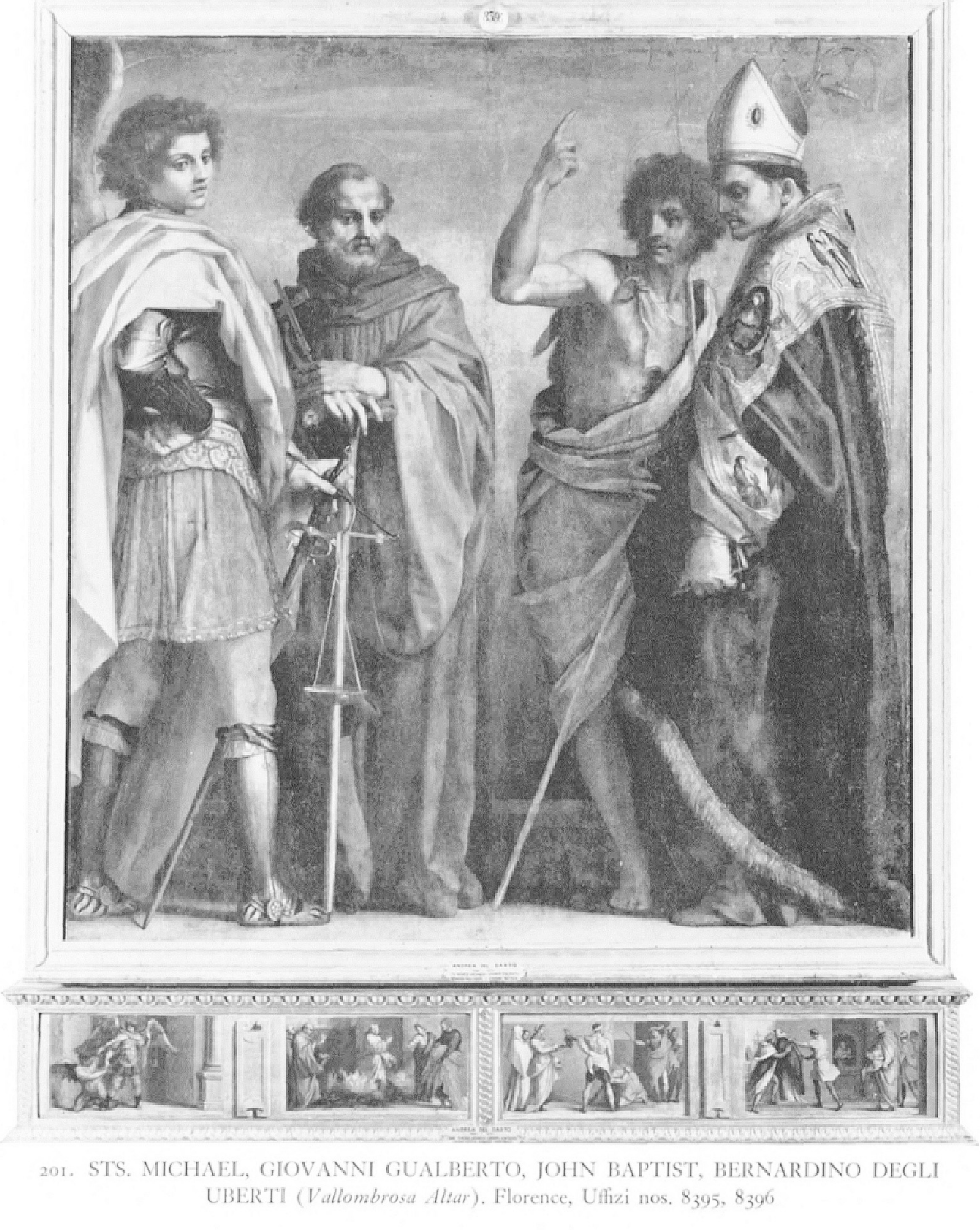

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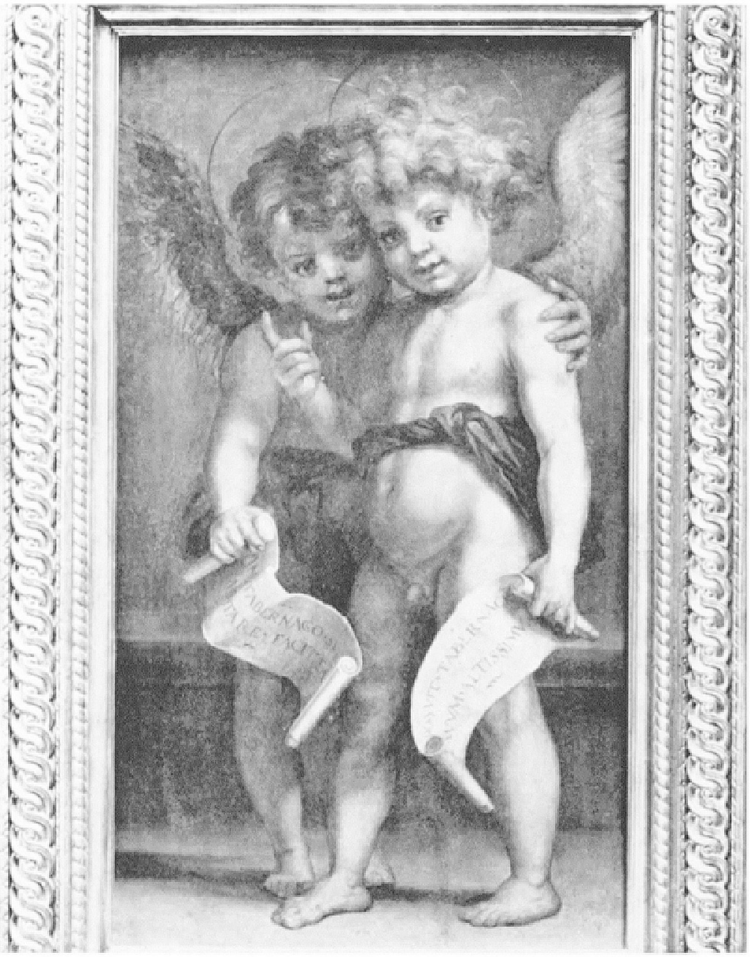
Freedberg, S. J. *Andrea Del Sarto: Text and Illustrations, Vol. 1.*
E-book, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb30523.0001.001.



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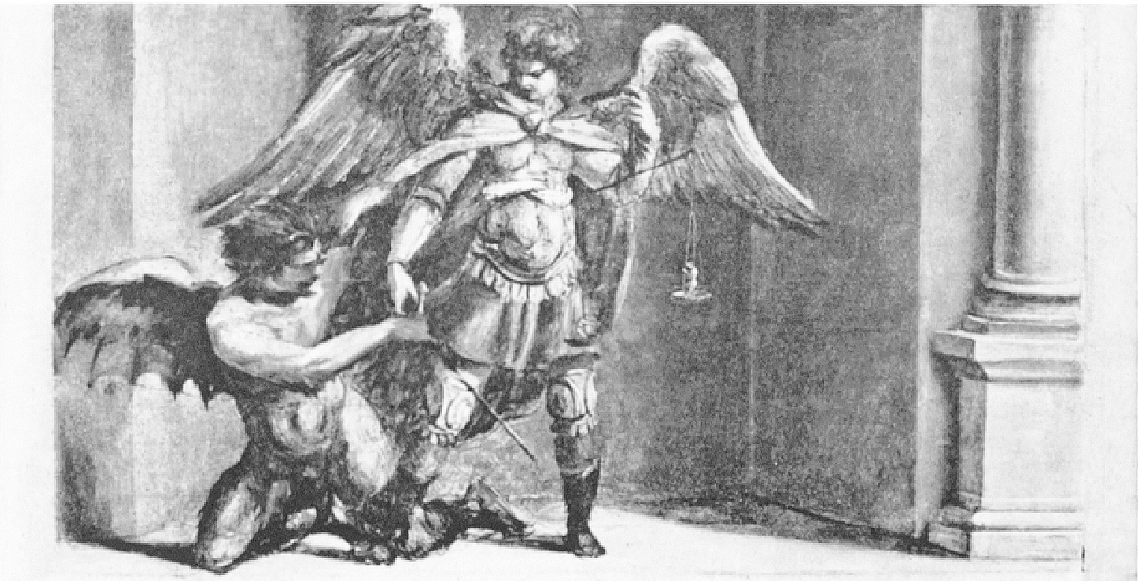

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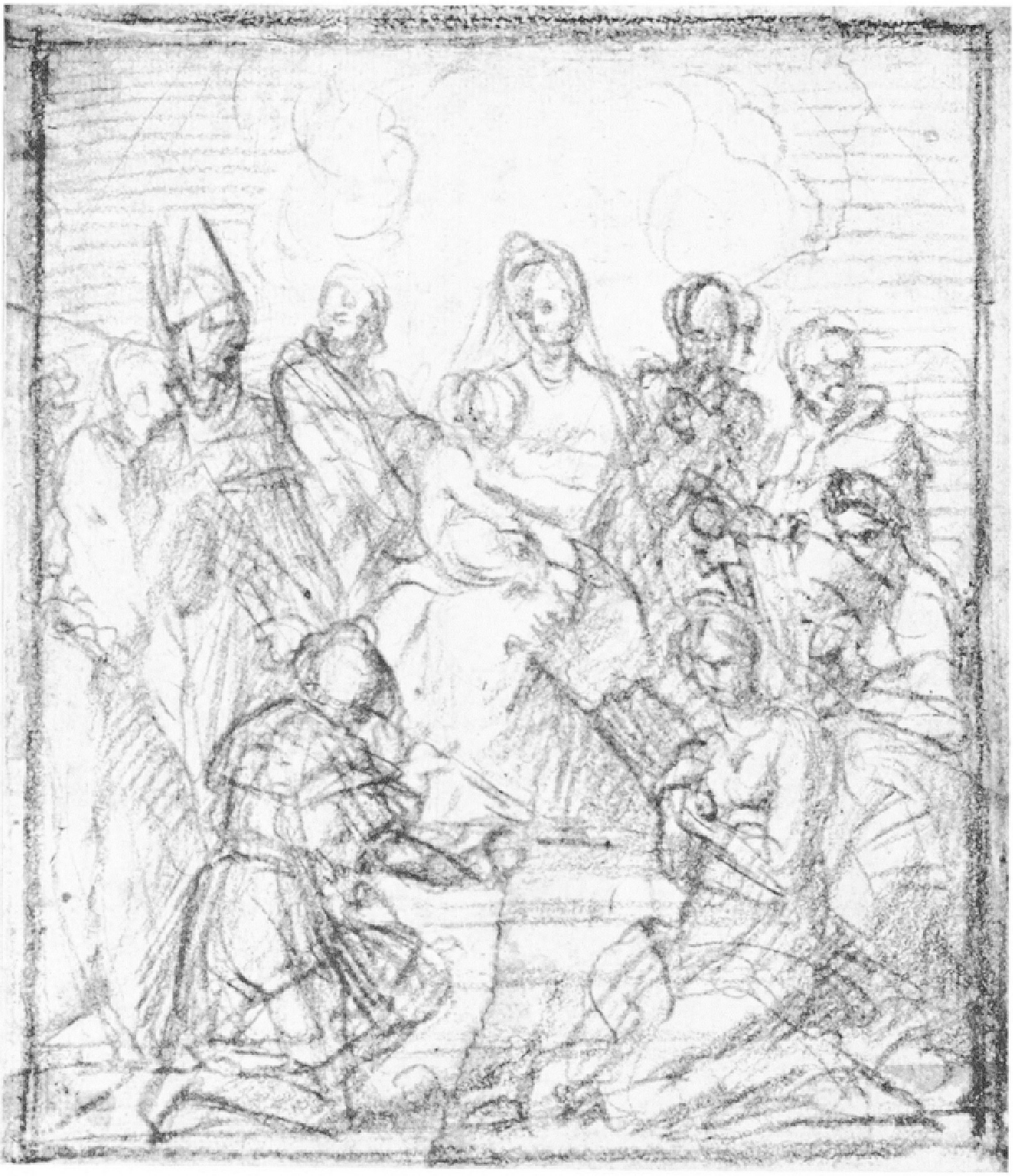

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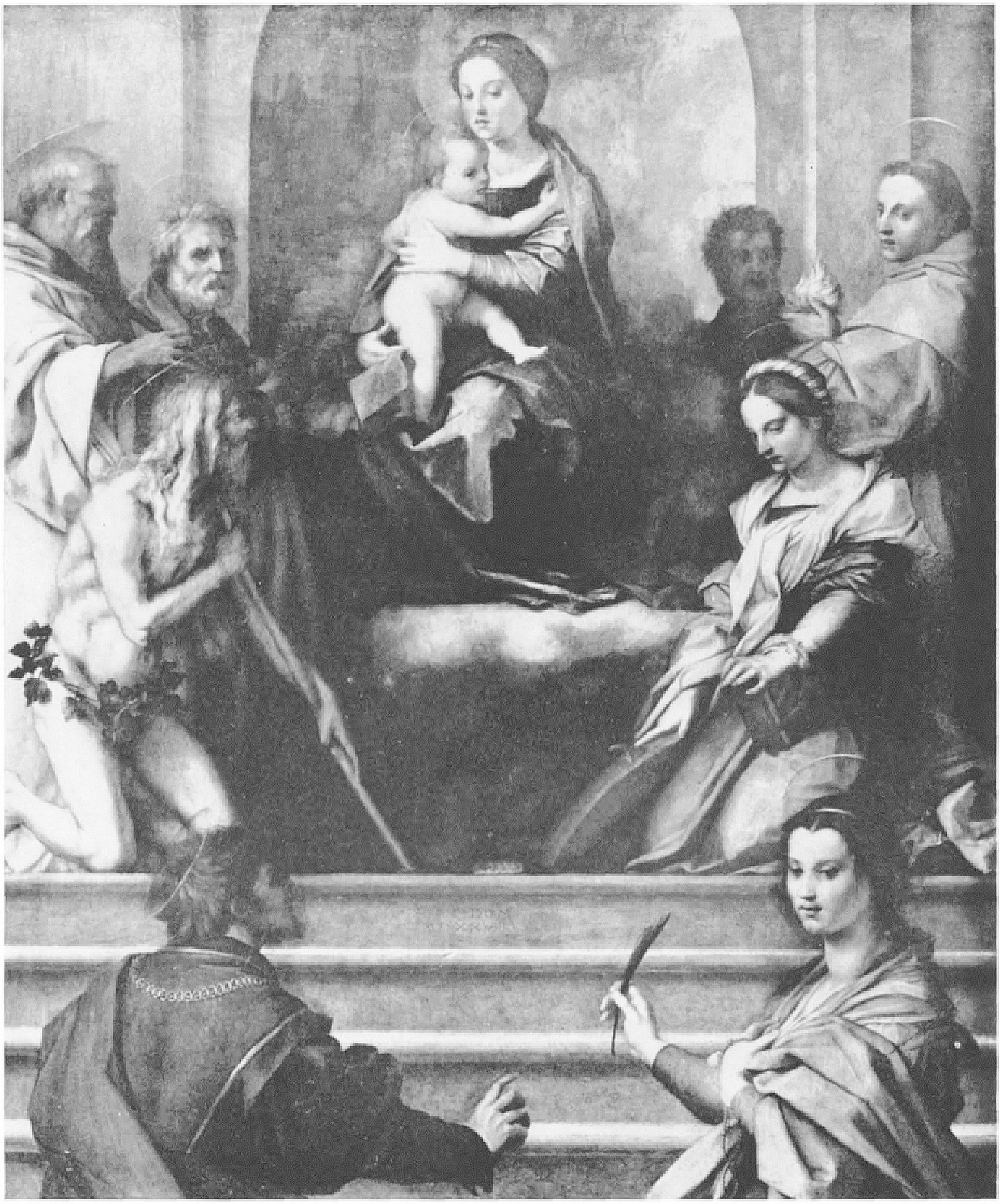

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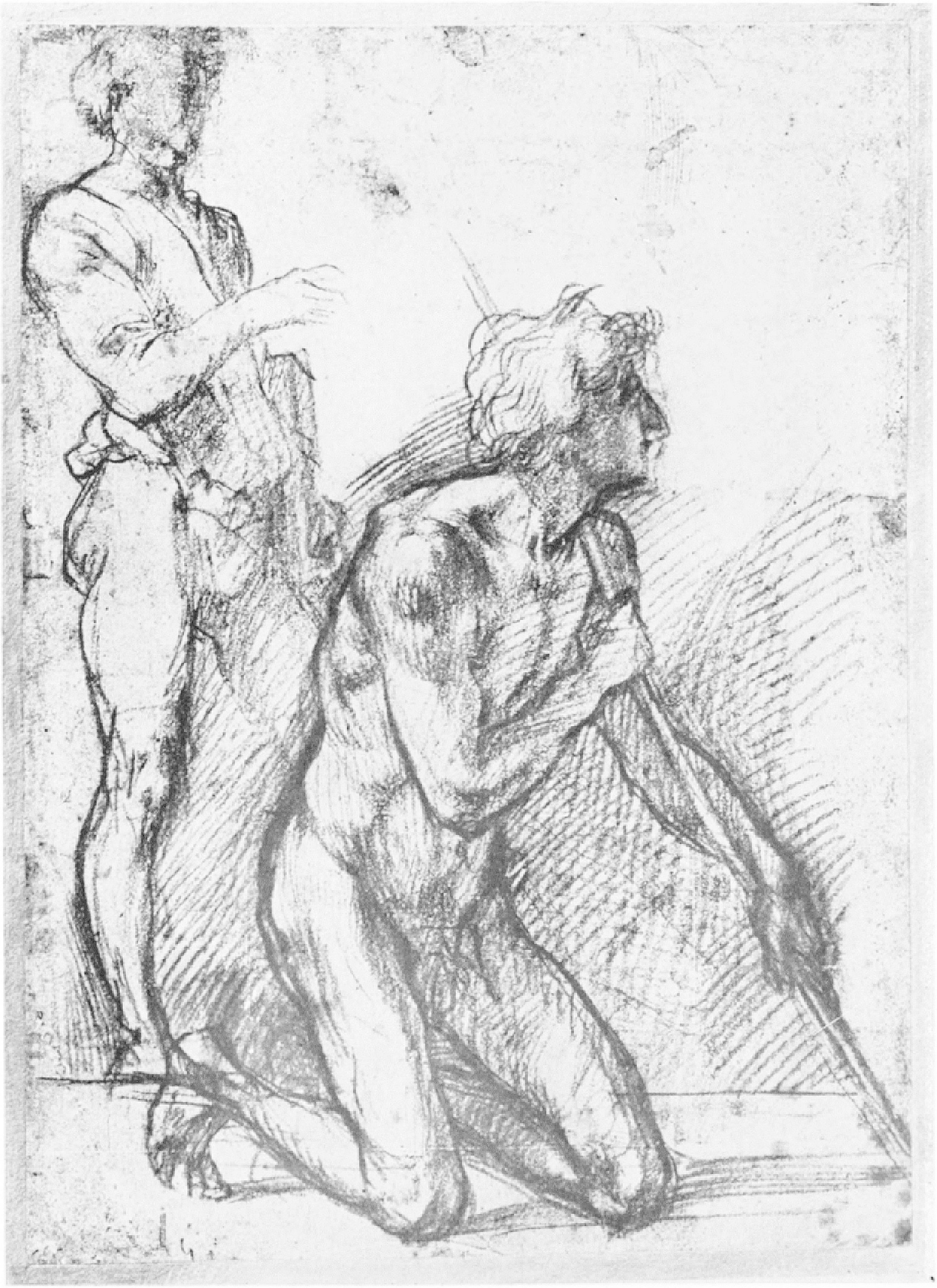

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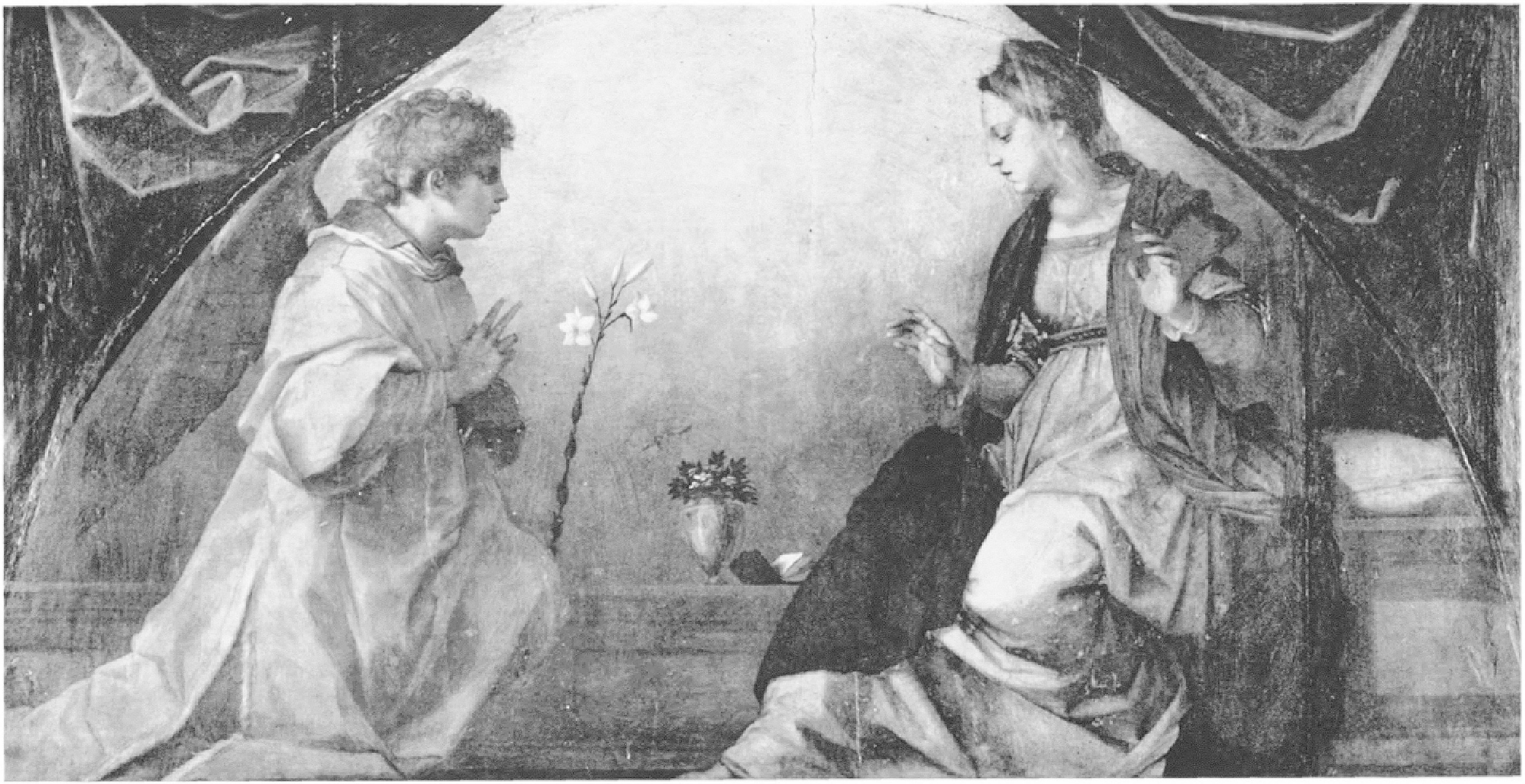

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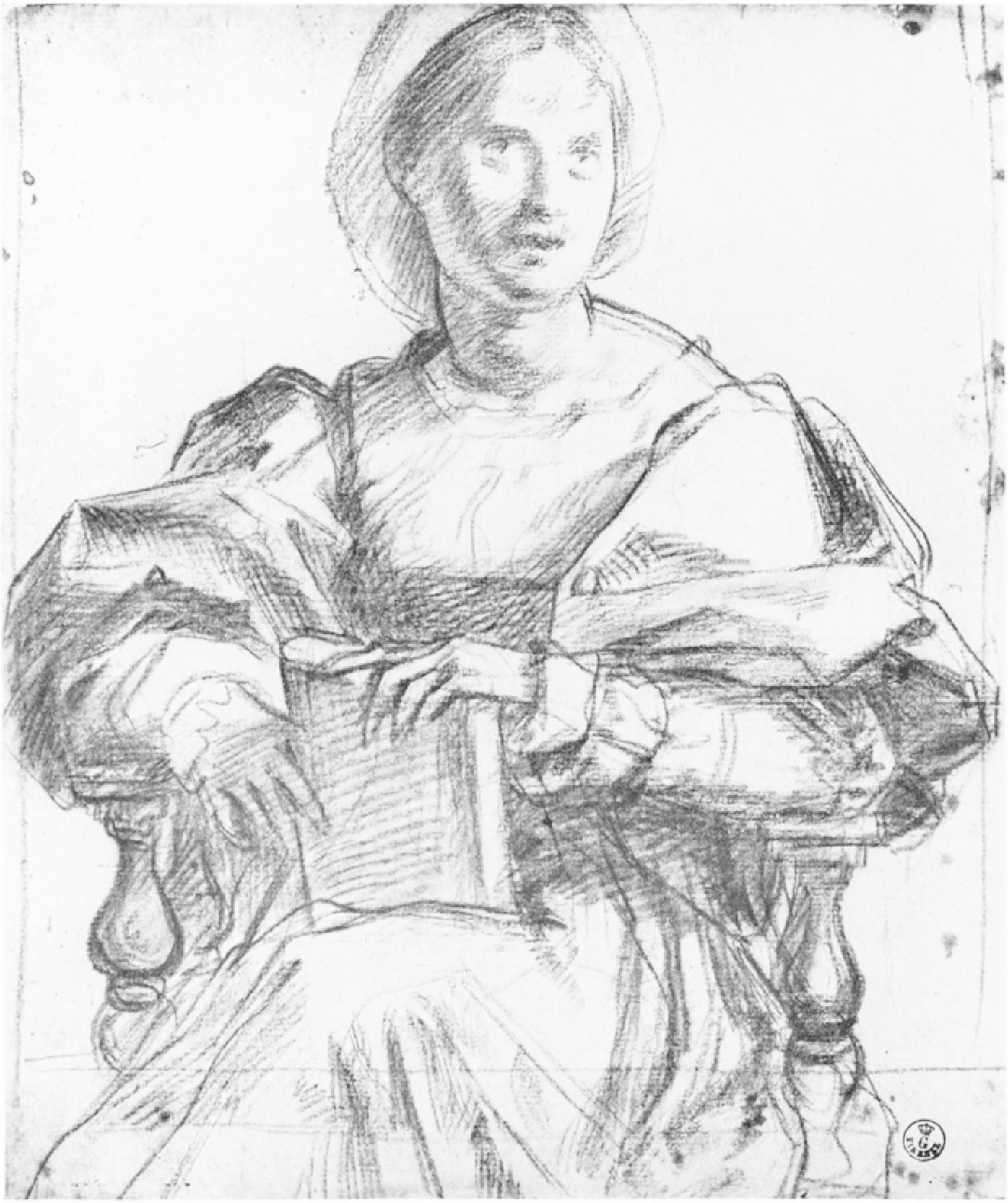

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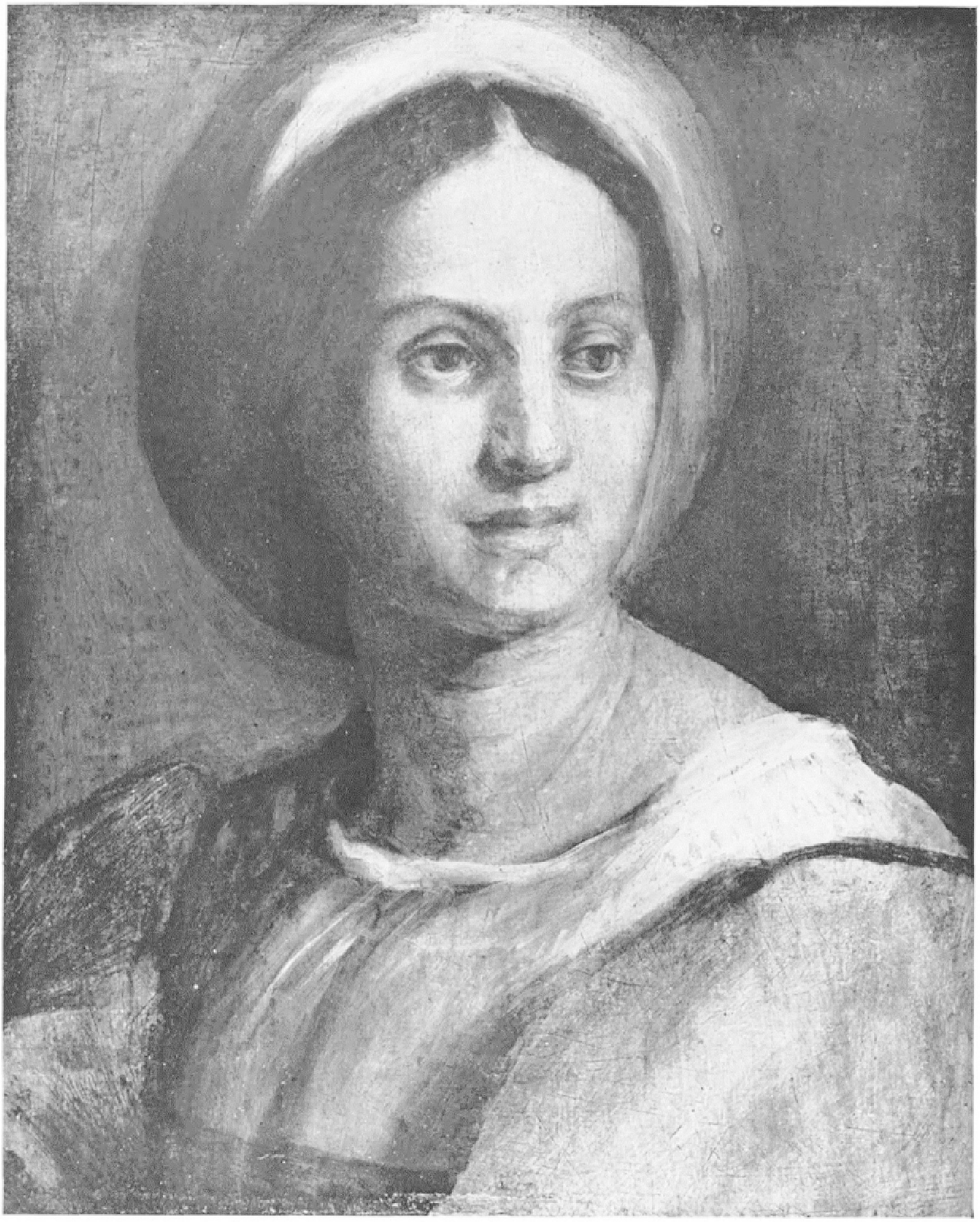

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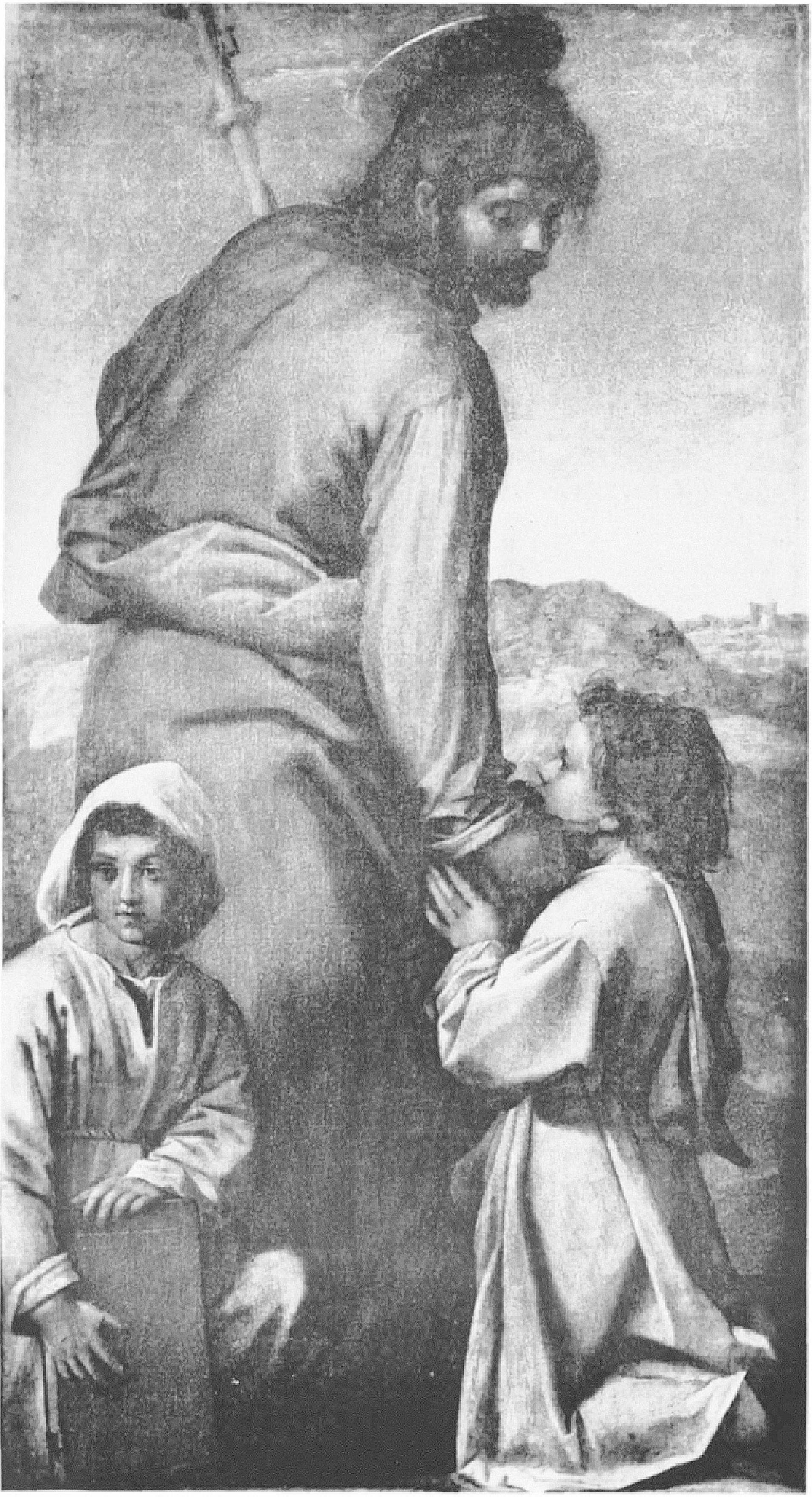

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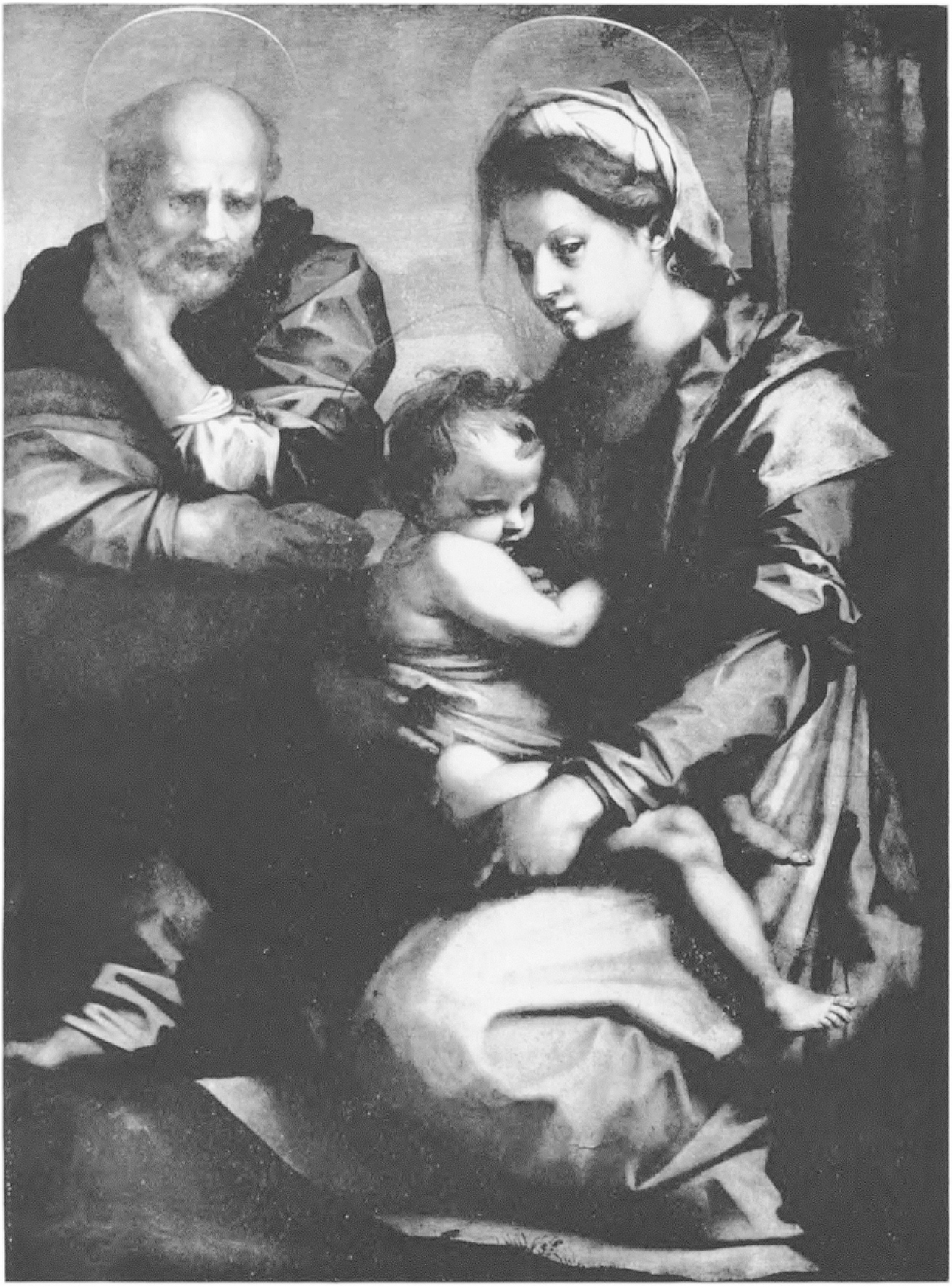

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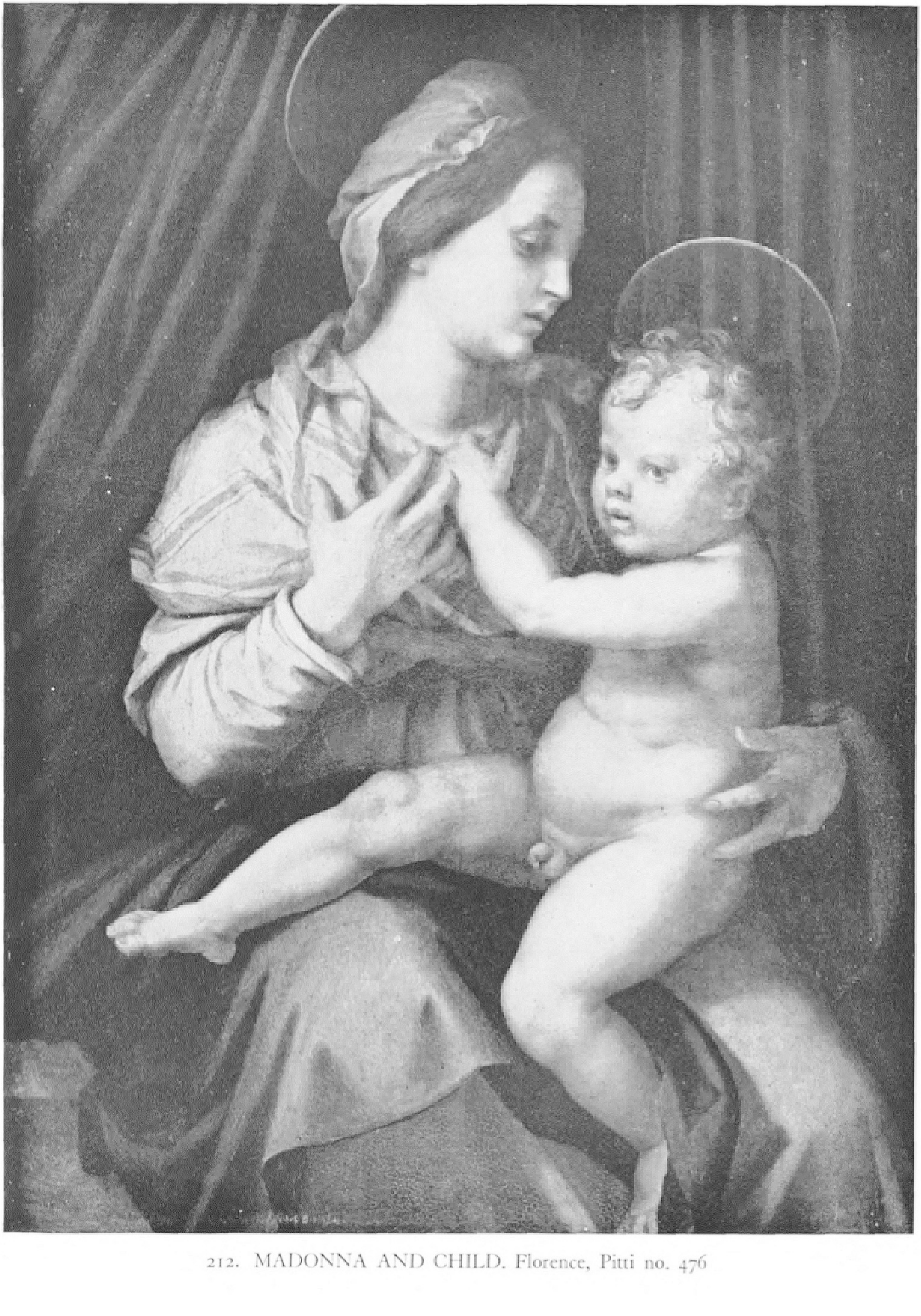

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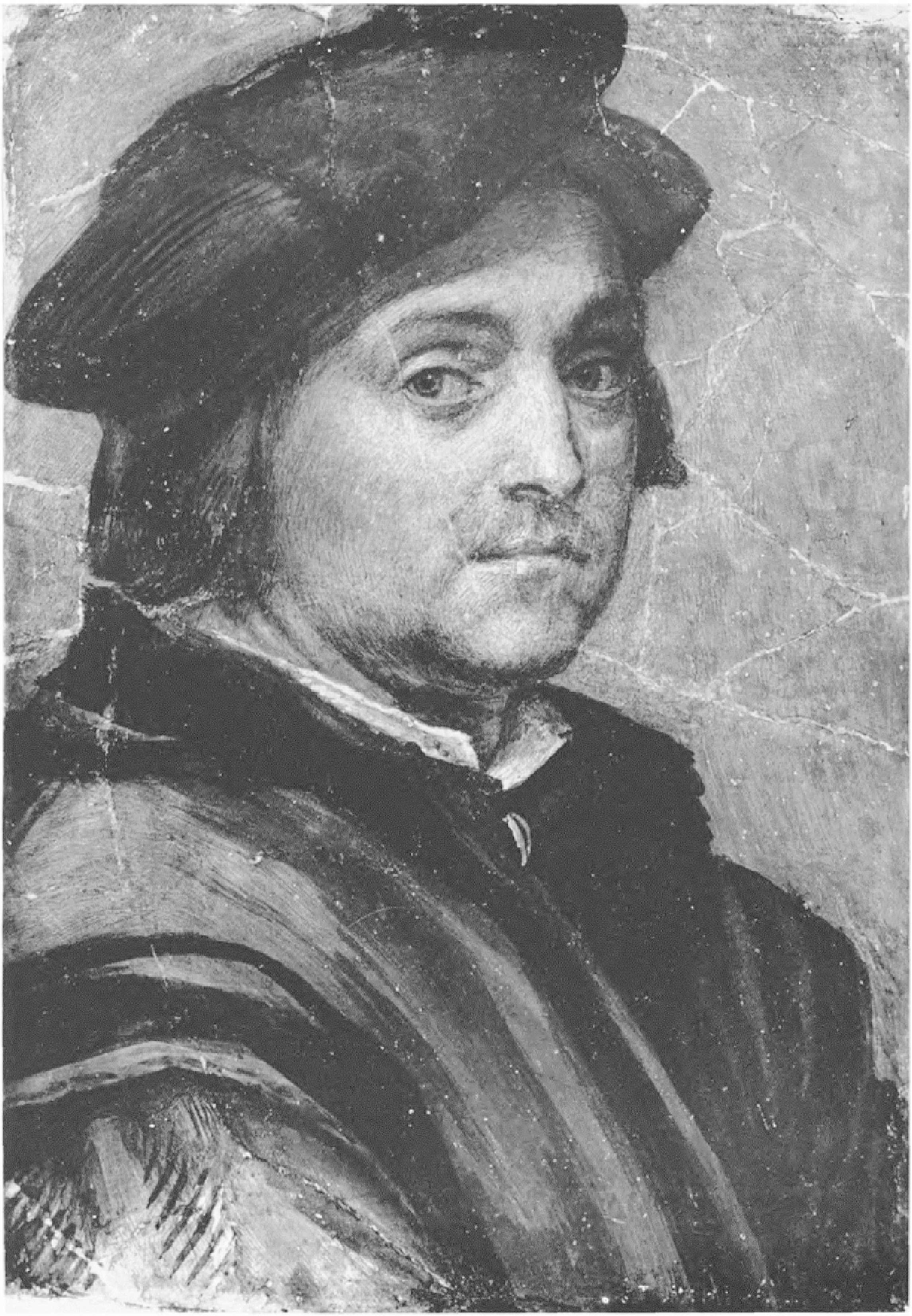

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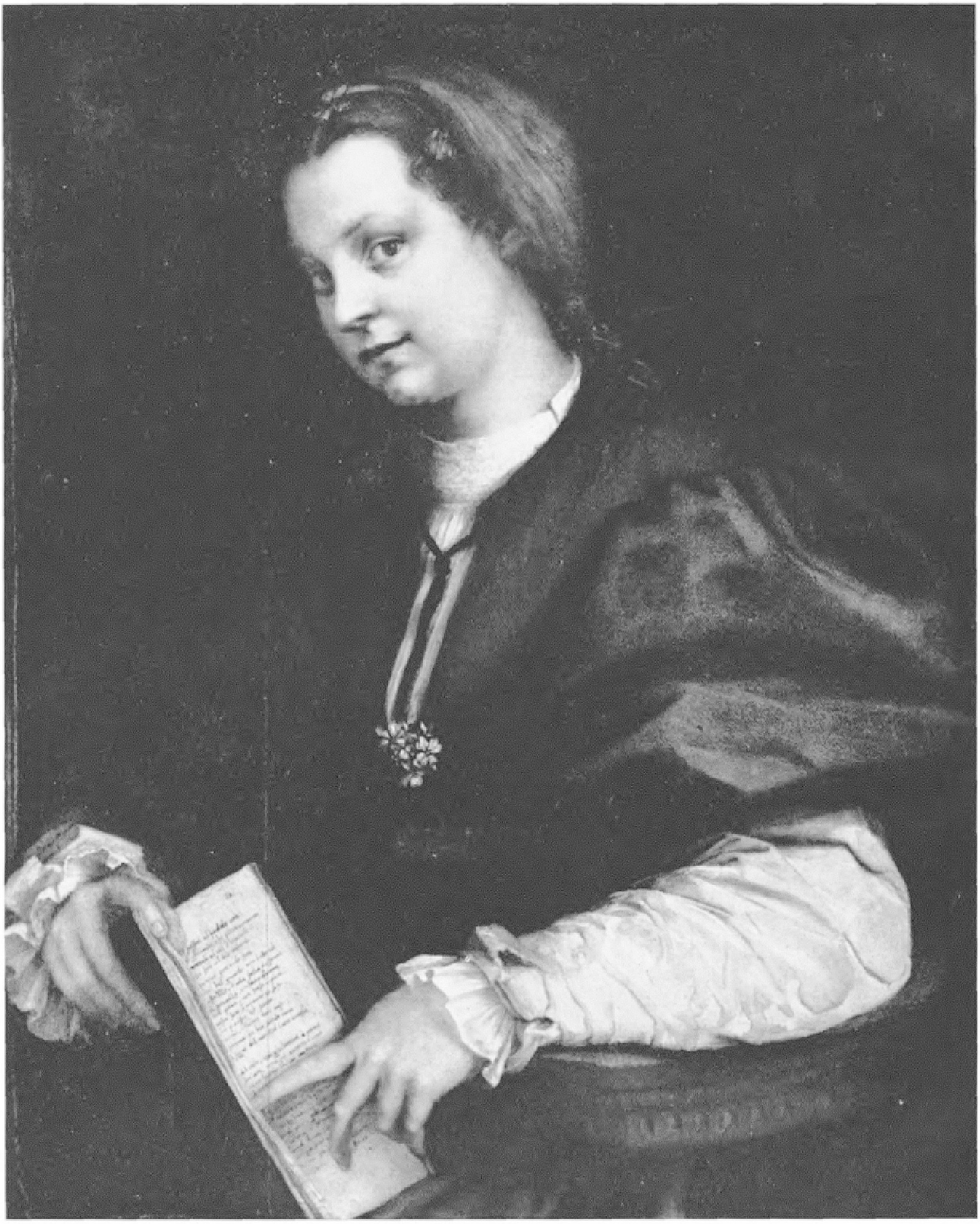

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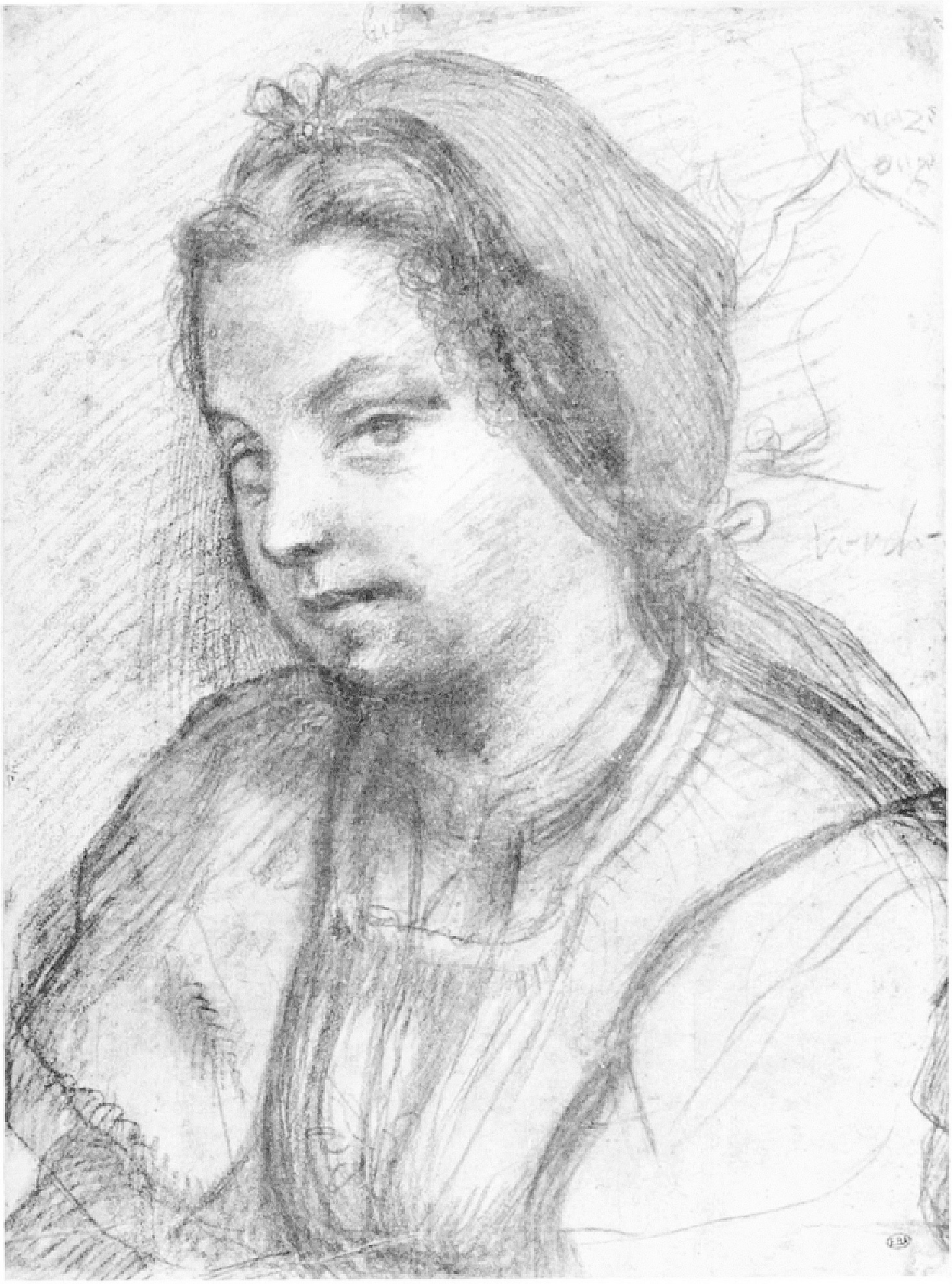

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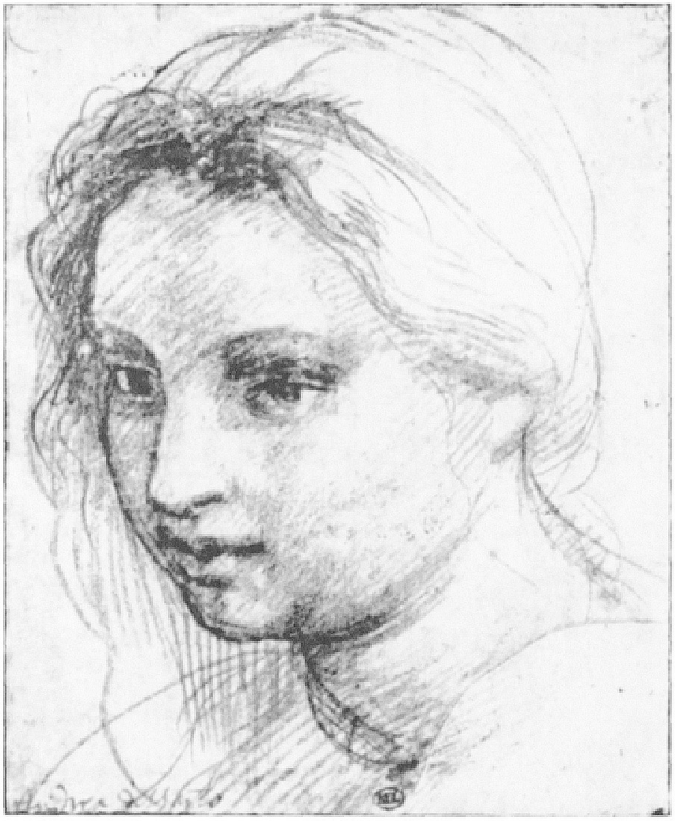

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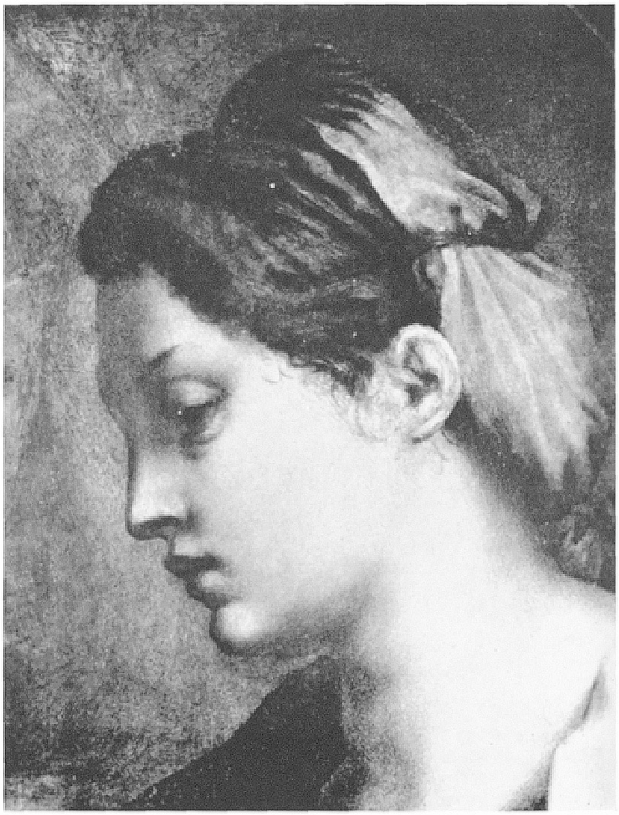

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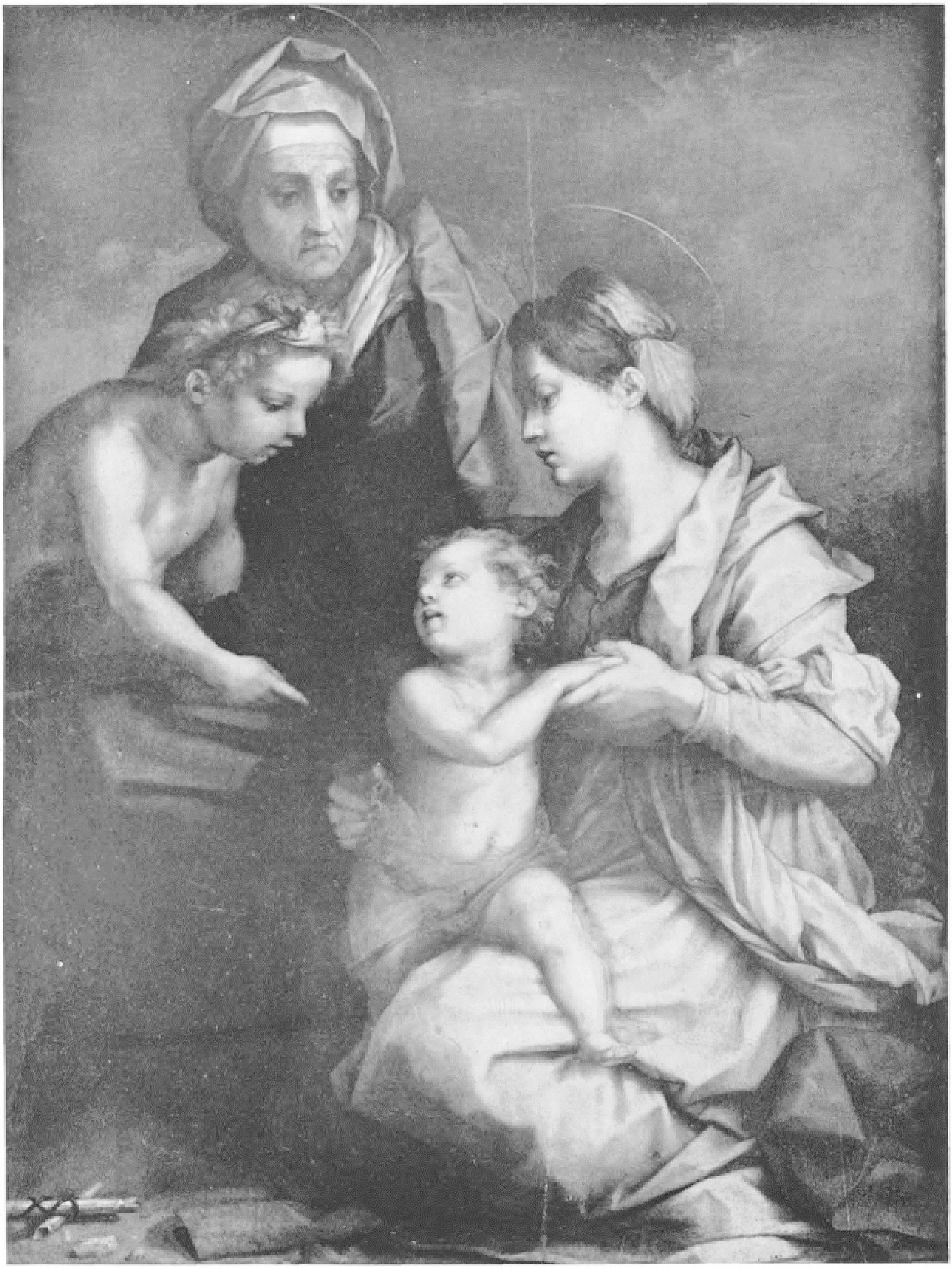

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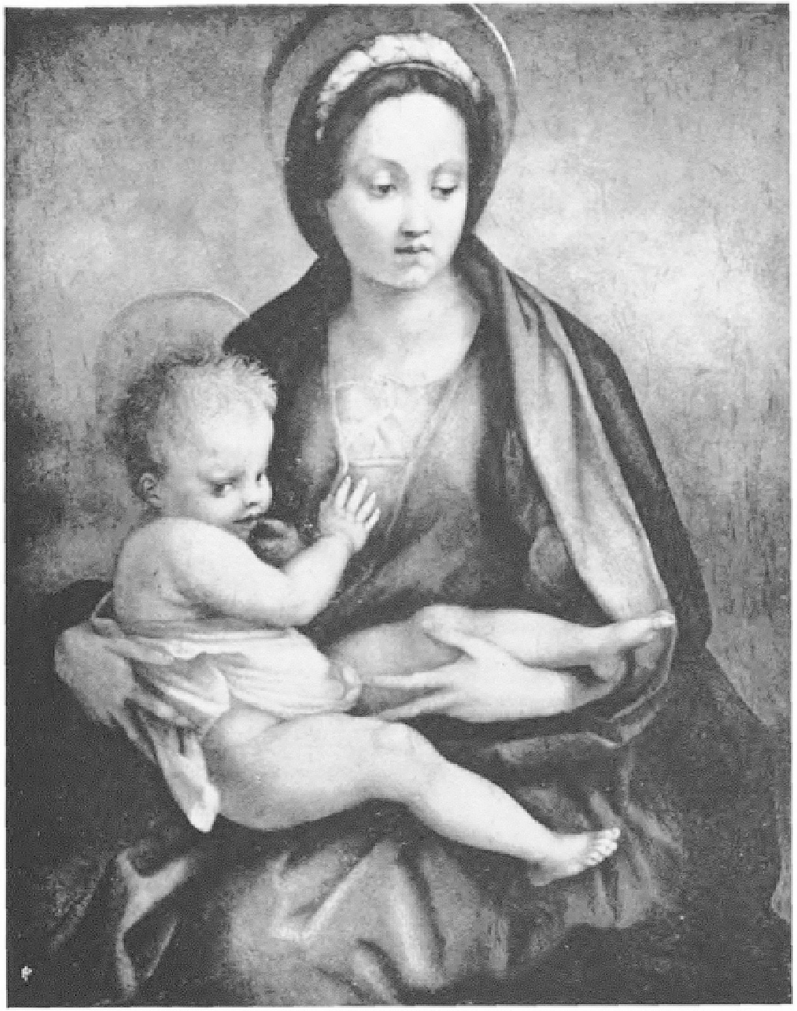

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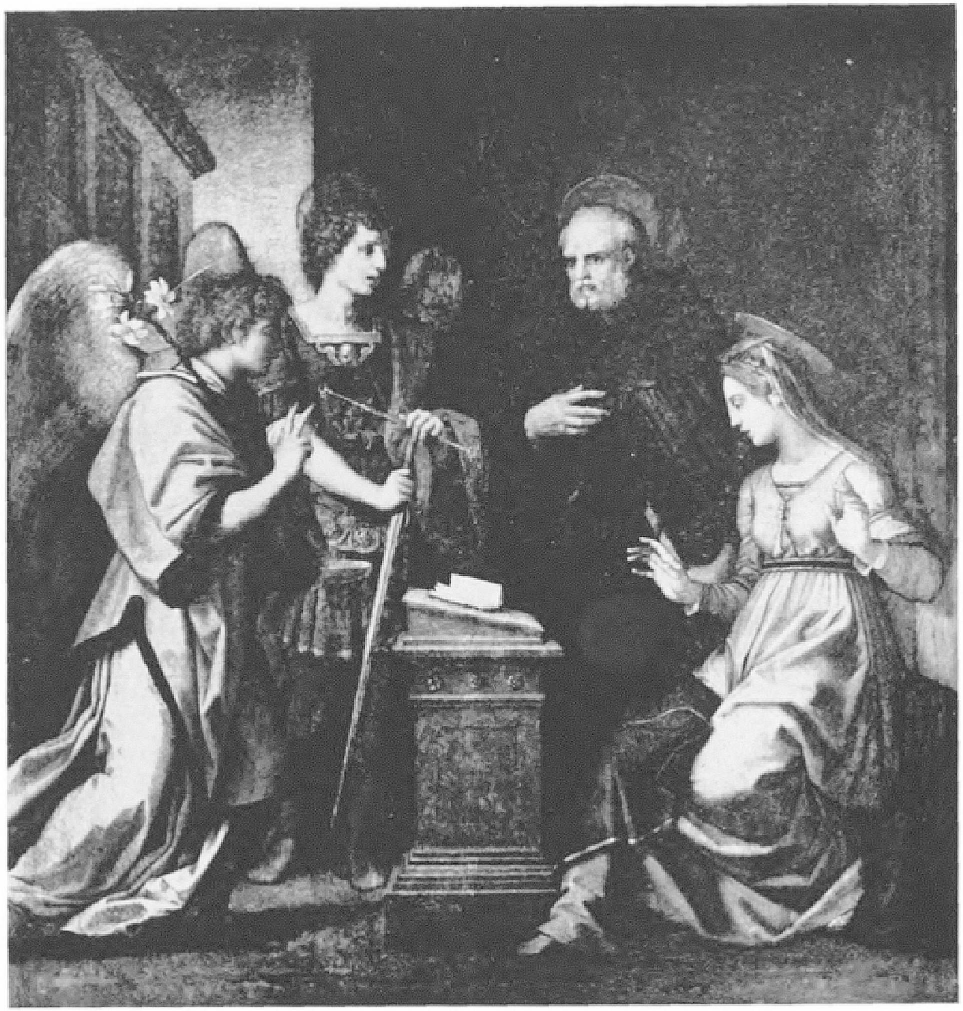

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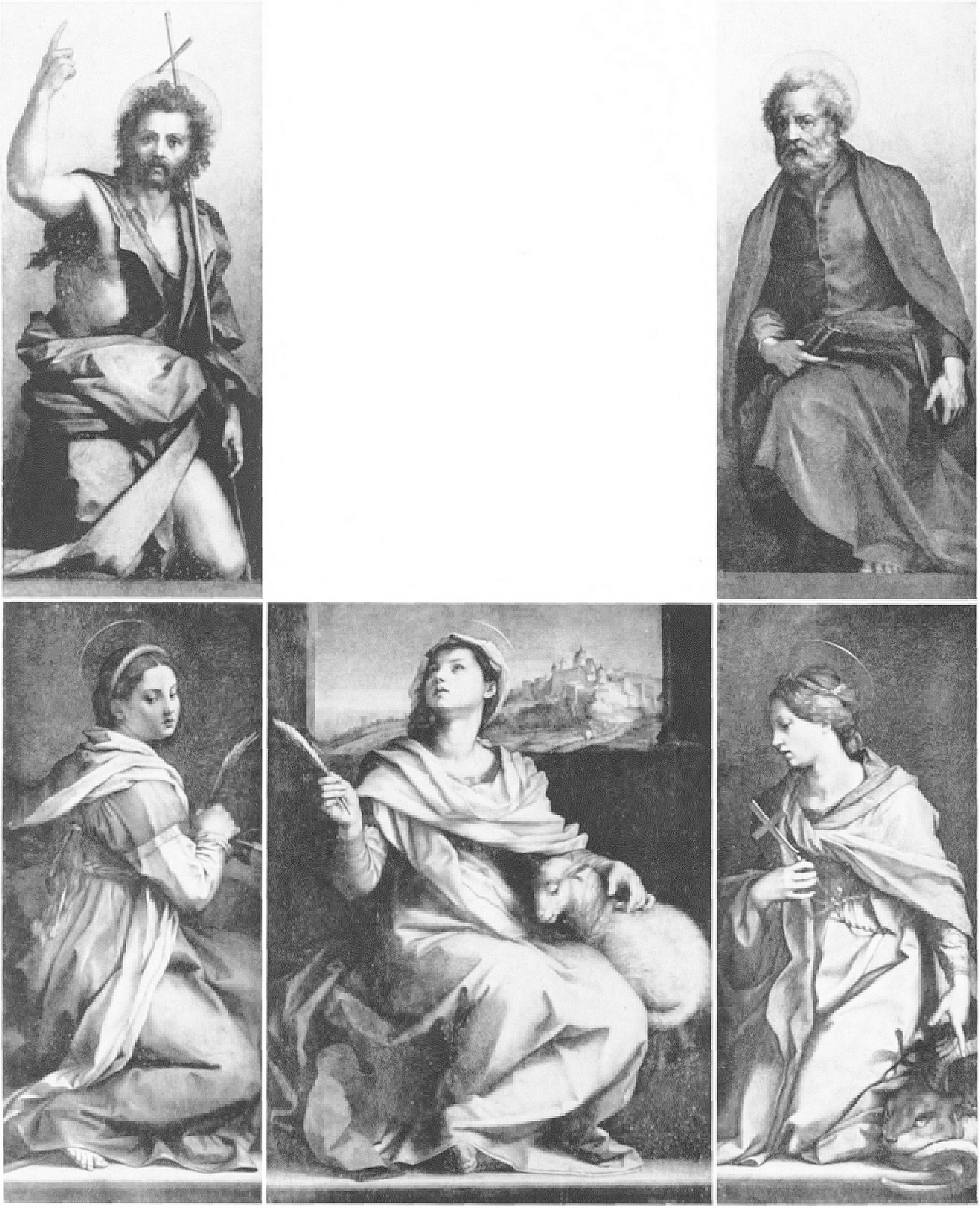

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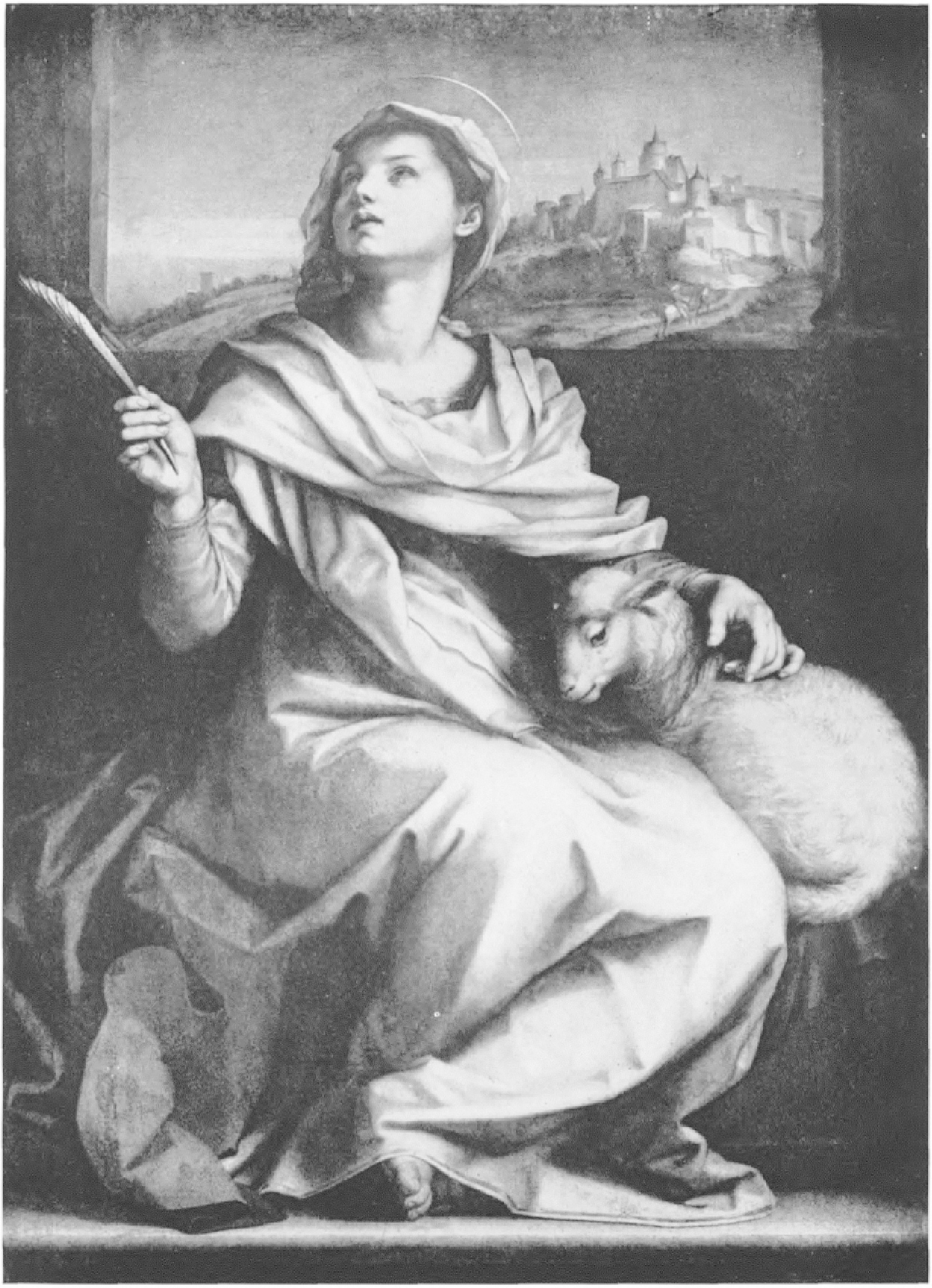
Freedberg, S. J. *Andrea Del Sarto: Text and Illustrations, Vol. 1.*
E-book, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb30523.0001.001.



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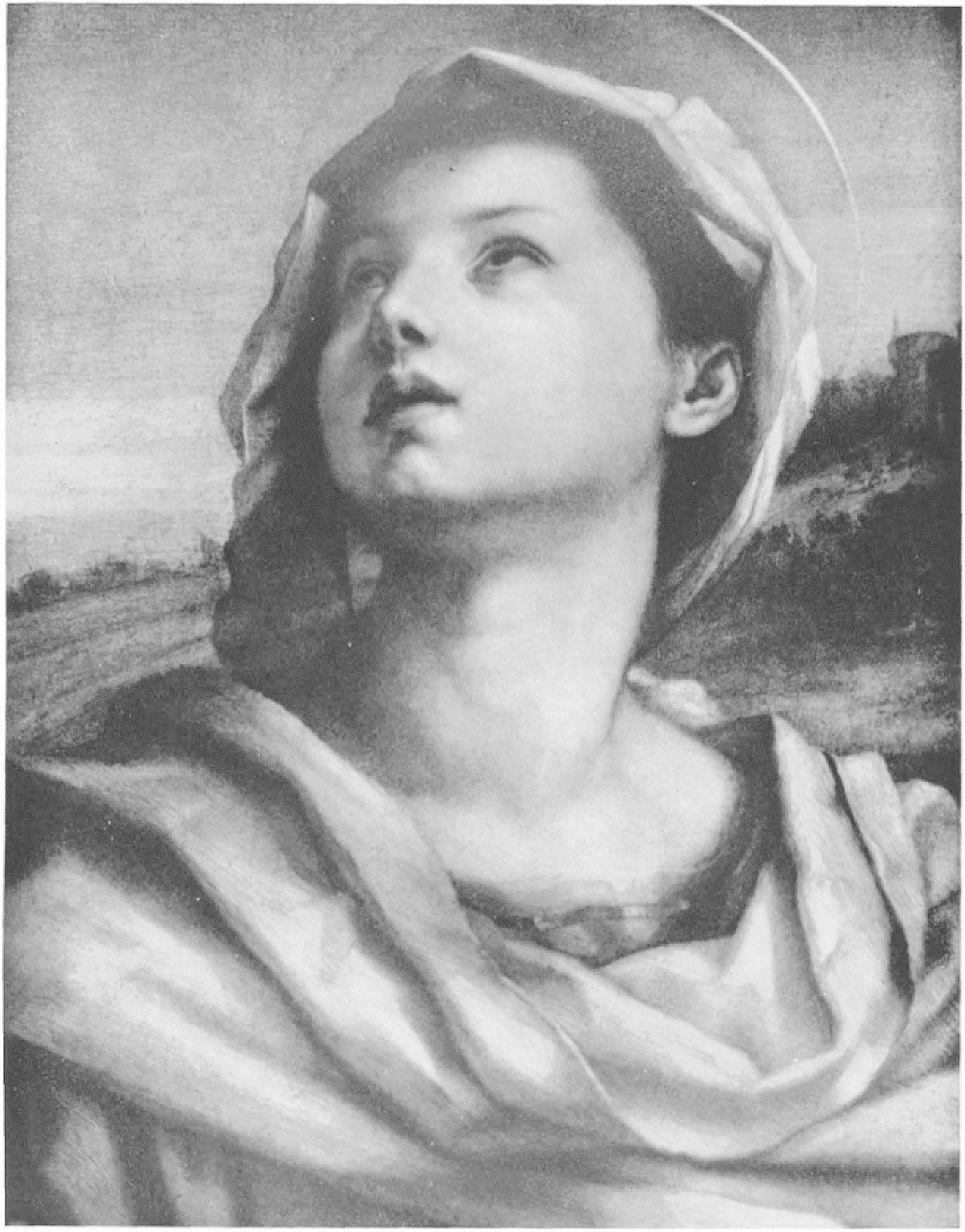

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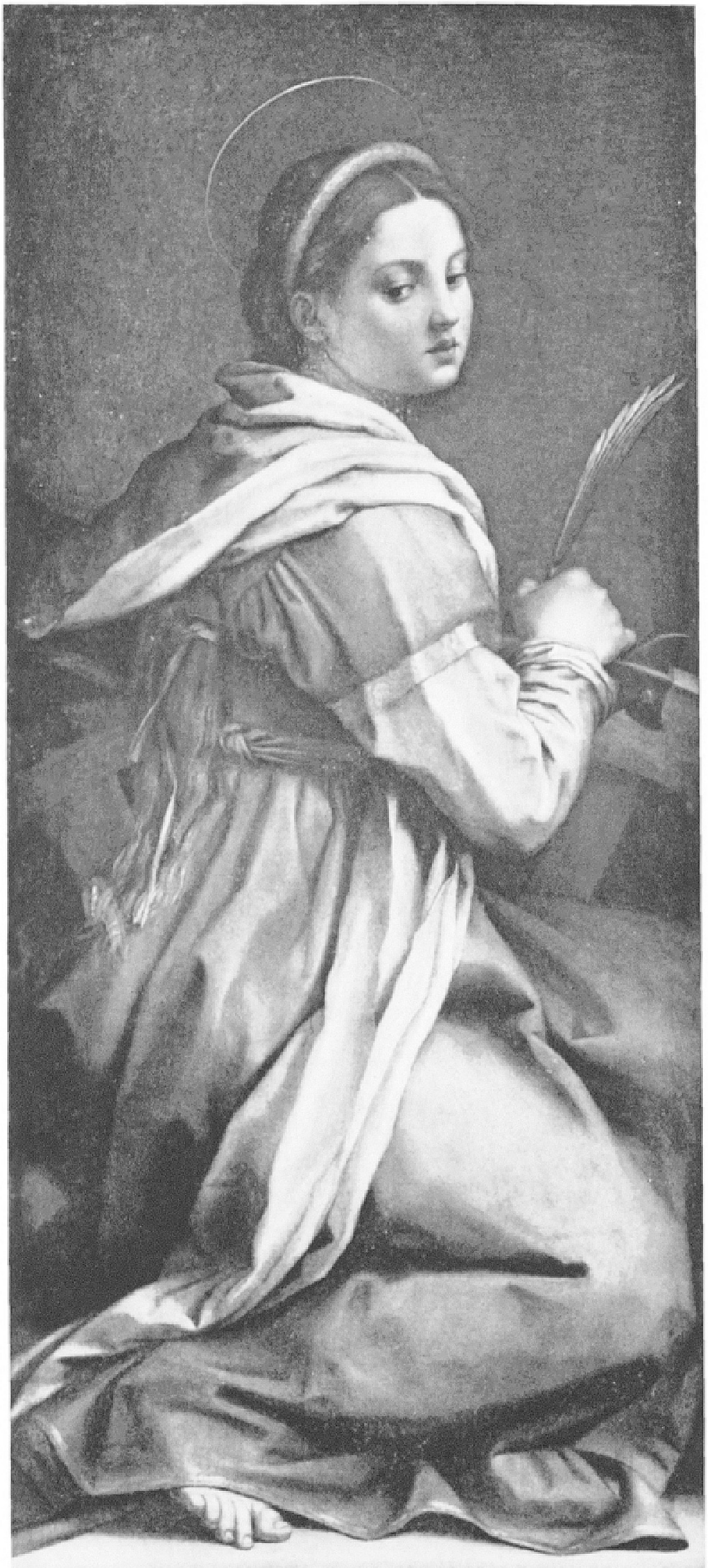

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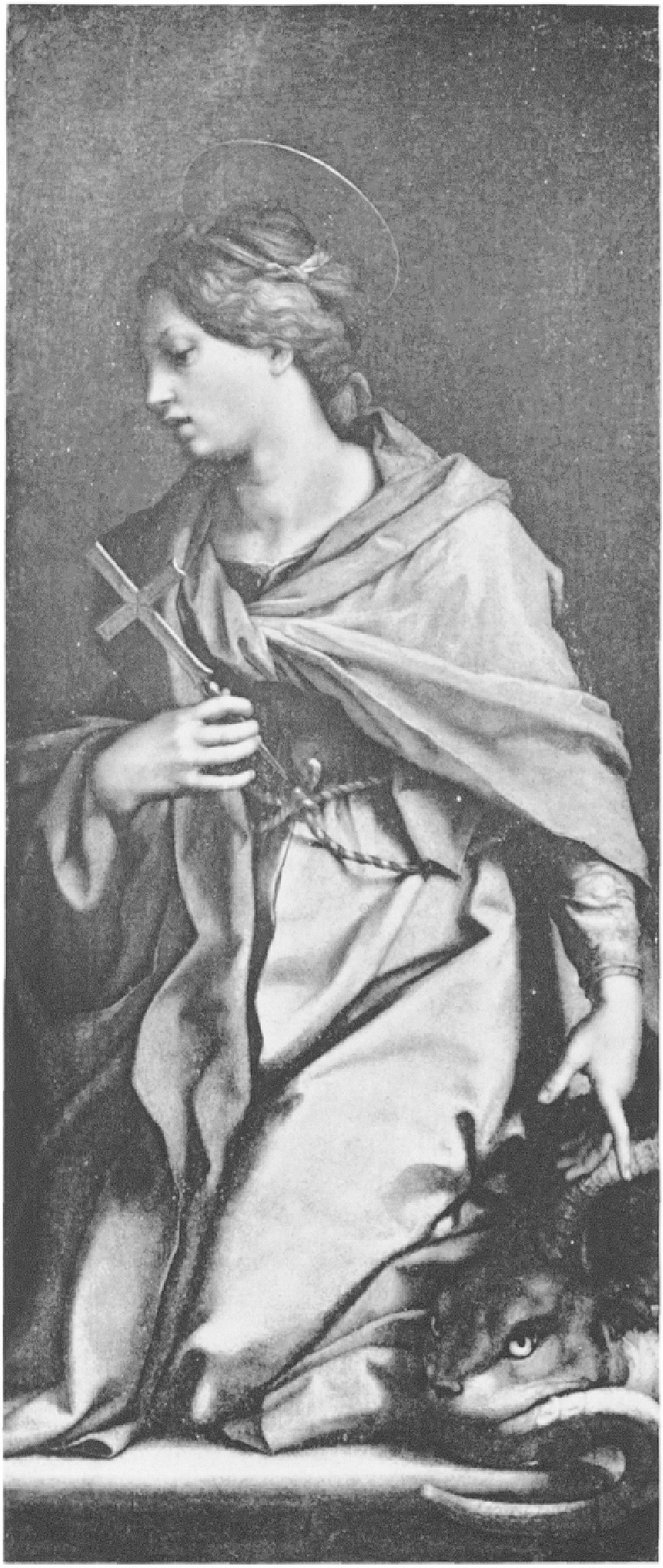

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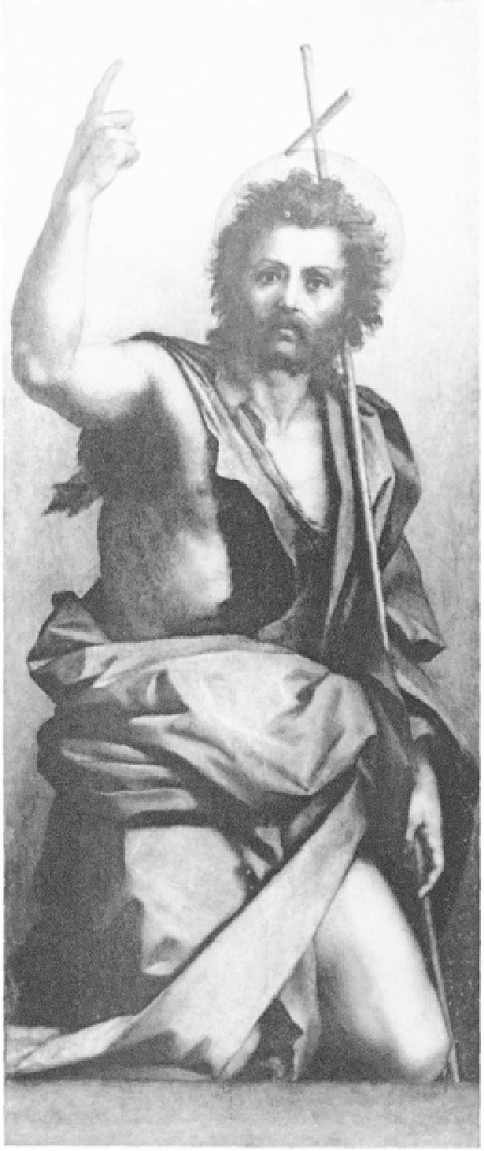

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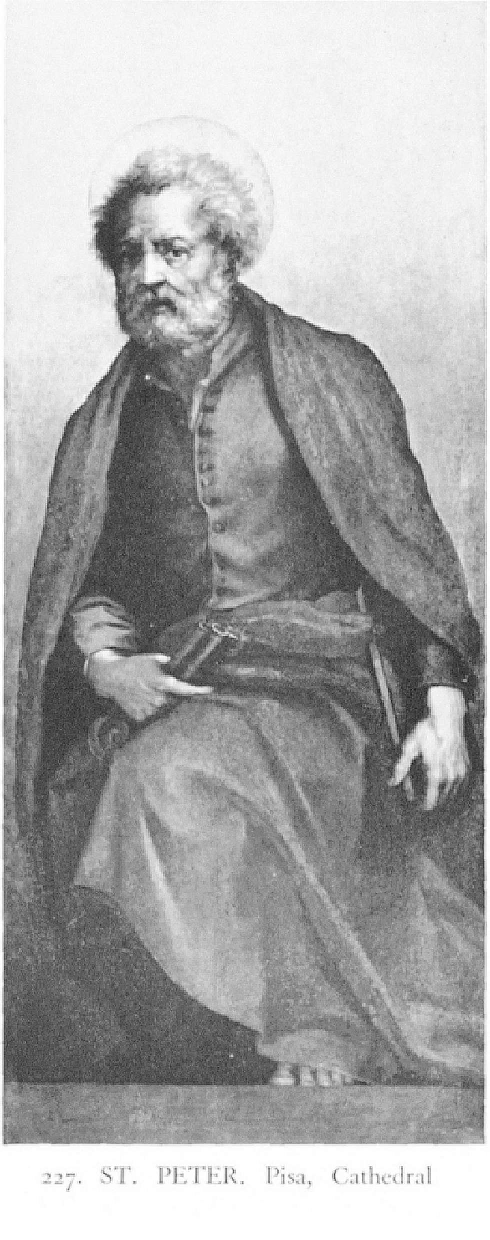

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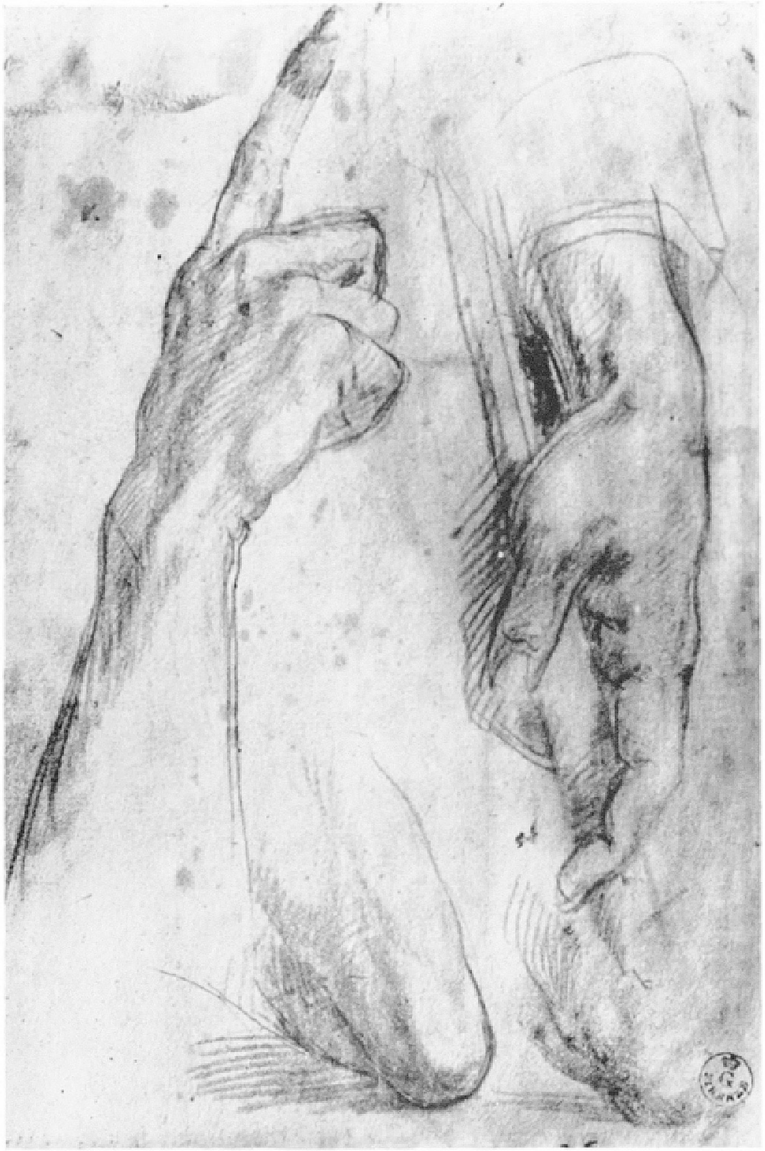

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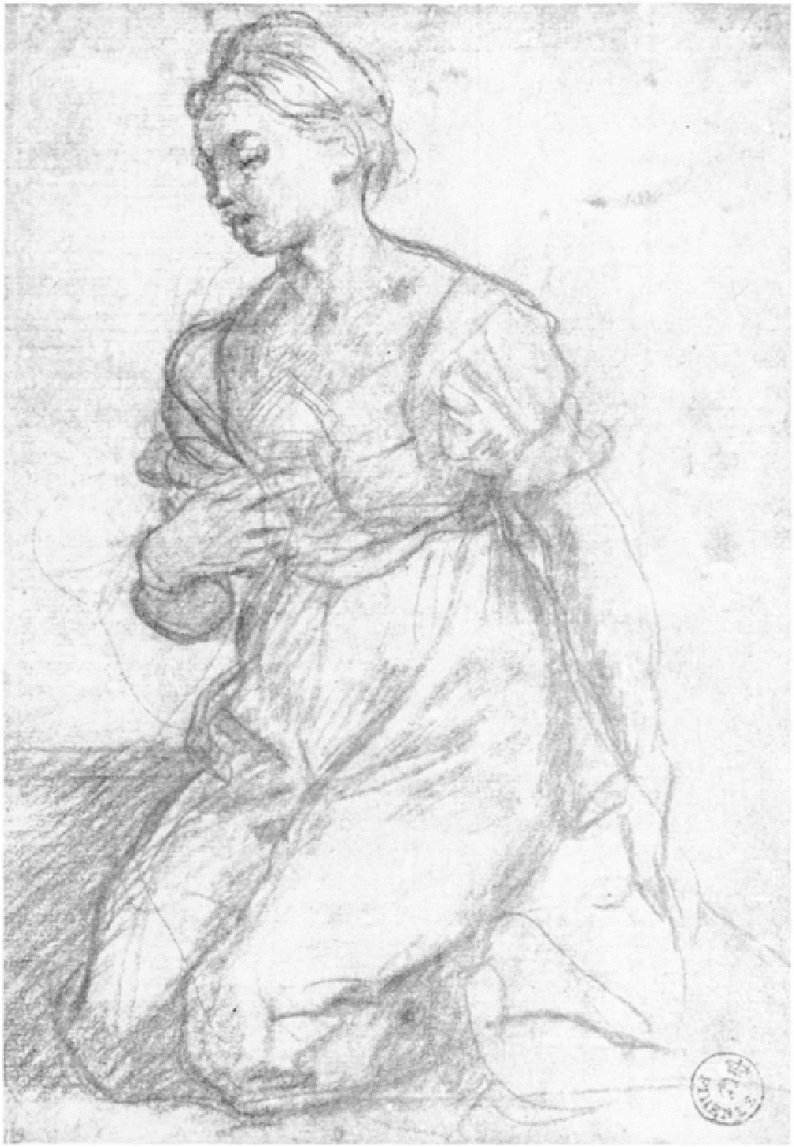

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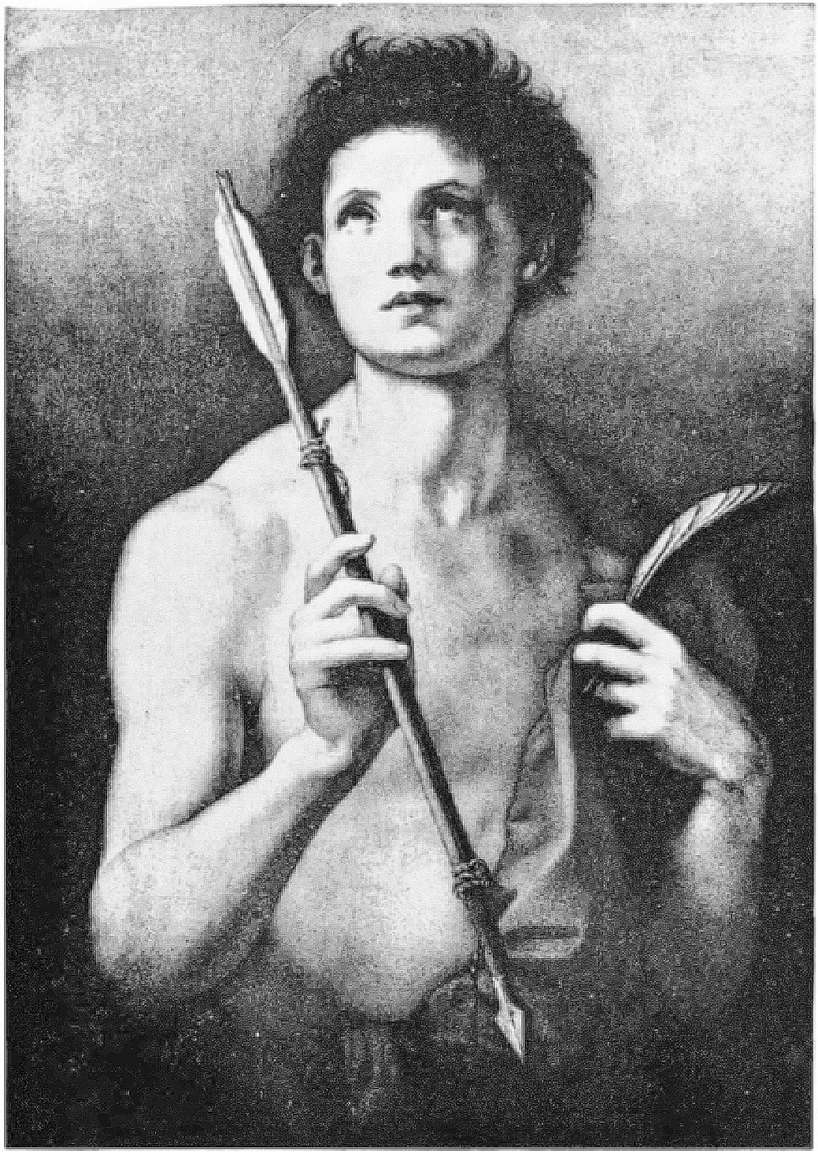

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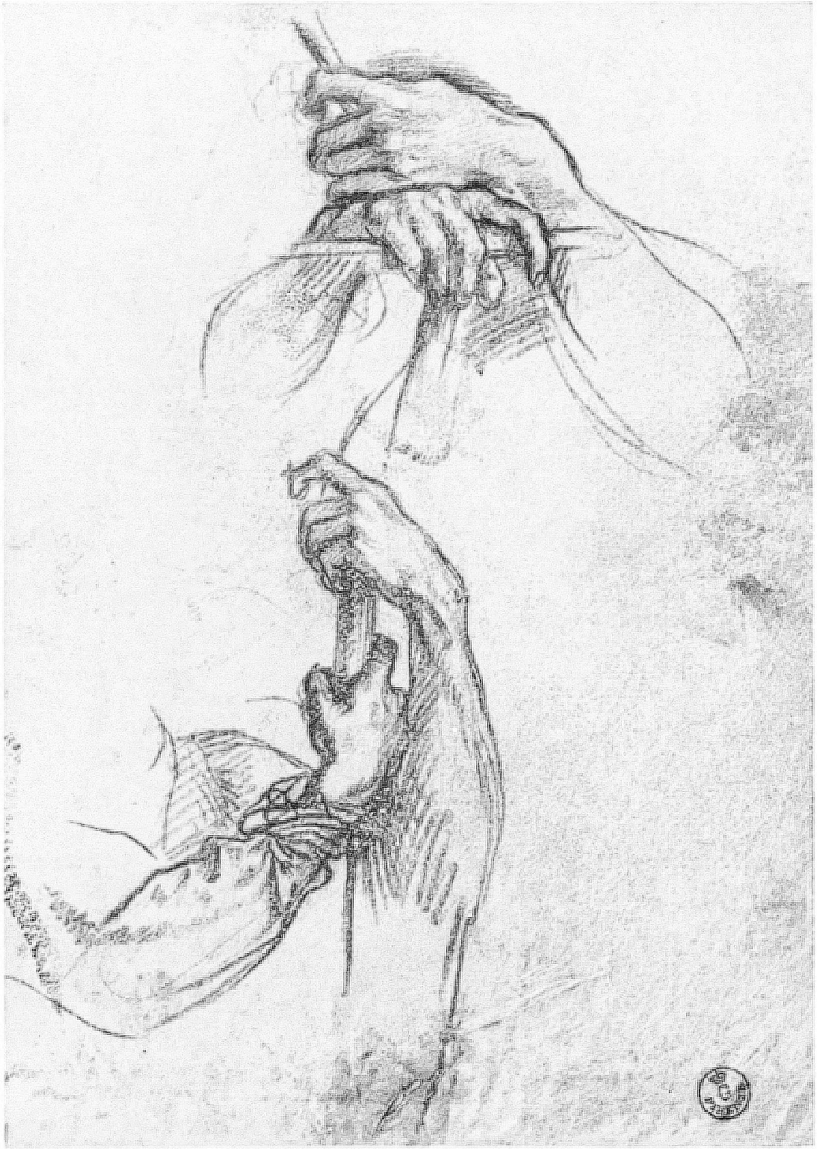

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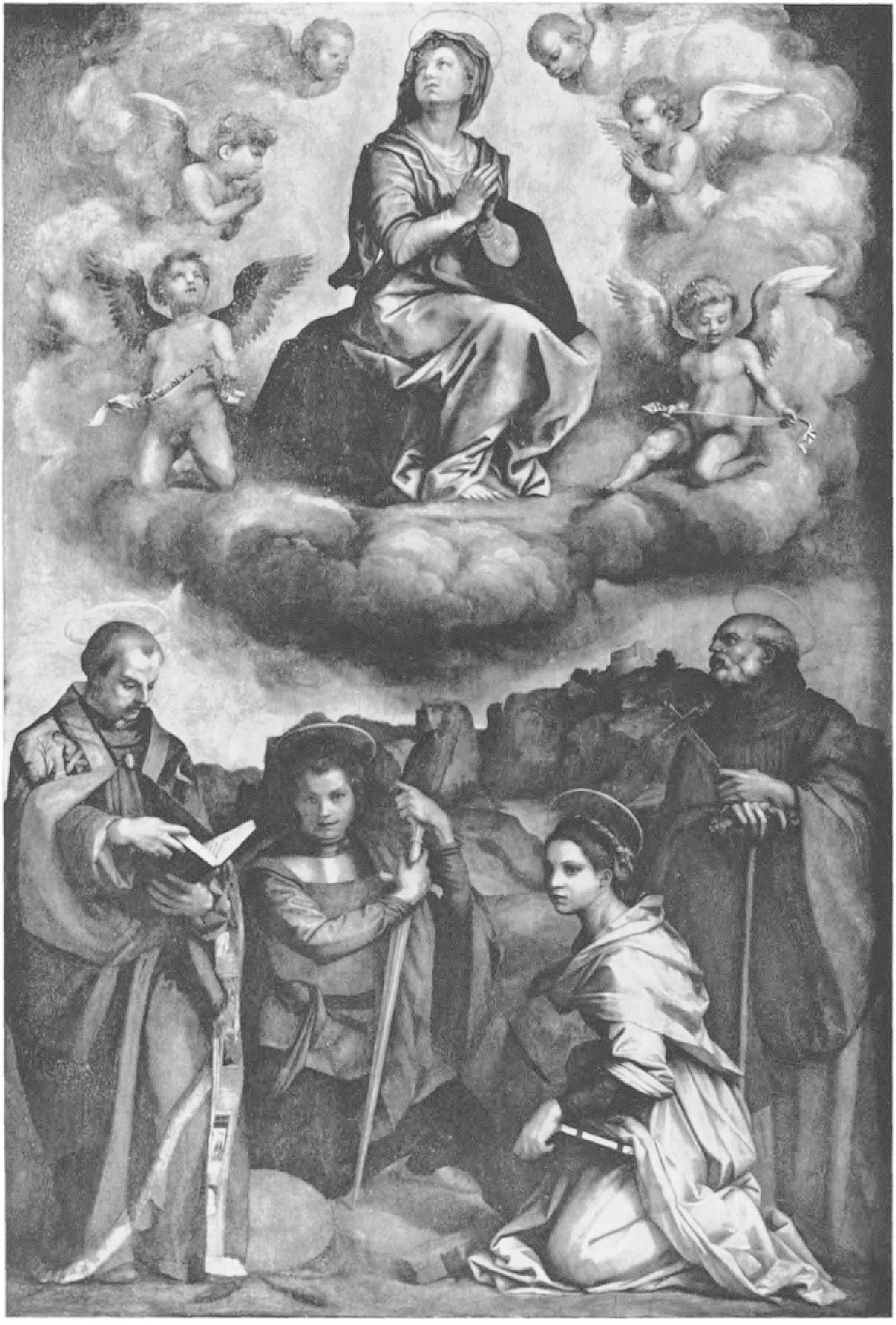
Freedberg, S. J. *Andrea Del Sarto: Text and Illustrations, Vol. 1.*
E-book, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb30523.0001.001.



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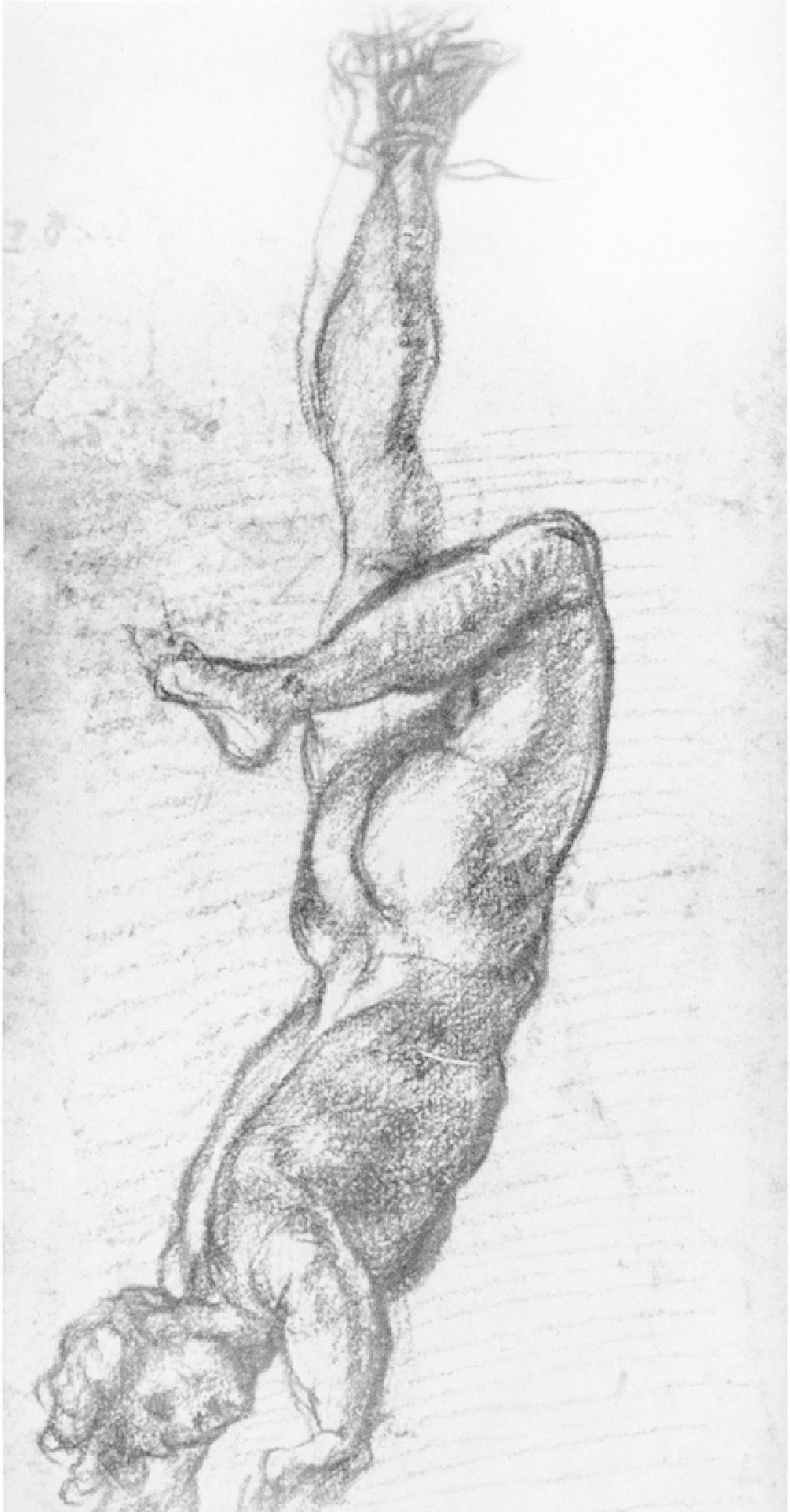

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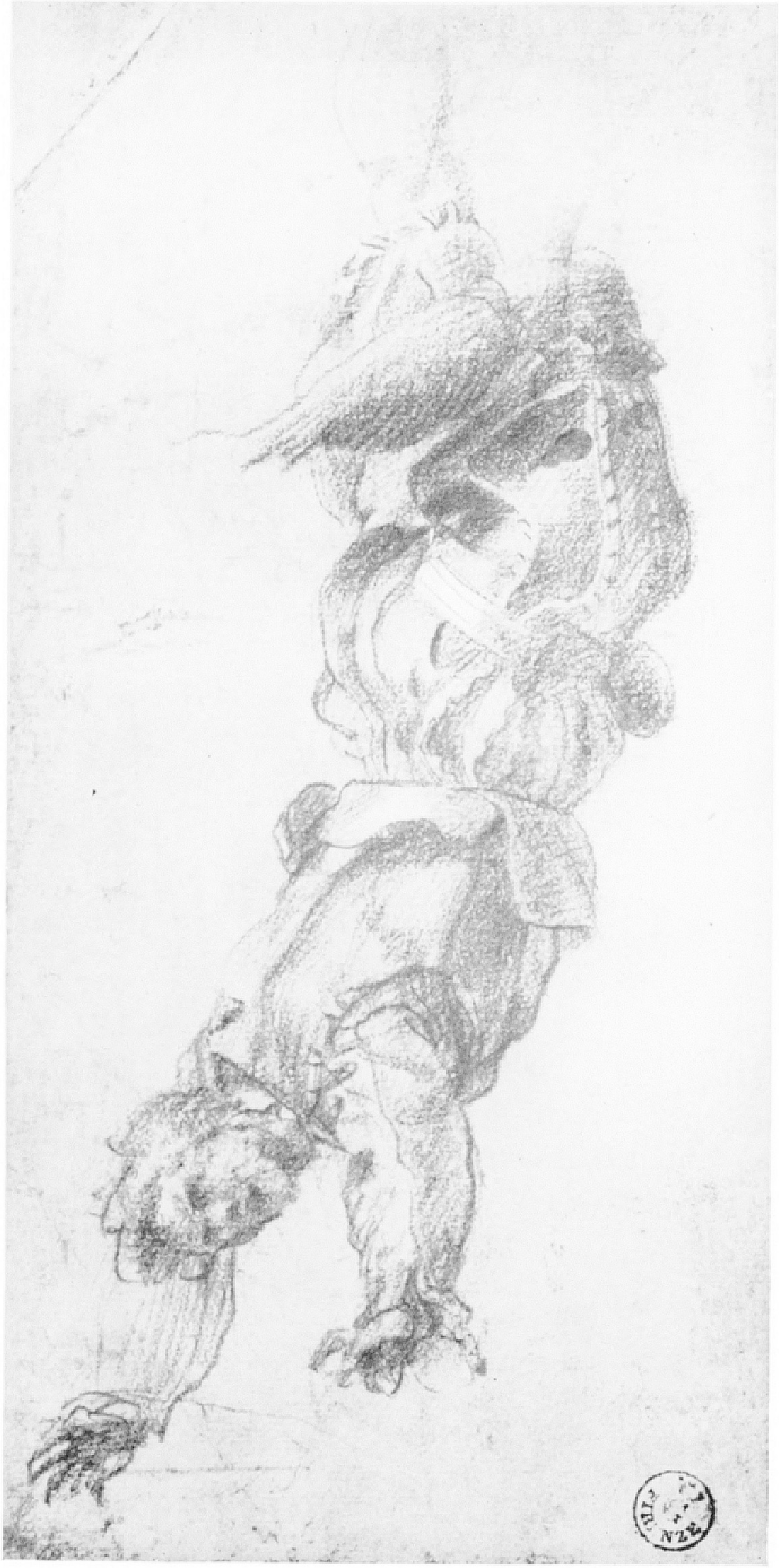

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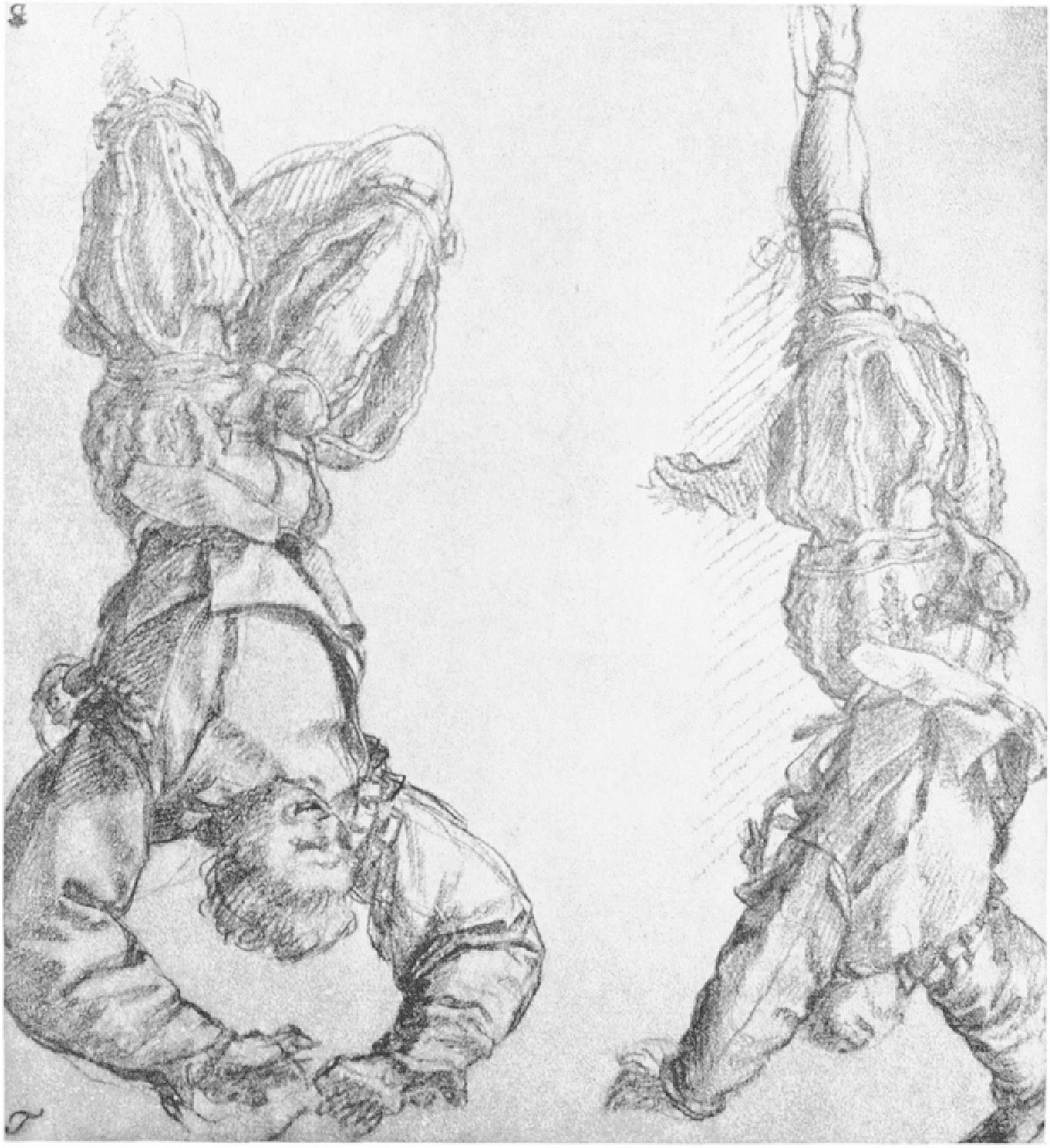

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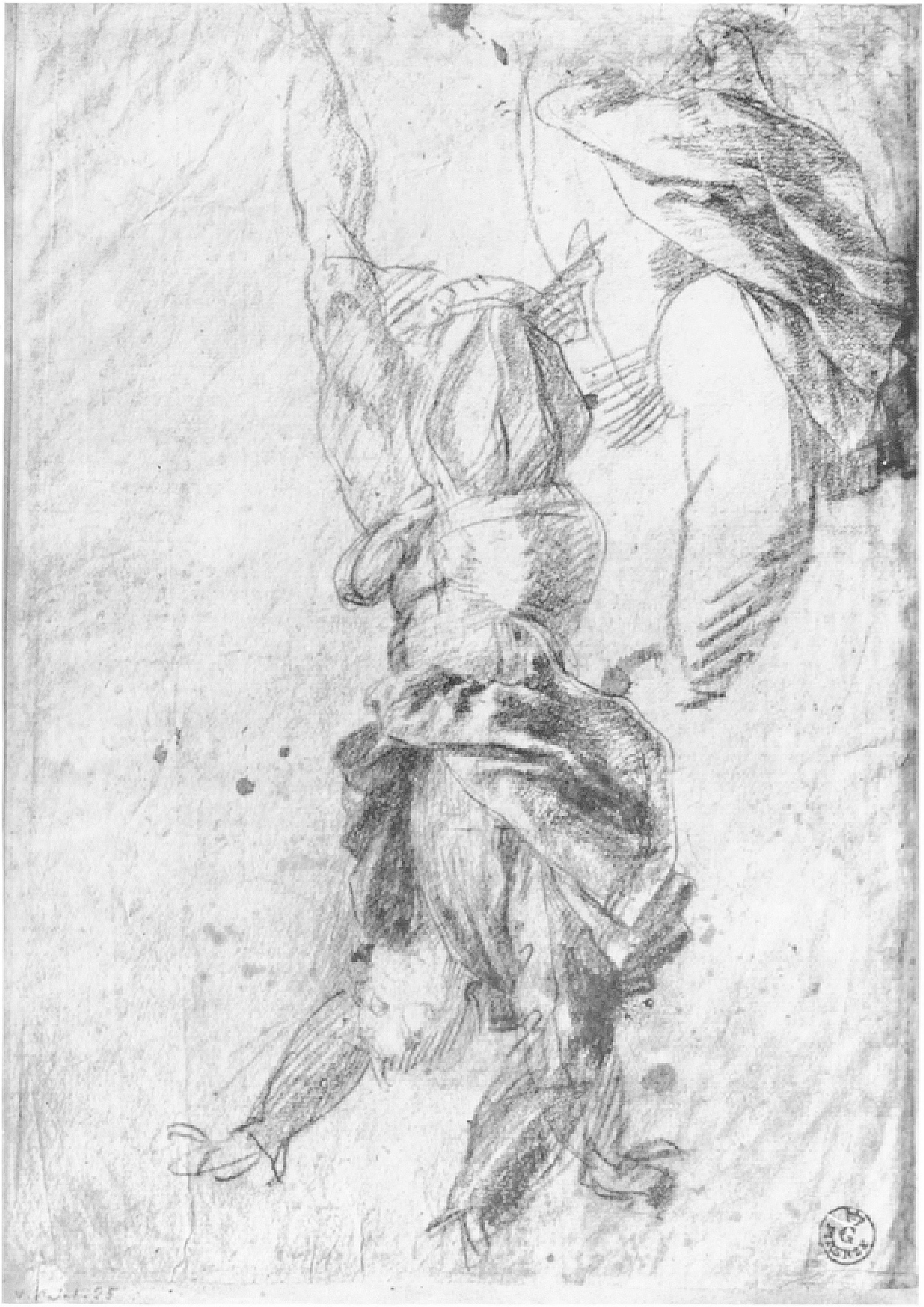
Freedberg, S. J. *Andrea Del Sarto: Text and Illustrations, Vol. 1*.
E-book, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb30523.0001.001.



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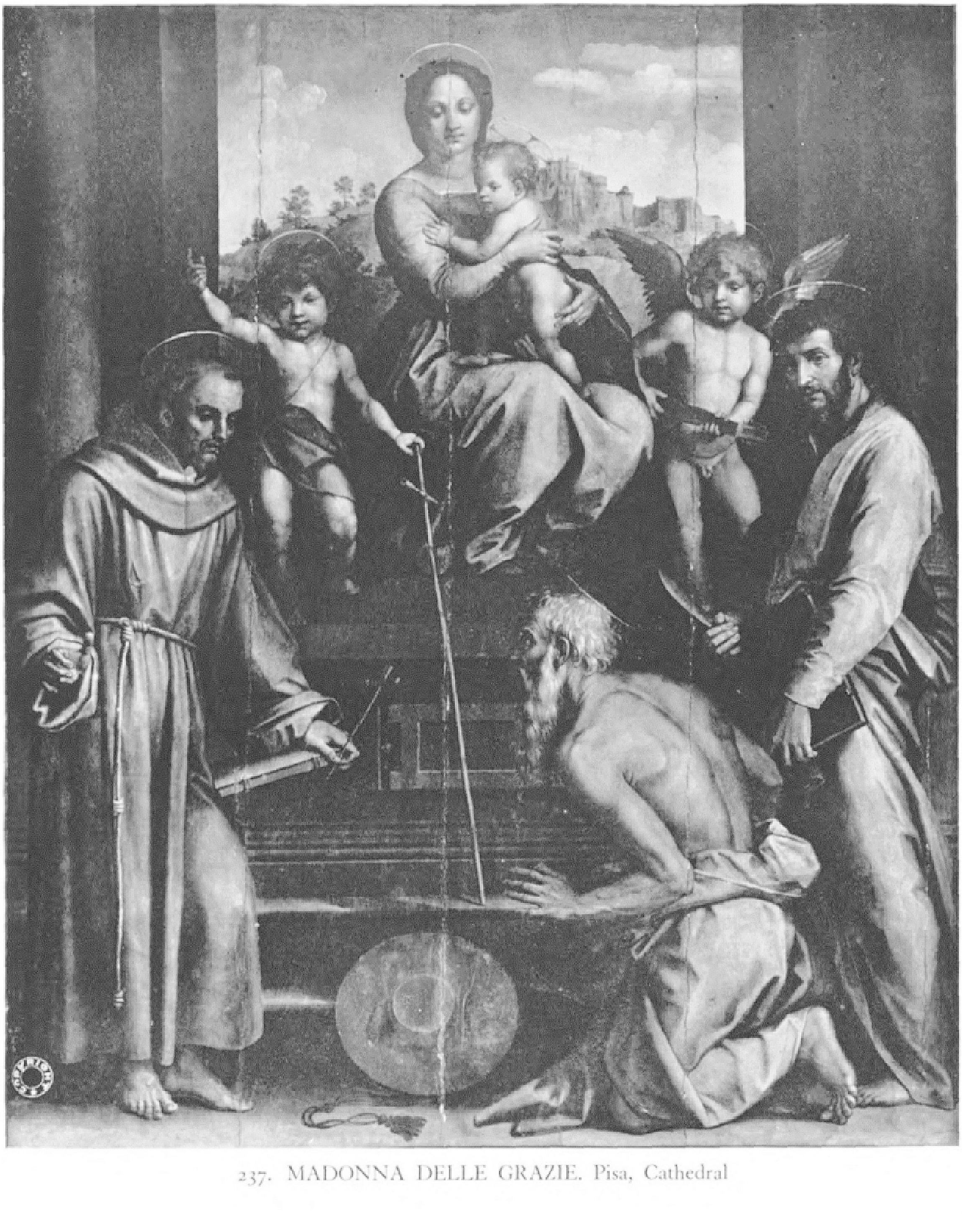

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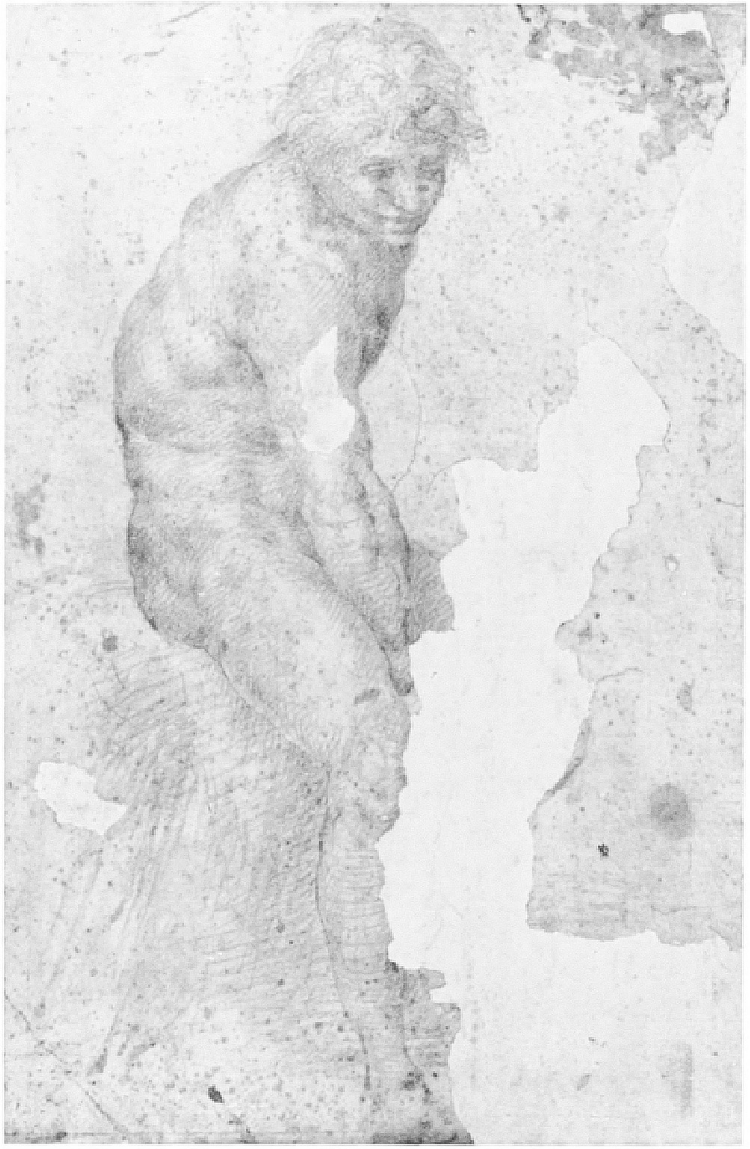
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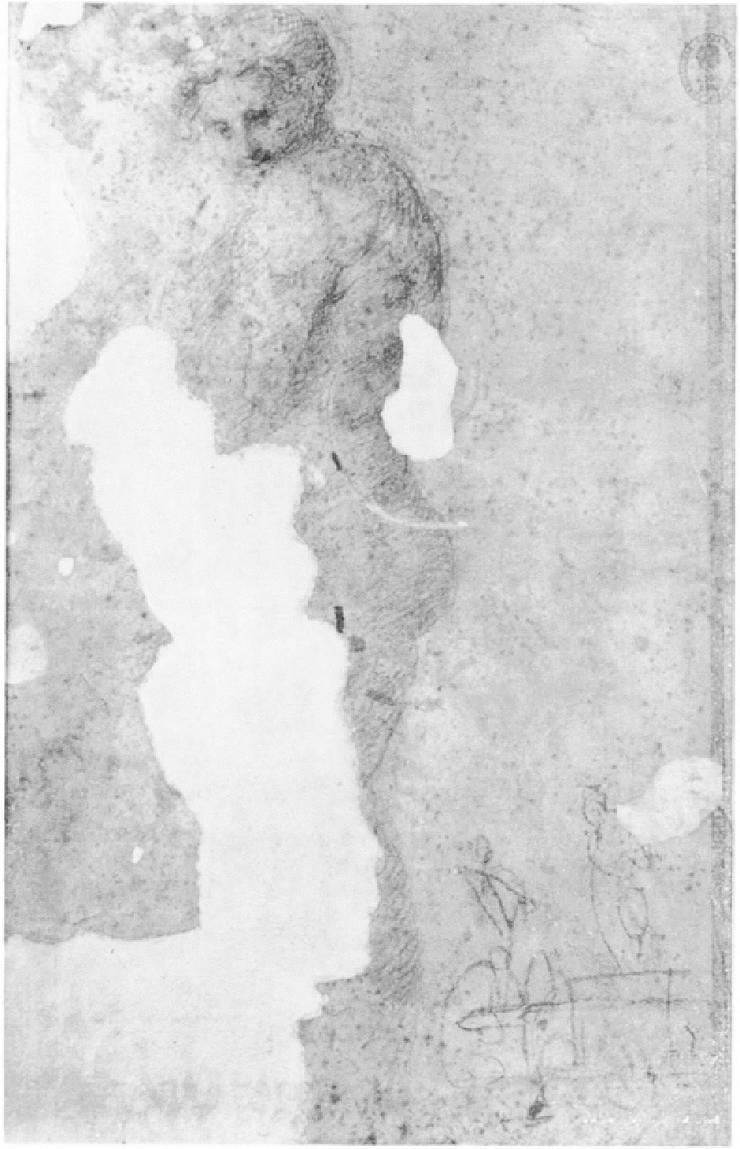
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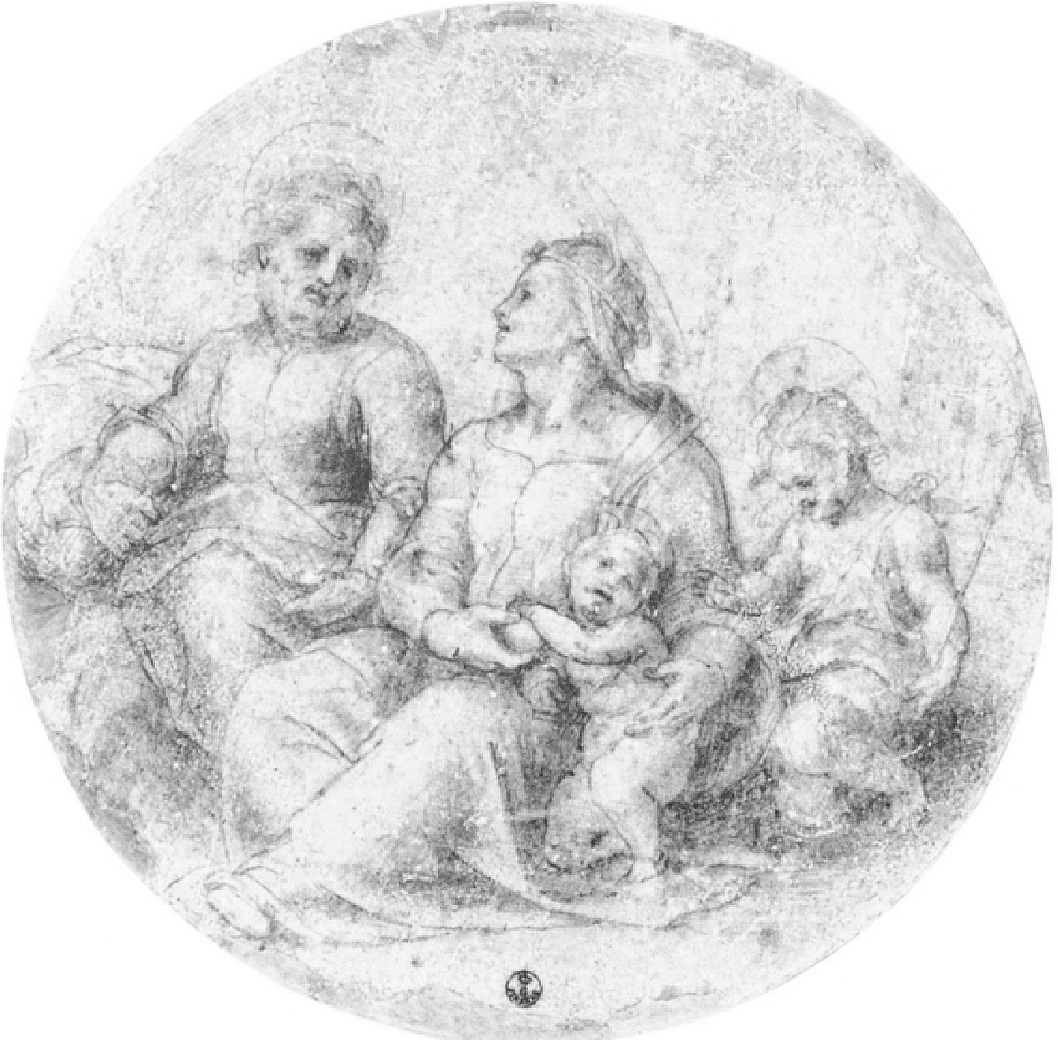
Freedberg, S. J. *Andrea Del Sarto: Text and Illustrations, Vol. 1.*
E-book, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb30523.0001.001.



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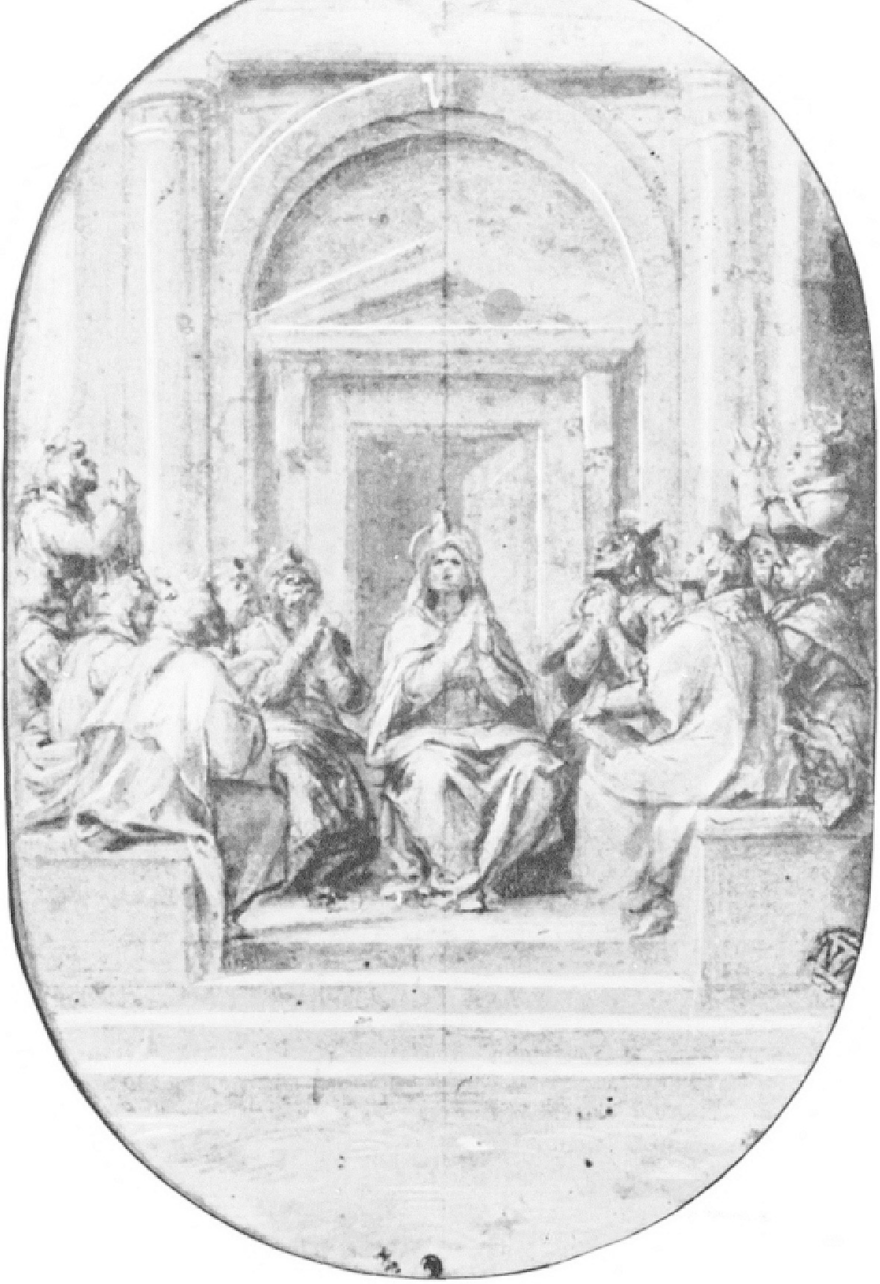

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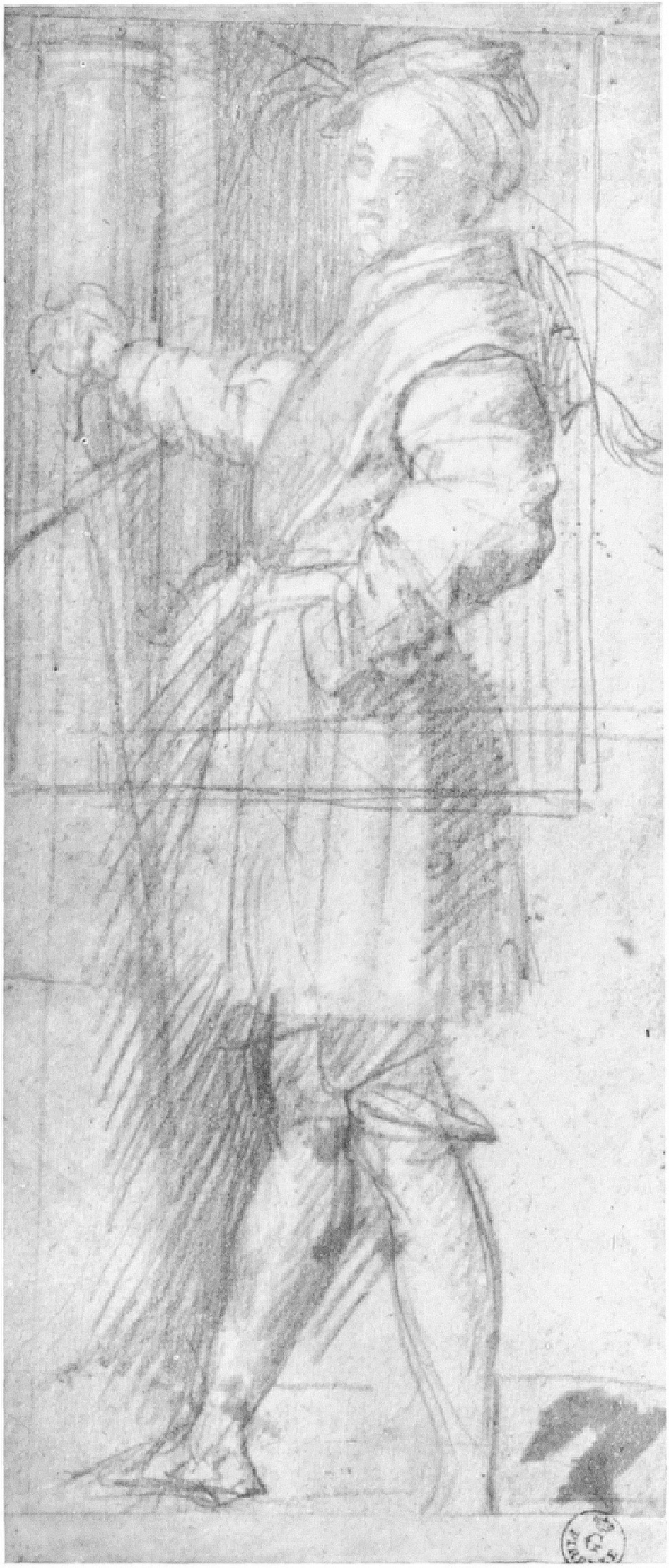

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S. J. FREEDBERG

ANDREA DEL SARTO

CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ

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ABBREVIATIONS

Al — Alinari
An — Anderson
AP — Archives Photographiques, Paris
CD — Cabinet des Dessins, Musée du Louvre, Paris
GFN — Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Rome
Mus — Museum
SF — Soprintendenza, Florence

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40. Florence, Uffizi no. 304Fv. Photo SF
41. Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum no. Z2009r. Photo Rheinisches Bildarchiv
42. Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum no. Z2009v. Photo Rheinisches Bildarchiv
43. Düsseldorf, Akademie no. 17. Photo Mus
44. Paris, Louvre no. 1678r. Photo Author
45. Paris, Louvre no. 1678v. Photo CD
46. Paris, Louvre no. 1679. Photo Author
47. Paris, Louvre no. 1732. Photo CD
48. Paris, Louvre no. 5946. Photo Author
49. Florence, Uffizi no. 661Er. Photo SF
50. Florence, Uffizi no. 661Ev. Photo SF
51. Florence, Uffizi no. 301Fr. Photo SF
52. Florence, Uffizi no. 301Fv. Photo SF
53. Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria. Photo Ritter-Jeppeson Studios
54. London, British Museum no. 1896–8–10–1v. Photo Freeman. Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum
55. Florence, Uffizi no. 6432F (copy). Photo SF
56. Florence, Uffizi no. 305F. Photo SF
57. Florence, Uffizi no. 6455F. Photo SF
58. Florence, Uffizi no. 6464F (copy). Photo SF
59. Florence, Uffizi no. 648Ev. Photo SF
60. Maidenhead, Merton Collection. Photo courtesy the Berenson Library, I Tatti
61. Paris, Louvre no. 1684v. Photo CD
62. Paris, Louvre no. 1690v. Photo CD
63. A. ALLORI. Florence, Uffizi no. 10 Orn. (detail). Photo SF
64. Florence, Uffizi no. 282Fr. Photo SF
65. Florence, Uffizi no. 282Fv. Photo SF
66. Florence, Uffizi no. 311Fr. (copy). Photo Al
67. Darmstadt no. AE 1462r. Photo Mus
68. Darmstadt no. AE 1462v. Photo Mus
69. Paris, Louvre no. 1688 (copy). Photo CD
70. Florence, Uffizi no. 632Er. Photo Al
71. Florence, Uffizi no. 632Ev (detail). Photo SF
72. Florence, Uffizi no. 291F. Photo Al
73. Florence, Uffizi no. 318Fr. Photo Al
74. Florence, Uffizi no. 319Fv. Photo SF
75. Florence, Uffizi no. 324Fr. Photo Al
76. Florence, Uffizi no. 324Fv. Photo SF
77. Florence, Uffizi no. 6454Fr. Photo SF
78. Rome, Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe no. 130494 (counterproof). Photo Savio
79. Florence, Uffizi no. 303F. Photo SF
80. Florence, Uffizi no. 323Fr. Photo SF
81. Florence, Uffizi no. 327Fr. Photo Al
82. Florence, Uffizi no. 6431F. Photo Al
83. Florence, Uffizi no. 1486 Orn. Photo SF
84. New York, art market, r. (copy?). Photo courtesy Slatkin Galleries, New York
85. New York, art market, v. (copy?). Photo courtesy Slatkin Galleries, New York
86. Paris, Institut Néerlandais, Lugt Collection no. J2537r. Photo copyright F. Lugt
87. Florence, Uffizi no. 642E (copy). Photo Al
88. Paris, Louvre no. 1677. Photo Author
89. Paris, Louvre no. 1682/1r. Photo CD
90. Paris, Louvre no. 1682/1v. Photo CD
91. Vienna, Albertina R162. Photo Author
92. Dijon, no. 819. Photo Mus
93. New York, Morgan Library no. I, 30. Photo Mus
94. New York, Morgan Library no. IV, 14. Photo Mus
95. Florence, Uffizi no. 6448F. Photo SF
96. Florence, Uffizi no. 14421F (copy). Photo SF
97. Florence, Uffizi no. 14422F (copy). Photo SF
98. Paris, Louvre no. 1680v. Photo CD
99. Florence, Uffizi no. 622E. Photo SF
100. Florence, Uffizi no. 663Er. Photo SF
101. Florence, Uffizi no. 664Ev. Photo SF
102. Florence, Uffizi no. 313F. Photo SF
103. Florence, Uffizi no. 336Fr. Photo Al
104. Florence, Uffizi no. 336Fv. Photo SF
105. Florence, Uffizi no. 6424F. Photo SF
106. London, British Museum, Fawkener no. 5211–19. Photo Al
107. Florence, Uffizi no. 631Er. Photo SF
108. Florence, Uffizi no. 653E. Photo Author
109. Florence, Uffizi no. 6444Fr. Photo SF
110. Florence, Uffizi no. 6444Fv. Photo SF
111. Florence, Uffizi no. 6445Fr. Photo SF
112. Florence, Uffizi no. 6445Fv. Photo SF
113. Florence, Uffizi no. 631Ev. Photo SF
114. Florence, Uffizi no. 299F. Photo Al
115. Florence, Uffizi no. 332Fr. Photo Author
116. Florence, Uffizi no. 332Fv. Photo SF
117. Florence, Uffizi no. 626Er. Photo Al
118. Lille, no. 11. Photo Gérondal
119. Lille, no. 11 bis. Photo Gérondal
120. Florence, Uffizi no. 319Fr. Photo SF

121. Munich, Graphische Sammlung no. 11123r. Photo Mus

122. Munich, Graphische Sammlung no. 11123v. Photo Mus.

123. Paris, Louvre no. 1692r. Photo CD

124. Rome, Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe no. 124156v. Photo Savio

125. Luton Hoo, Drury-Lowe Collection. Photo copyright British Museum

126. London, British Museum 1860–6–16–92 (copy). Photo Al

127. Florence, Uffizi no. 640Er. Photo SF

128. Florence, Uffizi no. 288F. Photo SF

129. Florence, Uffizi no. 297Fr. Photo Al

130. New York, Morgan Library no. I, 31. Photo Mus

131. Paris, Louvre no. 232r. Photo CD

132. Florence, Uffizi no. 306Fr. Photo SF

133. Florence, Uffizi no. 306Fv. Photo SF

134. Paris, Ecole des Beaux-Arts no. 352. Photo Giraudon

135. Paris, Louvre no. 11.006. Photo CD

136. Paris, Institut Néerlandais. Lugt Collection no. J5253 (copy). Photo copyright F. Lugt

137. Paris, Ecole des Beaux-Arts no. 289v. Photo Giraudon

138. Oxford, Ashmolean no. 692. Photo Mus

139. Paris, Louvre no. 10959. Photo CD

140. Vienna, Albertina no. R162B. Photo Braun

141. Florence, Uffizi no. 627Er. Photo SF

142. Stockholm no. 149 (copy). Photo Mus

143. Florence, Uffizi no. 337F. Photo SF

144. Florence, Uffizi no. 6425Fr. Photo Al

145. Florence, Uffizi no. 6425Fv. Photo SF

146. Paris, Louvre no. 1712. Photo CD

147. Florence, Uffizi no. 293Fv. Photo SF

148. Munich, Graphische Sammlung no. 2207. Photo Mus

149. Naples no. 103227r. Photo Soprintendenza Naples

150. Naples no. 103227v. Photo Soprintendenza Naples

151. New York, Scholz Collection (copy). Photo courtesy Dr. Janos Scholz

152. Florence, Uffizi no. 328F. Photo Al

153. Florence, Uffizi no. 331Fv. Photo SF

154. Cracow. Photo courtesy the Berenson Library, I Tatti

155. Florence, Uffizi no. 640Ev. Photo SF

156. Florence, Uffizi no. 297Fv. Photo SF

157. Florence, Uffizi no. 6433F. Photo SF

158. Florence, Uffizi no. 6454Fv. Photo Author

159. Paris, Louvre no. 232v. Photo CD

160. Paris, Louvre no. 1683r. Photo Author

161. Paris, Louvre no. 1686v. Photo CD

162. Paris, Louvre no. 1724r. Photo CD

163. Paris, Louvre no. 1710. Photo CD

164. Paris, Louvre no. RF76. Photo Author

165. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Elisabeth Severance Prentiss Collection. Photo Mus

166. Chantilly, Musée Condé no. 41. Photo AP

167. J. Sandres, *Portrait of Sarto* after the painting now Cornbury Park, O. V. Watney Collection. Photo Solomon

168. Florence, S. Salvi no. 8666. Photo Al

169. Sold New York, Rovensky Collection. Photo courtesy Berenson Library, I Tatti

170. Hampton Court no. 139. Photo Cooper; copyright reserved to H. M. the Queen

171. Ottawa, National Gallery. Photo Mus

172. Muncie, Indiana, Ball State Teachers College.

173. Paris, Louvre no. 1516A. Photo AP

174. Rome, Galleria Nazionale no. 580. Photo GFN

175. Sold London, Sir John Ramsden. Photo courtesy Frick Art Reference Library, New York

176. Berlin no. 5151r. Photo Hessische Treuhandverwaltung

177. Chantilly, Musée Condé no. 102. Photo Bernard

178. Florence, Uffizi no. 625E. Photo Author

179. Florence, Uffizi no. 6458F. Photo SF

180. Florence, Uffizi no. 1314E. Photo Brogi

181. Florence, Uffizi no. 6453F. Photo Al

182. Lille no. 13. Photo Gérondal

183. Paris, Ecole des Beaux-Arts no. 364. Photo CD

184. Florence, Uffizi no. 659E. Photo SF

185. Paris, Ecole des Beaux-Arts no. 365 (copy). Photo CD

186. Paris, Louvre no. 212. Photo CD

187. Ridolfo Ghirlandaio, *Marriage of St. Catherine.* Florence, La Quiete. Photo Al

188. Franciabigio, *Madonna del Pozzo.* Florence, Academy. Photo Al

189. Franciabigio, *Portrait.* Paris, Louvre. Photo AP

190. Andrea di Cosimo Feltrini, *Design for Grotesques.* Florence, Uffizi no. 1564F. Photo Al

191. Franciabigio, *Meeting of Christ and St. John Baptist.* Florence, Chiostro dello Scalzo. Photo SF

192. Franciabigio, *Blessing by Zachary.* Florence, Chiostro dello Scalzo. Photo SF

193. Raphael, *Madonna dell'Impannata.* Florence, Pitti. Photo Al

194. Pontormo, *Visdomini Altar.* Florence, S. Michele Visdomini. Photo SF

195. Fra Bartolommeo, *Salvator Mundi.* Florence, Pitti. Photo Jacquier, from SF

196. Raphael, *Blinding of Elymas.* London, Victoria & Albert Museum, on loan from H. M. the Queen. Photo Mus

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NOTE TO THE READER

This volume is companion to *Andrea del Sarto: Text and Illustrations.* The discussions in that text are based upon the conclusions as to authorship and dating reached in this catalogue. The present volume contains, besides the catalogue, documents for Andrea's biography and commentary on them, a complete bibliography, and a body of illustrations intended to complement those in the text volume. In particular, the reproductions in this present volume complete the illustration of Andrea's drawing *oeuvre.*

References made in the catalogue to the figures of the text volume are distinguished by numbers enclosed in brackets.

The catalogue contains the following classes of material:

I. THE AUTHENTIC PAINTINGS. This section deals with (a) paintings of Andrea's design and execution; (b) paintings of Andrea's design executed in his shop; (c) paintings by Andrea now lost, but of which visual evidence for the whole design survives; (d) drawings by Andrea which can be identified as preparatory to his paintings; (e) copies after preparatory studies that have been lost; (f) copies after extant paintings by Andrea; (g) copies after extant preparatory drawings. The paintings are catalogued in an order that we believe approximates that of their invention; preparatory drawings are catalogued by location, with their respective paintings. In general, the paintings are discussed according to the following scheme:

Order number in this catalogue; date assigned to the picture; title; location; museum catalogue or inventory number.

Medium (if not oil); support; dimensions (height followed by width, in centimeters).

Remarks on condition.

Description of color.

History of the painting.

Summary of critical opinions, in their chronological sequence.

Critical discussion, based on considerations of external evidence, morphology, and technique, and on such larger considerations of style only as may be required to establish authorship and date.

Preparatory drawings, in order by location, with data and discussion for each drawing according to a scheme corresponding to that used for the painting. Copies of lost preparatory drawings are listed separately, following the listing of originals. Copies after extant preparatory drawings are cited in footnotes.*

Copies and derivations in painting.

Copies in drawing after the painting, listed summarily in a footnote.

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* It should be observed that, though all watermarks have been examined, they are not described in our discussion of the drawings. In the cases where we have asserted of a drawing normally considered a copy that it is instead original, it may be assumed that we have checked its watermark and found it consistent with those on Andrea's certainly authentic sheets.

Footnotes in this section are numbered in separate sequences within each catalogue entry.

II. AUTHENTIC UNASSOCIATED DRAWINGS. This section catalogues, by location, the drawings we assign to Sarto that we cannot connect, as preparatory studies, with a painting by him.

III. LOST WORKS. This section lists paintings for whose appearance we have no visual evidence, but which are attributed to Sarto by literary records of the sixteenth century, and by documentary records through the seventeenth century. The listing is by chronological order of the source.

IV. ATTRIBUTED PAINTINGS. This section deals with paintings attributed to Sarto, but in our opinion incorrectly. Entries are according to the most recent location known to the author. Paintings attributed to Sarto's school, but not to the painter himself, are not included.

V. UNTRACEABLE ATTRIBUTED PAINTINGS. This section lists attributions to Sarto made by sources of date later than those in section III, and for which the author has been unable to find visual documentation.

VI. ATTRIBUTED DRAWINGS. Compare section IV.

Bibliographic references are identified by author and date; for full titles see the Bibliography, p. 281.

The conventional style of reference is used for periodicals and for first editions of books. When an edition later than the first is used, the date of the edition (or of the volume referred to in it) is enclosed in brackets.

I. THE AUTHENTIC PAINTINGS

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1 · c. 1506–1507. MADONNA ENTHRONED WITH FOUR SAINTS.[1] Cf. Figs. [1, 2].

The evidence for the presumed existence of a painting of this description is in a *modello* in the Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins no. 231, which has been partly pounced for transfer. The modello is in black chalk, brush and brown wash with white highlights, on beige-tinted paper, 29 x 24.8. The Madonna, the throne, and St. Peter have been pricked through. Badly creased across the upper center; the upper corners are new. There is a pentimento in the architecture. Its entablature was at first, apparently, intended to extend to both sides of the frame.

The drawing is catalogued in the Cabinet as Fra Bartolommeo's, and has been published by Berenson [1938] no. 2748 as Sogliani's. A manuscript note on the mount of the drawing records Berenson's attribution. Gabelentz 1922, I, no. 400 says only that the sheet is not Fra Bartolommeo's, but makes no positive suggestion for its attribution. Only Venturi has published this as Andrea's, 1925, 520n. He assigns it to the time of the *Noli Me Tangere* in the Uffizi, which he considers Andrea's earliest picture.

Venturi's attribution may be confirmed by comparisons more exact than those he cared to make with paintings by Andrea that we think predate the *Noli Me Tangere*. The type and expression of the Madonna find an intimate comparison in the *Madonna* of the Galleria Nazionale, Rome, no. 570. Compare also the Child, in particular the posture of his legs. There are many likenesses to the predella in the Borghese, of comparable date, particularly because in the predella and in this modello Andrea is drawing in a similar scale. In the predella, cf. the heads, *passim*, the attitude of the St. Anthony of Padua (?) with that of the papal saint here, and the drawing of the drapery of the standing forms. The gesture of the Child's left hand suggests, in kind and in temper, that of the angel left in Andrea's first fresco in the Scalzo, the *Baptism of Christ*; so also the gesture of St. Jerome. In that same piece are further similarities: of the head of Christ with that of St. Peter here, of the head of the angel right with the papal saint here, in type and in expression. Further, the thin drawing of the profile of the angel left in the fresco is like that of the two kneeling saints in profile in the drawing. The form of the landscape may also be compared. Still earlier than the Scalzo *Baptism*, the drawing of the arm of the angel in the *Annunciation* of Or San Michele (Florence, S. Marco) compares with that of the St. Jerome in the Louvre sheet.

Other comparisons may be made with the first frescoes by Andrea, of 1510, in the Annunziata: the head of the kneeling saint at right here compares with that of the figure at extreme right of the *Healing of the Obsessed Girl*, and the head of St. Peter suggests the second head from the left (repaired) in the *Funeral of St. Philip*; Peter's drapery suggests that of the figure farthest left in the same fresco. Compare also the smaller figures to the rear in the *Clothing of the Leper*. Similarities with the *Noli Me Tangere*, which Venturi saw, are in fact sparse, and they are not as exact as those we give above.

For the style of drawing in the modello, even given the altogether different technique, compare the papal saint left with what are otherwise the earliest drawings by Andrea that survive: for the *Obsessed Girl* and the *Clothing of the Leper* in the Benizzi frescoes, see Louvre 1689 and Uffizi 310F respectively.

The comparisons above sufficiently indicate the association in time of this modello with Andrea's earliest surviving art, and the most nearly precise comparisons are with the paintings we date first of all, those in the Barberini and Borghese galleries, to which we assign a date c. 1508. *Prima facie*, however, this modello would seem to belong to an even earlier moment, still more attached to the conventions of the first half-decade of the Cinquecento style. There is a strong flavor of the models of Albertinelli, in particular as they were toward 1505. There is a less sophisticated perspective, however, and a mentality in the arrangement of the figures that seems, as yet, hardly responsive to principles of "modern" style. Some analogy may exist between this modello and a work by Ridolfo Ghirlandaio, his *Marriage of St. Catherine* (Fig. 187) at La Quiete near Florence, which we believe may be placed about the same time. In the modello there is not yet the accent of Raphaelism that appears in that painting by Ridolfo, or in those by Andrea we assign to c. 1508. It is likely that this modello antedates such works by a year or two: it could be dated c. 1506 or 1507.

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[1] St. Jerome; a male saint wearing a tiara; St. Peter; and a monastic saint. The saint wearing the tiara may, perhaps, be S. Filippo Benizzi; see Ricci, *Mille Santi*, 1931, 242. It may, however, be S. Gaudenzio; see Kaftal 1952, no. 128.

2· c. 1507–1508. ICARUS. Florence, Palazzo Davanzati. Fig. [3].

Panel, 31 x 24.5.

Two cracks horizontally through the center area of the panel are somewhat retouched; there are other slight losses and repairs.

Daedalus in pinkish-red dress under a middle blue mantle. Icarus' wings brown, his body an ivory tone. The (unidentified) female figure right has a pinkish-red dress with an orange-gold mantle over it, slightly *changeant*; her hair is reddish-gold. The earth green and brown, the sky blue and orange-tinted.

The *Icarus* is from the collection of the late Delfino Cinelli, in the Palazzo Antella, Florence (where no attribution was attached). It was taken for the Palazzo Davanzati by the Export Office of the Florence Soprintendenza in 1950, and reported in an anonymous note in *Bolletino d'Arte*, ser. 4, *36* (1951) 377 (there attributed to Granacci). Not otherwise published. The painting carries the attribution to Granacci in the Palazzo Davanzati.

A sure work by the young Andrea, which should probably be placed in sequence between the Louvre 231 modello and the predella of the Galleria Borghese. There may be some inspiration from Piero di Cosimo (e.g., the *Allegory* of the National Gallery, Washington), and perhaps also from Albertinelli's Louvre altarpiece of 1506. The Icarus figure appears to owe something to Franciabigio's example in his *Temple of Hercules*, of c. 1505 (now also in the Palazzo Davanzati). There is a considerable general resemblance to Franciabigio's repertory of that time — a consequence, already evident, of the two young artists' association, but the resemblance is not evidence of Franciabigio's authorship of the panel. There are no such exact relations in it with Franciabigio's *oeuvre* of this period as there are to Andrea's earliest works.

In Louvre 231 compare the head of Icarus with that of the Madonna, and even more with the Child. Compare the short-nosed, thin profile of the Daedalus with that of the kneeling saint right, and the upper anatomy of Daedalus with the St. Jerome. In the Borghese predella many likenesses are evident, in the quality of touch (delicate and somewhat "hairy") in the landscape, in the stroking that creates the detail in it of foliage and ground, and in the painting of the hands and in the draperies. Specifically, compare the head, and the stance also, of Icarus with St. Margaret, and the head of Icarus with the head of St. John Evangelist. The head of Daedalus is like that of Christ, and that of the female right like that of the Magdalen. Compare also the anatomy of Icarus and Christ, and the feet of Daedalus with those of Christ. In the Barberini *Madonna* no. 570, and in the Friedsam *Female Saint*, compare the heads, and the quality of expression also, with Icarus. In the Or San Michele fresco of the Magdalen, the anatomy of Icarus has a close counterpart, and so does the flowing drapery of the female figure behind Icarus. This resemblance recurs in the S. Marco *Annunciation*. In the Scalzo *Baptism of Christ* the anatomy of Christ, though properly of a more mature type, suggests that of both Icarus and Daedalus, and the awkward feet of St. John Baptist are like Daedalus'. The head of Daedalus, also, resembles that of St. John. The resemblances tend to diminish as we advance from the time of Louvre 231; even more than with the Borghese predella, the manner of the *Icarus* suggests that of the modello.

3 · c. 1507–1508. Predella, PIETÀ WITH ATTENDANT SAINTS.[1] Rome, Galleria Borghese no. 3, Cat. 1959, inv. 375. Figs. [4–6].

Panel, 22 x 168. The painting is continuous in the landscape, but the figures of the saints are framed separately.

Some abrasion, but actual losses of paint are slight, except in the vertical seams which are covered by the framing strips. Within the *Pietà* there is restoration in the right sleeve of the Magdalen, in the area beneath the arm of Christ, and in the landscape to the rear above his legs. The Magdalen's profile is partly abraded.

St. Apollonia is in a grey cloak over a deep brown (or black) dress; her cloak is blue-edged. St. Anthony (?) is in a slightly yellowed grey cloak over a brown dress; his book is pink. In the *Pietà*, John is in a light blue shirt and a light red cloak, the Virgin in a blue-violet cloak over a light rose dress, the Magdalen in a dress of middle green color, with blue sleeves and a light red mantle of mauve cast. The Magdalen's hair is light red. Christ wears a light blue loincloth. St. Clare (?) wears a grey cloak over a dark grey or black dress which matches her coif in color. The undersleeve on her right arm is brown. St. Margaret is in a light red mantle, which tends toward salmon; her dress is lilac. Haloes are picked out in gold, as are the edgings of garments within the panel of the *Pietà*.

This panel was recorded in 1693 for the first time in an inventory of the Borghese Collection and attributed to Perugino. The painting bore this label until 1893, when Venturi 1893, 182 assigned it instead to the Umbrian school, anonymous. The attribution to Andrea first made by Longhi 1927, 85. He dates the painting c. 1507. Fraenckel 1935, 107, 239 retains Venturi's attribution and dates the painting c. 1530. Berenson [1932] 476 and [1936] 409, as Puligo, but with a question mark. Cat. Borghese 1948, 38; 1959, no. 3, assigns the work to Andrea; Freedberg 1961, 215–216 to Andrea, c. 1508.

The attribution to Andrea as an early work seems to be beyond doubt. The face and figure of the Christ require comparison with the Christ of the Scalzo *Baptism*; for his feet compare the St. John of that fresco. Compare also, with the St. John of the *Baptism*, the drawing of the Madonna's left hand and the folding of the drapery. The Magdalen of the predella may be compared not only in her drapery and posture, but in the drawing of her profile, with the angel left in the Scalzo fresco. In the earlier frescoes of the Benizzi series there are further very suggestive resemblances: in the *Obsessed Girl*, of the drapery style (cf. especially the figure standing to the left and the St. Anthony here), and of type (cf. the girl farthest left with the Magdalen, and the youth standing toward the right with St. John); in the *Funeral* there are still closer likenesses of attitude, proportion, and drapery in the standing figures. The landscape backgrounds in both these frescoes are clearly the production of the same hand; this likeness extends into the tree forms of the *Gamblers* and the *Clothing*. In the latter fresco, there are again comparisons of type and of drapery style to be made, most particularly with the smaller figures in the middle distance of the landscape. In the Barberini *Madonna* the most striking likeness is one of type and of quality of expression: cf. the Madonna's head with that of St. John. In an object of comparable scale to the predella, the modello Louvre 231, the resemblances become more pervasive and still more explicit; we have pointed them out in our discussion of that antecedent work. The likenesses to Andrea's works become most intimate in those we place earliest, even preceding the Scalzo *Baptism*. A date in 1508, but perhaps still within 1507, appears to suit this painting.

It is not entirely uncommon for a predella to have been painted separately from a large altar, especially by a still unknown artist, or by a journeyman-painter; there is no need to associate this predella with any known larger painting by Andrea himself.[2]

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[1] St. Apollonia, St. Anthony of Padua (?), St. Clare (?), and St. Margaret. The attribute held by St. Anthony may be a branch of cherry blossom rather than a lily; in this case he should, perhaps, be identified as Blessed Gerard of Villamagna. Cf. Kaftal 1952, no. 132. For the identification of St. Clare, see *ibid.*, no. 169.

[2] We may, however, speculate on a possible association of the Borghese predella with the apparently

later *Noli Me Tangere* (Uffizi), once in the church of S. Gallo. That altar is now provided with a predella of later sixteenth-century authorship, certainly painted for the picture after its removal from S. Gallo to S. Jacopo tra Fossi (see our discussion of that painting). Though it would seem certain that the predella of the Borghese is somewhat earlier in date than the *Noli Me Tangere*, and though their widths are different (the predella 13 cm wider), the two might have been once associated. The difference in width is not necessarily an excluding factor: there are numerous altars of the late Quattrocento and early Cinquecento in which the predella is wider than the main picture and serves as a basis for an architectural frame that may be painted out, on this predella-basis, nearly to its edge. Andrea's predella may originally have been made for an older altar painting, for which he might a short time later have been commissioned to substitute his own, the *Noli Me Tangere*. It is also possible that the Borghese predella may have been a trial piece. From its success Andrea might have proceeded after a year or two to the painting of the *Noli*. There is at least no iconographic obstruction to the association between the Borghese predella and a *Noli Me Tangere*.

It is, of course, possible that our dating for the Borghese panel may be too early, and the difference in style between it and the *Noli Me Tangere* the result of a difference in their scale. The two works could have been born together c. 1510.

We do not propose their association; we only indicate that it is a possibility that should at least be considered. The evidence of style, as we read it, is *contra* and we do not possess sufficient external evidence to allow more than quite inconclusive speculation on the point.

4 · c. 1508. MADONNA. Rome, Galleria Nazionale no. 570. Fig. [7].

Panel, 43.8 x 26.1.

The flesh in general, and the face of the Madonna, in particular, were originally very thinly painted. Now the surface color of the flesh and that of the underlying stratum have worked into each other in such a way as to give a false impression of a badly worn or abraded surface. There is, in fact, only a slight general abrasion. There are some minor spotted losses and a suspect section (restoration?) in the upper sky. Restored 1912 and 1952.

The Madonna in a bleaching pinkish-red dress over a dark slate-blue shirt; her cloak (wound also around her lower body) a dark blue. Her hair is reddish-blonde. The Christ Child sits upon a powder-blue cloth on the light brown stone work. The nearer landscape is brownish-green; the farther landscape and the sky a transparent light blue.

Perhaps one of the two pictures (the other, Rome, Galleria Nazionale no. 580, q.v. under Attributed Paintings) to which Titi [1763] 37, refers in the Corsini Collection in Rome, under the rubric "due Madonne di Andrea del Sarto." Transferred with the other contents of the Palazzo Corsini to the Galleria Nazionale in the Palazzo Barberini. The traditional attribution to Andrea appears in other eighteenth-century and in nineteenth-century guides. Morelli 1879, 92 reassigned the picture to Bugiardini; but Knapp 1907, 30, 132 maintained the attribution to Andrea giving a date c. 1510. Cat. Corsini 1910, no. 570 gives 1510. Venturi 1925, 430 preferred the name of Franciabigio; so also Berenson, consistently, from 1896, 111 to [1936] 181. The attribution to Franciabigio is given also by Cat. Corsini 1932, no. 570. Longhi 1927, 86 correctly reaffirmed Andrea's authorship, and associated the painting in date with the predella in the Galleria Borghese. Freedberg 1961, 216 c. 1508–1509.

Closely comparable, as we have already indicated, to the Madonna and Child of the very early modello, Louvre 231. In the predella in the Borghese there are similarities of type, expression, and drapery style, as well as of handling — soft and light in touch — too evident to require our exact cataloguing, and indicating a close date. For the Madonna's drapery, cf. also what is visible in the ruined *Annunciation* of Or San Michele. Other comparisons with slightly more advanced works also occur: for the handling of the head of the Madonna, see the frontal heads in the Benizzi fresco of the *Obsessed Girl* and those also of the *Funeral*. Her upper form and drapery is comparable to that of the female actors, and some of the male actors also, in the former fresco. For the Child, there is an analogy to the infant (like this one, developed in type beyond the Christ Child of Louvre 231), left of the altar in the *Relics*. The landscapes in these two frescoes are conceived in much the same vein and handled in much the same way as the background here.

Though Morellian likenesses occur in the works of 1509 and 1510, this picture does not yet show their more energetic and more formally complex temper; it is still more nearly related to the Borghese predella. Probably somewhat more advanced than that work, it should still not be placed much beyond, at latest 1508.

5 · c. 1508. FEMALE SAINT, fragment. New York, Metropolitan Museum, Friedsam Collection no. 32.100.89 Fig. [8].

Panel, 38.1 x 29.2.[1]

There are sizeable losses, especially toward the right side of the saint's body, neck, face, and hair; further minor losses in the face, as in the left eye. Generally abraded; the upper right corner of the original paint surface has vanished. Inadequately cleaned and restored 1947.

The saint wears a light red dress over a brownish shirt, edged with white lace. Over her right shoulder, a dark blue mantle. Her hair dark brown. Exactly as in the *Madonna* in Rome, Galleria Nazionale no. 570, the eyeballs of this saint are tinted markedly with blue. The background is a flat slightly blued grey, presumably indicating the sky.

From the Morisey Collection, Paris, thence to the Friedsam Collection, New York; by bequest to the Metropolitan Museum, 1931, as a work by Franciabigio. So catalogued by Berenson (Friedsam Collection, unpub. cat., n.d., no. 41) and by the museum.

The damage suffered by this fragmentary painting is sufficient to obscure many of the indices of the quality of Andrea's private touch and to falsify the effect of expression. Nevertheless, the vocabulary of form is unmistakably Andrea's, of a moment that must have been very close to that of the Barberini *Madonna* with which its common elements of representation are nearly interchangeable.

More than the Barberini *Madonna*, this picture may indicate the result of Andrea's exposure to Franciabigio. It has an accent that can be identified more readily than elsewhere as Franciabigio's — compare the *Madonna del Pozzo*, c. 1508 (Fig. 188) — but not to an extent that permits any confusion as to its authorship.

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[1] Metropolitan Museum Cat. 1940 gives the mediumas tempera.

6 · c. 1508–1509. TRANSLATION OF ST. MARY MAGDALEN (with two putti below, holding a chalice, by Franciabigio?) Florence, Or San Michele. Figs. 1 [9, 10].

Fresco; on the north face of the upper side of the free-standing pier toward the entrance of the church (above the *St. Martin* of Niccolo di Pietro Gerini). The *Translation* is an elongated hexagon, 108 x 65 (exclusive of the frame). The putti below (between the hexagon and the top of the ogival frame of the St. Martin) are c. 102 cm in longest dimension of their picture field.

The *Translation* is very faded, and there are major losses, upper left and center, bottom center; lesser losses *passim*. Some parts are indistinguishable. The putti below gravely damaged throughout; the center of this field and the putto to the right virtually eradicated.

The angel left in the *Translation* bleached rose, the angel right yellow-gold with rose lights. The background blue.

The earliest citation of this work is by Migliore 1684, 537: "dipinte a fresco in un' esagono, nel secondo pilastro dalla parte volta a tramontana, e questa è una S. Maria Maddalena di Andrea del Sarto, di cui non ebbe cognizione il Vasari . . . la quale v'è in essecuzione del Testamento di Niccolo della Tosa, che lasciò a carico de' Capitani, se ne celebrasse la festa, e chi ne fece ricordo diss' anche, come ella era stata dipinta da lui dopo al Cenacolo di S. Salvi . . ." Mentioned again in Richa I (1754) 26: on the second pillar in an ". . . ovato, S. M. Maddalena portata in Cielo dagli Angioli di mano di Andrea del Sarto." Fontana, *Viaggio Pittorico della Toscana*, Florence [1817–1818] 280 also mentions the Magdalen fresco, and Biadi 1829, 148 and n. 4 repeats Fontana's citation. There is no mention in the succeeding literature until Paatz [1952] IV, 497, without discussion refers to Migliore and Richa.

The indication of a date in the *ricordo* to which Migliore refers is obviously in error. The style requires the closest association with that of the larger *Annunciation*, more extensively documented, also painted on account of Or San Michele, and now in S. Marco: compare the type, anatomy, and drapery, especially, of the angels in the *Translation*. The angel on the left may also be compared with the left angel of the *Baptism of Christ*, Andrea's earliest painting in the Scalzo.

None of the older sources refers to Andrea as the author of the two putti in the field beneath the *Translation*. These, we believe, may be Franciabigio's work. Compare the types to the infants of Franciabigio's *Madonna del Pozzo* (Florence, Academy; Fig. 188) and to the Christ Child of the *Madonna* (Rome, Galleria Nazionale no. 580; Fig. 174). The postures are like those of the children in Franciabigio's *Holy Family* in Vienna, inv. no. 206; all these comparisons are with works datable c. 1508–1509. In general, the obviousness and relative crudity of effects in the two putti suggest Franciabigio rather than Andrea, even at this early date. This attribution is of course tentative, in view of the extremely damaged condition of the figures.

7 · 1508–1509. ANNUNCIATION OF OR SAN MICHELE. Florence, S. Marco, *Foresteria*. Fig. [11].

Fresco, detached, 215 x 184 (arched top).

The general outlines of this ruined fresco are decipherable, but little detail remains. Only the right arm of the angel is relatively well preserved. The lower area of the fresco, up to the knees of the Virgin and almost to the waist of the angel, has fallen away completely.

The angel at the left side of the fresco, in profile, raises his right arm in the traditional gesture to the Madonna who sits at the right in three-quarters frontal posture beside a lectern. She raises her right arm slightly in response to the angel. The figures are set in an ample space, in the re-entrant angle of a Brunelleschian loggia, of which two arches are visible — in sharp perspective — at the Virgin's back, and two (one of them the corner arch) are seen directly to the front of us. A space opens beside the loggia at the left. Beneath the right front arch a door opens into the body of the building framed by the loggia. The building is terminated by a cornice above the loggia, and in the sky above there is the trace, nearly illegible, of a figure that is presumably a God the Father.

Traces of color survive in the light red upper drapery of the angel, and in the lavender (?) of his lower drapery. His wings are green and lilac. The Virgin was in a red dress and blue mantle.

Mentioned in the *Codex Magliabechiano*, 108. Vasari 1550, 739–740 (in sequence after the Benizzi frescoes and Andrea's early tondi at S. Salvi): "Avvenne che Andrea era già molto noto, et tenuto veramente quella persona, che egli era nella pittura: là onde per ordine di Baccio d'Agnolo gli fu fatto allogazione di una operetta a fresco, da Or San Michele, quando si scende lo sdrucciolo che va in mercato nuovo in un biscanto: nel quale si sforzò, et vi fece una Annunziata con maniera molto minuta: la quale ancora che fussi bella, non fu lodata molto . . ." The same account in Vasari 1568 [1880] V, 14. Cinelli [1677] 70. Biadi 1829, 26 informs us that the fresco was covered "non da molti anni" to protect it from further damage. Reumont 1835, 41 found it already ruined, the angels still partly visible but the Madonna hardly so (as is the case today). Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 171 and n. 2 describe it as almost obliterated but say that evidences of God the Father, the head of the Virgin, and part of the angel still exist. They observe that the style of the fragments resembles the tondi by Andrea at S. Salvi. Detached, and transferred to the Museo di S. Marco in the later nineteenth century. Guinness 1899, 14, 88 notes the fresco was removed at the time of a recent demolition in this quarter of the city. Listed by Knapp 1907, 130 and by Berenson [1932] 17 as in Sala III of the museum. Removed from exhibition, apparently just before or at the time of World War II, it is now stored in the *Foresteria* of the convent.

Vasari's indication of sequence, in which he places the *Annunciation* after the Benizzi frescoes and the S. Salvi tondi, seems incorrect. The forced, "small" technique that he remarks does not seem to be a result of Andrea's deliberate intention, but of his inexperience and still archaizing habits of style. We have remarked, in our description of the other fresco for Or San Michele, q.v., the interchangeability of the types of angels. We may also observe the similarity in technique of these two juvenile frescoes. Traces of the same technique are still visible in the *Baptism* of the Scalzo, apparently only a little later in execution.

There are further similarities in the *Annunciation* to others of Andrea's early works: compare the silhouette of the Madonna with the St. Apollonia in the Borghese predella, the Madonna in the Barberini panel no. 570, and the female saint in the Metropolitan Museum. Also compare the manner of relating figures to the space of architecture, and the form and scale of the architecture itself, to that in the earliest (by our account) Benizzi fresco, the *Healing of the Obsessed Girl.*

8 · 1509/1510–1526. Fresco Series: THE LIFE OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST. Florence, Chiostro dello Scalzo. Fig. [53].

Frescoes (grisaille).

Twelve narrative scenes (two of them by Franciabigio), four on each long wall and two on each short wall of the small *cortile* (945 x 1143 overall; the corner scenes 194 x 201, the center scenes 194 x 308) relate the story of the Baptist. The cortile was the *atrium* of the former chapel of the Compagnia dello Scalzo.[1] The brotherhood was suppressed in 1785, and the custody of the atrium and its frescoes transferred to the Accademia delle Belle Arti.[2]

The narrative begins with the *Annunciation to Zachary*, at the right of the door entering the cloister, and proceeds counterclockwise to the *Presentation of the Head of the Baptist*, left of the entrance. Framing both the entrance and the exit doors, opposite each other on the short walls of the court, are two Virtues (194 x 92), of larger scale than the narratives.[3] The frescoed scenes are set in a painted architectural enframement, consisting of pilasters between each scene and an entablature above (surmounted in turn by an attic) and, below, *basamenti*; all the "architectural" surfaces were originally ornamented. The pilasters and the basamenti are carried on the wall to the level at which, formerly, a continuous stone bench ran beneath the paintings and around the cortile.

As Shearman 1960*c*, 206–220 has convincingly demonstrated, the present vaulted architecture of the cortile did not exist when Andrea did his paintings. Paatz [1953] V, 75 had earlier assumed that a reconstruction of the courtyard by the architect Paolo Giovanozzi, documented c. 1722, had consisted of not more than the addition of four new columns at the inner corners (to make the paired columns we see now), and of alterations to the doors at both ends. Shearman, however, has established both by internal evidence and by documentary accounts that the entire present vaulting dates from this reconstruction of the eighteenth century. The original roof of the cortile was a sloping *stuoia* (probably of tiles supported on a lattice frame of wood), carried at its inner part on the six original columns, and at its outer part on the wall above the frescoes, at a level which is that of the upper line of the painted *attica.* The painted lunettes above the *atticae*, in which we now see urns and mortuary trophies against a painted sky, were added at the time the vaults were built. At some later time, the *panchina* which ran around the cortile below the frescoes was removed.[4]

The ornamentation of the painted architecture consists, on the framing pilasters, of a pattern of *grotesquerie*, dependent on the manner of which Andrea di Cosimo Feltrini was the principal contemporary Florentine exponent.[5] The entablature (entirely fictive except for one thin bottom profile) carried by the pilasters also has a grotesque design. Surmounting the entablature, as if on a shelf before the painted attic, are death's heads (mortuary symbols that appear also on the bases of the columns of the court); these are among the emblems of the Confraternity.[6] The motives of the frieze include the Veronica Veil and the Cross, as well as the partial forms of angels, and are related in theme to an alternate title of the Company, "della Passione di Christo." [7]

On the atticae is a design of swags and banderoles, with cherubic heads; the pattern is adjusted to the length of the framed scene below.[8] The basamenti were painted, on the long walls, mostly with abstract geometric patterns, resembling strap-work, which in each bay framed a *cartellino* containing a descriptive legend for its scene.[9] The basamenti of the short walls, however, contained a figured decoration also. The decoration of the basamenti survives only in very minor part.[10]

The decoration appears to have been painted entirely in *buon fresco*, except for occasional touches of gold highlight on accessories. The grisaille is a varying tonality among the different frescoes. The earliest are of a somewhat orange tint, the next succeeding greenish, and the more developed are of an ochre cast. The design of the earliest narrative in the series, the *Baptism of Christ*, has been pounced into the wall, and the subsequent frescoes transferred, in general, rather sparsely and in broad outline, by tracing. The decorative grotesques, however (which we presume are mostly by assistants), are uniformly pounced.[11]

The frescoes have, in general, suffered from humidity within the walls and from weathering without; but the most drastic damages are to the lower parts of the narrative scenes, and to the basamenti beneath them; the latter are almost entirely obliterated. This damage to the lower areas is more thorough on the east wall.

There is a fairly extensive older history of the accidents and alleged mistreatments suffered by the Scalzo frescoes. Richa VII (1758) 209 mentions a cleaning of the Scalzo frescoes in 1617. Migliore 1684, 731 deplores damage done in the cloister by an act of vandalism. Bottari in Borghini [1807] I, xxii specifies that this damage was to two of the scenes, the *Annunciation to Zachary* and the *Presentation of the Head*, and that it occurred c. 1630. When Jonathan Richardson visited the Scalzo, a few years before its architectural alteration described earlier, he remarked [1728] III, 48 on the neglected condition of the place and observed that the frescoes were "fort endommagées," though enough remained to appreciate the taste and the expression of the painter. In connection with the program of reconstruction, a major restoration was entrusted on 8 December 1722 to one R. Signore Niccolò Vaiani.[12] Richa deplored the effect of this restoration, and Bottari says of Vaiani's restoration ". . . fu con gran detrimento lavato . . . poichè furono tolte via le tinte migliori, e lasciate scolorite affatto."[13] A later partial restoration was authorized by the Accademia delle Belle Arti after it took custody of the frescoes.[14] Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 9n2 refers to various expedients taken in his time to "conservarne gli avanzi."[15]

Despite this grim historical account of the condition of the Scalzo frescoes, and in spite of some areas of total loss, the narratives of the Scalzo are not significantly disfigured. The early losses of legibility to which Richardson and the brothers of the Confraternity referred were probably due largely to dirt, and the cleaning, while it may have been too harshly done, surely revealed more than it took away. The losses in some places are disturbing, but in what is left — and this is the best part of what was originally there — Andrea's meaning, and usually his most specific meaning, of form and expression, is clearly decipherable. Modern opinion has grossly exaggerated the degree of restoration in the frescoes. The whites especially have been characterized as largely new, but it has been established quite exactly that this is not true. At the present writing the frescoes are being detached from the wall.[16] They are being remounted and carefully cleaned, and it has emerged that there is no gross repainting. The whites, especially those with body color, are in *buon fresco* and for the greatest part original, and the darks and middle values, though probably somewhat faded, are sound. Restoration consists mostly of washes applied to areas, of varying dimension, of cracking or of actual loss, and they may be identified by a somewhat fatty texture and by the presence of a faint greyish opalescence or a red cast in their tone. Where these are not visually disturbing, they are not being removed in the present cleaning.[17]

Documents survive for Andrea's work in the Chiostro dello Scalzo from late 1514 onward, but not before. They are in A.S.F. Comp. Sopp. 1198 (Compagnia di S. Giovanbatista detta dello Scalzo) no. 28, Debitori e Creditori, B (September 1514–October 1536); no earlier account book of the Confraternity has been found.[18] Documents relevant to the individual frescoes will be cited in full in our subsequent discussions of these frescoes, in their chronological order in our catalogue. We here (a) give a summary of all the documents, and (b) give in full documents that apply to the accessory portions of the decoration as well as to the two narratives executed by Franciabigio during Andrea's absence in France, 1518–1519.[19]

(a)

c. 30 right:

1 November 1515, for the *Preaching of St. John* and the Virtue of *Justice*, 74 lire 2 soldi (since, as appears from the following entries, the rate of payment was at first established at 42 lire for a narrative and 21 lire for a Virtue, this sum fairly exactly pays, at this agreed rate, for both the pictures mentioned here).

30 October 1516, for the painting of the atticae over the frescoes (not yet painted) on the west wall of the cloister, 56 lire. (From this and subsequent payments for similar work, the price of painting each attica was fixed at 14 lire.)

15 March 1517 (st. c.), for the *Baptism of the Multitude*, 42 lire.

19 July 1517, for the *Arrest of St. John*, 42 lire.

20 January 1522 (st. c.), for the *Dance of Salome*, 56 lire. (From this point onward, after Andrea's return from France, the narratives are paid for at the rate of 56 lire, equivalent to the previous price for a narrative and an attica both; the atticae are paid for separately and in addition, still at the rate of 14 lire.)

It should be observed that the entries on the debit (left) side of this c., as in all such cases, have nothing to do, either in their dates or their amounts, with the actual work of painting, but are simply the record of Andrea's withdrawals against his credited payments on the right side. It is therefor incorrect to assume, as Milanesi (in Vasari [1880] V, 69) and others have subsequently done, that a withdrawal in the sum of 21 lire may be construed as a payment for a Virtue (or for any other work not specified in the account on the right side). The withdrawals on the left side, and the credits for named works on the right side, always match in their totals within a few soldi.

c. 54 right, payments to Franciabigio:

18 March 1519 (st. c.), for his *Benediction by Zachary* and *Meeting of Christ and St. John*, and for three atticae, 126 lire.

3 April 1519, payment of 14 lire, by the amount for a fourth attica (i.e., all four atticae on the east wall).

c. 83 right:

20 February 1522 (st. c.), for the atticae on the entrance wall, 42 lire (payment for the three attic spaces on this wall).

9 May 1523, for the *Beheading of St. John*, 56 lire.

30 May 1523, for the *Presentation of the Head*, 56 lire.

22 August 1523, for the *Annunciation to Zachary*, 56 lire.

22 August 1523, for the Virtue *Hope*, 21 lire.[20]

c. 106 right:

[*blank*] November 1524, for the *Visitation*, 56 lire.

24 June 1526, for the *Naming of St. John*, 56 lire.[21]

Except for the Virtues of *Faith* and *Charity*, the records summarized above account for every space in the cloister painted after the opening of this surviving ledger in September 1514. The *Baptism of Christ* is, on grounds of style, explicitly dateable earlier than this time, and on technical grounds the atticae of the whole north wall are contemporary with it.

(b)

c. 30 right:

30 October 1516. "E de' avere adi 30 d'ottobre 1516 f. otto larghi d'oro in oro, sono per manifattura del'adornamento di sopra a quattro quadri, chome si vede nel nostro chiostro [*repeated*] diverso San Piero del Marone [*sic*], d'achordo chon Francesco di Biag[i]o d'Attanagio sarto, a tutta sua spesa ——— £ 56 ——— "

Interpreted by Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 68 as referring to the accessory decoration above the frescoes on the north, short, wall opposite the entrance to the cloister. The description in the document "diverso San Piero del Marone" is, however, ambiguous. S. Piero del Murone (now S. Giovannino de' Cavalieri) lies behind and to the north of the Chiostro dello Scalzo. However, the phrase "diverso S. Piero del Murone" is used in subsequent entries on c. 30 specifically to locate frescoes on the west, not the north, wall of the cloister. It is therefore likely that this document refers to the atticae on the west wall, painted in anticipation of the scenes that were to be done beneath. This likelihood is supported by the fact that the document of 20 February 1522, cited below, which refers specifically to the painting of the upper ornamentation on the short, south, entrance wall, describes the ornament as being "sopra a due quadri e la porta entra," i.e., three spaces, and the price is also 14 lire per space. ("quadri" in these documents is evidently to be taken in the sense of spaces intended for the figure paintings, and not the executed paintings themselves.) In the case of the document of February 1522, the stories below the ornamentation to which it refers had, according to other documentary evidence, not yet been painted, and this is also the case with the wall to which we believe the present document of 1516 refers.

Our deduction as to the spaces that are meant in this document is confirmed by the terms on which Franciabigio is paid for the painting of the atticae on the east wall; see below under 18 March 1519.

A technical circumstance suggests further that the atticae of the north wall were painted in a time distinct from, and earlier than, that referred to in the document of 30 October 1516: the grotesque enframement of the first narrative by Andrea, the *Baptism of Christ*, the attica above it, and both the other atticae on this wall share, with this narrative scene, a somewhat orange tint, which does not appear elsewhere in the Scalzo paintings, even in the other pictures on this same wall. It is therefore likely that these parts of the decoration were done at a time contemporary with the fresco of the *Baptism*.[22]

c. 54 right: [23]

18 March 1519 (st. c.), "Francescho di Christofano di rincronto [*sic*] de' avere adì XVIII di marzo 1518 f. XVIII larghi d'oro in oro, ssono per avere dipintto dua q[u]adri de' nostro chisotro, c[i]oè la vicitazione di Cristo e lla partitta dal padre quando ebbe la benedizione, e tre adornamenti di sopra, c[i]oè per ungni q[u]adro f. sei larghi d'oro e f. II per uno deglli adorname[n]tti: in tutto f. dic[i]otto larghi, d'achordo chon lui ——— £ 126 ———." (The rate of pay for Franciabigio's work is the same as that so far conceded to Andrea; 42 lire for each episode of narrative, 14 lire for each decorated attica. Franciabigio's painting of the ornament in the atticae is here indicated as including a third space, presumably that above Andrea's adjacent, and much later, *Birth of the Baptist*, as well as above his own two narratives.)

3 April 1518: "E de' avere f. II s'erono messi debitori dua voltte ne' 3 d'aprile, chome si po vedere a u[s]citta c. 154 ——— £ 14 ———." Though its purpose is unspecified, the amount of payment indicated here would most reasonably be for the fourth, remaining, attica on this same wall. So taken also by Shearman 1959, 130n32 who observes correctly that the color and *fattura* of all four atticae on this wall are homogeneous.[24]

c. 83 right:

20 February 1522 (st. c.), "Andrea d'Agnolo dipintore di' ri[n]chontro de' avere adì 20 di febraio 1521 f. sei larg[h]i d'oro in oro, sono per avere dipinto l'adornamento, fregio e chornic[i]one sopra a dua quadri e la porta entra nel nostro ch[i]ostro, d'achordo ——— £ 42 s. ———" (Incorrectly transcribed by Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 70 in one important particular: our reading "sopra a dua quadri e la porta entra" is given by him as "sopra a dua quadri *a* la porta entra." The price of the painting is, at 14 lire the decoration of one attica, evidently that of all three atticae on the entrance wall.)

The earliest citation in the literature is in the *Libro di Antonio Billi* (dateable 1516–1525/1530) 51: "Andreino del Sarto dipinse una storia nella compagnia di S. Giovanni Scalzo, bella." The *Codex Magliabechiano*, 108 mentions that Andrea is the author of "più storie" in this place. Vasari 1550, 735–736, 746, 753–754, 759; Vasari 1568 [1880] V, 8–9, 21, 32, 40–41, 45; Borghini [1807] II, 215, 219, 221; Bocchi [1677] 470–479; Baldinucci [1769] IV, 186–187; Richa VII (1758) 207 ff.; d'Argenville [1762] I, 143; Biadi 1829, 24–25; Reumont 1835, 15n1 and ff.; Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 177–189; Mantz 1877, 39; Guinness 1899, 45 ff., 90–93; Berenson [1938] I, 275–280; Schaeffer 1904, 26–27; Knapp 1907, 28 ff., 131; Sinibaldi 1925*a*, 14–21; Venturi 1925, 543–564; Fraenckel 1935, 34–35, 150–153; Comandé 1952, 43 ff., 62, 82 ff.; Freedberg 1961, 442 ff.

PREPARATORY STUDIES[25]

FLORENCE, Uffizi no. 314F. *Recto*, model study from a young boy standing and carrying a sack on his right shoulder; the model seated; two further studies, lightly sketched, of the upper body of the model, related to the study of the seated posture. *Verso*, two nude boys, seated. Red chalk, 19.8 x 27.8. Figs. 22, 23.

The recto identified by di Pietro 1911, 88, tentatively, as a study for the putti of the *Assunta* Pitti

191, and by Ferri 1916, no. 25, more certainly. Popham 1930, no. 199 regards the recto as a prior stage in the development of an idea for Pitti 191 to that on Uffizi Orn. 1486. Berenson [1938] no. 113D (but not in 1903, no. 73) cites di Pietro's identification, and considers that the drawing is probably soon after 1520. Fraenckel 1935, 188 not by Andrea but by a close pupil. Shearman 1959, 130 associates the sheet with the process of development of an idea for Pitti 191, but correctly specifies that its original purpose was different: it served for the putto at left (and, in reverse, for his companion) in each of the basamento panels on the south wall of the Scalzo. Shearman dates this part of the decoration "just before the Mugello interval," presumably, i.e., late in 1522 or in 1523. The assumption of date is reasonable. Berenson [1961] no. 113D notes and accepts Shearman's argument.

The order of the sketches appears to be: verso left, verso right; recto top right, lower right, and left, in which the definitive and different motive of the standing boy is found. There is a vague suggestion of the repertory of the Sistine ceiling, of the Ignudi and the caryatid putti.

The style of draughtsmanship accords well with that of Uffizi Orn. 1486 and British Museum, Fawkner no. 5210–63, for Pitti 191. It should be observed that the reinforcing on the verso in greasy chalk, to which Shearman 1959, 130 refers, is in Andrea's own hand.

——— no. 6423F. *Recto,* four studies of a skull. *Verso,* two studies of a jawbone. Red chalk, 20.9 x 28. Figs. 24, 25.

Knapp 1907, 134 as an authentic drawing of 1511, for the Scalzo mortuary symbols. Di Pietro 1911, no. 82 makes the same identification, which Berenson [1938] no. 120A repeats on Knapp's authority. Fraenckel 1935, 193 is doubtful of the originality of the sheet, as is the Uffizi Cabinet, where it is classed among the copies. Shearman 1959, 130 correctly regards the drawing as authentic. The style of draughtsmanship is surely later than is indicated by Knapp.

LONDON, British Museum, Fawkner no. 5210–63. *Verso,* a skull, a thighbone. Red chalk, 20 x 25. Fig. 26. *Recto,* study for Pitti 191 (q.v. under our catalogue entry no. 52).

Dodgson 1926, 5 associates the verso with the Uffizi sheet 6423F. Berenson [1938] no. 132 lists the verso as authentic, but without comment. Shearman 1959, 129 confirms that the study is a drawing for the Scalzo mortuary symbols, and observes that the last occasion for such a study would have been before February 1522, when the last atticae were paid for (see the documentary material above). Berenson [1961] 132 notes Shearman's observations.[26]

COPIES AND DERIVATIONS

FLORENCE, Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni, Santarelli no. 664–674. Tempera on canvas, the copies after the largest scenes each 56.5 x 72.

Morelli [1883] 76. Guinness 1899, 46 speculates that these are the copies authorized by the Granducal consent of 1567,[27] but they seem later in date than this.

——— S. Salvi (Uffizi Deposit). Free copies, in color, c. 110 x 100: no. 8305, *Birth of the Baptist*; no. 8307, *Arrest of the Baptist*; no. 8316, *Baptism of the Multitude.*

——— Palazzo Vecchio. Copies of the mid-seventeenth century in tapestry, on cartoons by A. Melissi, woven by P. Fevère (d. 1669). With variations, after ten of the frescoes. Two new designs by Melissi complete the series.

——— Art Market. *The Four Virtues.*

Oil on canvas; of the seventeenth century.

Formerly FLORENCE, Palazzo Corsini at Porta al Prato. Oil on canvas.

Noted by Guinness 1899, 46 as "for sale" from the Corsini Collection at that time. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 189n3 indicate that these were from the Palazzo Rinuccini. Lanzi [1824] I, 208, and Biadi 1829, 12 and n. 5 describe them as cartoons by Andrea.

MUNICH, Alte Pinakothek nos. 1067, 1068, 1069, 1070 (Cat. 1900; not listed in recent catalogues). After the *Annunciation to Zachary*, the *Visitation*, the *Preaching of St. John*, and the *Presentation of the Head*; all paper on wood, 30 x 35; from the Theatinerkirche, Munich. Reumont 1835, 17n and other early authors as original studies; Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 197 as copies.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Italian Embassy. *Preaching of the Baptist.* Oil on canvas, 102 x 100.

From Uffizi Deposit no. 8313; part of the same set as the copies in S. Salvi.[28]

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[1] Earlier known as the Compagnia della Passione di Christo or de' Disciplinati di S. Giovanni. See Richa VII (1758), 196–197.

[2] Paatz [1953] V, 75.

[3] The association of the Virtues with the life of St. John is based on a conception of his life as a "school of virtue," put forth by St. John Chrysostom. See Paatz, V, 84n24a, and I. Falk, *Studien zu Andrea Pisano* (Hamburg, 1940) 5–6 in connection with the early appearance of this association in the work of Andrea and Niccolò Pisano.

[4] The following summarizes, from Shearman 1960*c*, the essential documentary information on the vaulting of the cortile and the painting of the resulting new lunettes: After resolutions taken in July 1721 to restore the premises of the Confraternity, and especially its roofing (A.S.F. Comp. Sopp. 1190/17, G, c. 227, and 1190/19, C, c. 103 ff.; cf. Shearman, 213) there are accounts of work done elsewhere than in the cloister; then, on 31 December 1772 (A.S.F. Comp. Sopp. 1200/33, G, c. 174; cf. Shearman, 215) there is a first citation of work there: "3129.12.4 e sono per più lavori, maestranze, e d'altro . . . dal Sig^{re} Paolo Giovanozzi . . . il tutto occorso nel fare le Volticine intorno al Chiostro, e rialzatura del tetto sopra la medesima . . ." Accounts of April 1723 through August 1724 in the same book refer to further work on the cortile, and one of these of 11 August 1724 reads: "30 lire — Gio. Panaiotti Pittore per avere dipinto l'urne, e altro nelle lunette del Cortile." A second, of 19 August, reads: "14 lire — Panaiotti . . . per giornate cinque compresoci 12 lire di materiali occorso nel ricondizionare le fregi intorno alle pitture . . ." (Shearman, 215). A payment of 16 September, in the amount of 60 lire is made to the same painter ". . . per aver ridipinto, e ricondizionato le pitture basso del cortile, e dato di color di marmo sotto le pancrine . . ." (Shearman, 216).

[5] Around the first scene to be painted in this series, the *Baptism of Christ*, the quality of execution indicates the grotesques are by Andrea's own hand; the later grotesques are of varying and frequently inferior quality. C. and G. Thiem 1961, 28 note this difference in quality, and they point out the likeness of motive to Andrea di Cosimo's repertory. They make one interesting comparison especially, with a detail from Andrea di Cosimo's *sgraffito* decoration on the Palazzo Sertini, and very cautiously (and vaguely) suggest that the "anstoss" for the grotesque system at the Scalzo, and that in the frame of the *Baptism of Christ* especially, may have been given by Feltrini.

[6] Knapp 1907, 28 makes the unnecessary suggestion that these symbols may be inspired by Piero di Cosimo's decoration of his *Carro della Morte*, presumably of 1511. This would in any case reverse the likely chronological order of work; we deduce (see below) that the beginning of Andrea's painting in the Scalzo dates from 1509–1510.

[7] See n. 1, above.

[8] The corner pilaster strips of the attic and, on the end walls, parts of the decorative pattern, are obscured by the added vaultings. For a reconstruction of their whole designs, see Shearman 212, fig. 6.

[9] Two of these legends are still legible. The others may be reconstructed from the copies in tapestry in the Palazzo Vecchio. (See in our listing of copies.)

[10] Beneath the Virtues were tondi, each with two draped male figures, confronted as if in disputation (suggesting some such precedent as the Donatello doors of the Sagrestia Vecchia in S. Lorenzo) faded traces of these survive beneath the *Justice* and *Hope*. Beneath the *Annunciation to Zachary* is a restoration (of what was almost certainly, in the beginning, *garzone's* work) of a wide panel with two standing putti, who support a *cartellino* by means of swags pulled across their shoulders. Traces of a matching decoration exist beneath the *Presentation of the Head*.

[11] Borsook 1960, 163 observes that *spolveri* reappear in the later frescoes for incidents of complex or difficult postures or details. She notes that pouncing is also used to transfer the designs of Franciabigio's two frescoes. But she misunderstands the relation of Franciabigio to Andrea as that of an assistant, and she supposes that the pounced *Baptism*, because of the similarity in it of this technical device, is also by an assistant of Andrea's. Borsook incorrectly assumes the *Baptism* is of a relatively advanced date, 1515.

[12] A.S.F. Comp. Sopp. 1200/33, c. 180 and 197 (Shearman, 216): "che possiede alcuni segriti per ripulire le pitture in ogni genere . . . e pareva conveniente il fargli ripulire anco le Pitture tanto celebri di nostro Chiostro, che per nostra disgrazia, e per il tempo, o per accidenti si sono ridotti che a pena si discerne in molti luoghi massime, che si vi è pittura . . . tanto più che aveva fatto esperienze in quella di cantonata da capo a mano ritta per la parte della strada di mano di Franciabigio in un terzo della medesima . . . Deliberarono . . . e ordinarono che . . . [Viani] rilevare, e ripulire tutte le pitture del nostro Chiostro." Payments for the cleaning are found under dates 6 January and 28 February 1723, and on 6 January 1725. We have already indicated (note 4 above) that Panaiotti had been paid on 29 August 1724 to restore the friezes, and on 26 September to repaint and restore the "pitture basso" of the cortile.

[13] This judgment is too severe; Bottari makes it in the context of an observation on the cleaning of Pontormo's altar in S. Felicita, which he claims has been similarly ruined. Evidently, he misunderstood the peculiar coloristic intention of the S. Felicita altar, and may well have also misunderstood the effects originally intended by Andrea's grisailles.

[14] *Guida della Città di Firenze* (1828) 59.

[15] Fraenckel 1935, 211–212n39 gives further bibliography on the history of condition of the Scalzo frescoes, and see also Procacci 1955, 245.

[16] With a new and most successful procedure, which

retains much of the original variations of relief within the paint. The author is particularly indebted to Professor Tintori of the *Restauro* of the Florentine Soprintendenza ai Monumenti for allowing him to examine the six frescoes which at this writing have been detached, and for his advice on the condition of these and of the other Scalzo frescoes.

[17] Since the photographs taken before the present restoration adequately indicate the damage to each painting, we shall not catalogue this damage in detail in our subsequent discussion of the individual frescoes. The condition after restoration of those frescoes on which work has been completed, up to the date that this book went to press, is shown in Figs. 3, 4, [134, 135, 139].

[18] Documents first mentioned by Richa VII (1758), 208; more fully in Calvalucci 1873, 102–103; then by Milanesi in Vasari [1857] VIII, 502 ff. and [1880] V, 67 ff.

[19] Biadi 1829, 24–26 describes a "contract" between Andrea and the Confraternity for the painting of the Scalzo frescoes, which according to his description would have been made c. 1509, but no such document can be found.

[20] Two additional entries follow on the credit side of c. 83, one on 16 December 1523, in the amount of 56 lire 7 soldi, for payments for "legniame" (perhaps for scaffoldings, but also possibly for the benches that once ran beneath the painted basamenti of the cloister); but this entry, made by mistake as a credit, is cancelled and recorded as a debit on the same date. The second entry, also on 16 December, transfers the unpaid credit balance, also of 56 lire 7 soldi, to another sheet, c. 106.

[21] Withdrawals against these credits, including the carryover from c. 83, continue to 4 September 1526. On 4 October 1531 a further credit is recorded on c. 106, to Andrea's estate, in the name of his brother Domenico, and in the amount of 26 lire 10 soldi. This is paid out on c. 156.

[22] C. and G. Thiem 1961, 38n62 still take the document of 30 October 1516 as applying to the atticae above the north wall.

[23] The following documents, which refer to Franciabigio's activity in the cloister, are given with some errors by Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 194–195n3.

[24] Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 69 transcribes two withdrawals on c. 30, under date 19 August 1520 and 6 December 1521, each in the amount of 21 lire, and implies they may be construed as payments for Virtues unspecified by name in the records. For our remark on the incorrectness of this construction, see above, p. 11.

[25] For accessory matter only; for studies for the narratives and Virtues, see under their separate catalogue entries.

[26] C. and G. Thiem 1961, 28 make the hesitant suggestion that Uffizi no. 1010E, there attributed to Giovanni da Udine, may be connected with the planning of the grotesque designs in the Scalzo; but this sheet has no relation to Sarto or his school.

[27] Richa VII (1758) 208 refers to records in the Scalzo archives of permissions, granted in 1567 and 1622, to copy the Scalzo frescoes. From these records it appears that it was necessary to solicit the permission to make copies from the Grand Duke.

[28] C. and G. Thiem 1960, 192–195 publish a drawing in Oxford, Ashmolean no. 680, as by Franciabigio, and preparatory to the ornamental parts of the decoration. The drawing contains a potpourri of motives studied from the existing narratives and the accessory decoration, and is a pastiche by a late sixteenth-century or, even, a seventeenth-century hand. It shows no trace of Franciabigio's style. That it is after the frescoes, not for them, can be established by objective evidence as well as by the evidence of style.

The following are sets of drawings made after the frescoes (copies after single frescoes only are listed under the later, separate entries in this catalogue): Paris, Louvre 1737, –8, –9, 1740 (two sheets), 1742, 1743 (three sheets) [1740 and 1743 by the same hand; probably Federico Zuccaro], 1744 (two sheets), 1750–1, –2, –5, –6, 1760, –5, –6, –7, –9, 1770, 1773. Rotterdam, Boymans Museum, Koenigs Collection 112, 113r and v, 114r and v, 368r and v, 373. Fröhlich-Bum 1928, 164–170 incorrectly assigned these Rotterdam studies to Andrea as preparatory studies. Fraenckel 1935, 145 gives them as copies. Berenson [1938] no. 1761A attributes them to Naldini, correctly; they are free improvisations from the frescoes rather than exact copies. Vienna, Albertina SR 176, 180, 185, 193.

8A · 1509–1510. BAPTISM OF CHRIST. Florence, Chiostro dello Scalzo. Figs. [12, 13].

Fresco (grisaille), 194 x 211.

The tone of the grisaille is distinct from that of all the subsequent narratives in the cloister. There is a faint but perceptible reddish-orange tint in the middle values, and there are touches of a lavender tone, to which Andrea is particularly partial, in the shadows; the lavender is perceptible also in the landscape.[1] The transfer of the design to the wall is by pouncing.

Vasari 1550, 735–736, as Andrea's first painting in the Scalzo, in sequence before the Benizzi frescoes: "Ragunavasi in Fiorenza sopra la casa del magnifico Ottaviano de Medici dirimpetto a l'orto di San Marco una compagnia chiamata lo Scalzo, titolata in San Giovanni Batista, murata in que' dì da molti artefici Fiorentini: et fra l'altre cose che eglino ci avevan fatte di muraglia, era un cortile murato d'intorno di colonne non molto grande, et ancora ch'eglino fussin poveri di danari, erano ricchi d'animo. Là onde vedendo alcuni di loro che Andrea perveniva in grado nell'arte della pittura, ordinaron fra loro che facessi intorno a detto chiostro in dodici quadri di chiaro et scuro, cioè di terretta in fresco, XII. istorie de la vita di San Giovan Batista. Per il che egli messovi mano, fece la prima quando San Giovanni battezza CHRISTO et la condusse con una diligenzia grande. Della quale istoria acquistò egli credito et fama tale che molte persone si voltarno a fargli fare opere: come a quello che stimavano dovere co'l tempo far que' fini onorati, et di nome, che prometteva il principio delle opere sue." Vasari 1568 [1880] V, 9 gives the same account. Borghini [1807] II, 215, as Andrea's first independent work. Bocchi [1677] 475: ". . . di mano di Andrea . . . negli anni più verdi . . ." Reumont 1835, 15–19 as the earliest work we know by Andrea, c. 1510?. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 163 were the first to suggest this fresco might be a collaboration between Andrea and Franciabigio. Janitschek 1879, 24 denies Franciabigio's participation. Scott 1881, 77–78 follows Crowe and Cavalcaselle, and from an indication which they did not exactly specify, derives a dating in 1509. Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 9n3, 67 asserts the decoration of the cloister was begun with this fresco in 1514 (but gives no evidence for this assertion); however, 22n1 states the frescoes were begun c. 1511. Wölfflin [1952] 160 considers the fresco Andrea's wholly and dates it 1511. Guinness 1899, 90–93 as a collaboration, 1509–1510. Berenson [1938] I, 275 assigns the figures entirely to Franciabigio. He nevertheless believes Andrea's work in the Scalzo may have been begun, in collaboration with Franciabigio, as early as 1509. Schaeffer 1904, 26–27 by Andrea, 1511. Knapp 1907, 28–30, 131 dates the fresco 1511 and assigns the figure of the Baptist to Franciabigio, speculating that it may be later than Andrea's portions of the painting. Knapp indicates accurately the extent of Andrea's dependence for a model of composition on Verrocchio's *Baptism* in the Uffizi. Escher 1922, 242 dates the fresco 1511 and sees Franciabigio as the author of John Baptist. Sinibaldi 1925*a*, 14 considers the entire fresco Franciabigio's work and dates it 1514. Venturi 1925, 435–436 states that the fresco was commissioned to Andrea in 1514 but executed wholly by Franciabigio. Fraenckel 1935, 35–36, 150, 212n41 considers it a collaboration of c. 1512. Fraenckel notes that the types of the angel and St. John seem to derive from Ghirlandaio's *Baptism of Christ* (S. M. Novella), and the landscape forms from the Lorenzo di Credi altar of the same subject, then in the chapel of the Scalzo. She finds the figure of Christ influenced in structure and rhythmic effect by Andrea Sansovino's group on the Florence Baptistry. Berenson [1932] 210 lists this as Franciabigio but changes his earlier opinion of the date to "after 1514." Comandè 1952, 43 ff., by Franciabigio; so also C. and G. Thiem 1961, 27. Freedberg 1961, 217.

A technical fact supports our placing this first Scalzo fresco before the beginning of the Benizzi series. This fresco, alone among the Scalzo paintings, employs the cautious and archaic device of pouncing to transfer the design to the wall. In the Benizzi frescoes (as in the later Scalzo works) the design is, in all instances, traced, not pounced. The technique of painting in this *Baptism* is, further, still much like that in the two primitive frescoes for Or San Michele and evidently less confident than that in the first frescoes in the Annunziata. The paint has been applied, for the most part, with a thin and rather timid stroke. We have remarked the very close relation in the types and in drapery motives of the angels between the *Baptism* and the two preceding frescoes. It may also be observed that the stressed musculature (visible in the arms of the angels of the Or San Michele frescoes and here in the body of the Christ), and the squat and rather awkward proportion of anatomy, diminish after this; they are less and less to be found from the first fresco of the Benizzi series, the *Healing of the Obsessed Girl*, onward.

Another technical observation must be made: it particularly concerns the attempts in the literature to divide the execution of this fresco between Andrea and Franciabigio, and to assign the Baptist especially to the latter. The lower body of the Baptist and the whole body of the Christ are contained within a single seam of plaster.[2] Beyond this technical indication of the indivisibility of work among the figures in the *Baptism*, it should be noted that there are no such disparities of style so marked as to require explanation by the intervention of a second hand. There are inconsistencies, but these are of a young personality in rapid evolution, not the result of two personalities. If, as the proponents of a role for Franciabigio generally admit, the angels and the Christ are all three by Andrea, then the Baptist must be given to Andrea too; there is no detail that differs from the Baptist to the Christ (cf. the drawing of the heads, the hands, the feet, the modelling of the anatomy). We have an adequate knowledge of Franciabigio's personal manner about this time [3] and nothing in it conforms to what the figure of the Baptist shows, in whole structure or in detail.

[1] We have observed (see p. 12 above) that the framing pilasters of this fresco, and all three *atticae* on this wall, share this orange tint, and are on this account probably contemporaneous in execution.

[2] Further major seams enclose: (a) the upper body and the head of the Baptist; (b) the head of Christ; (c) the bodies of both angels; (d) their heads and wings.

The rate of painting is somewhat slower here than it becomes in the later frescoes; there, there is, on the rough average, a "day's work" per major figure.

[3] See Freedberg 1961, 222–223.

9 · 1510. FIVE EPISODES FROM THE LIFE OF S. FILIPPO BENIZZI. Florence, SS. Annunziata, atrium. Figs. [14–19].

Frescoes, in the order of the narrative: [1] *Clothing of the Leper*, 364 x 303; *Punishment of the Gamblers*, 360 x 304; *Healing of the Obsessed Girl*, 364 x 300; *Funeral of St. Philip*, 362 x 307; *Healing by St. Philip's Relics*, 386 x 381; this last fresco dated 1510.[2]

All the frescoes are moderately damaged by flaking, cracking, and humidity, but legibility is nowhere significantly impaired.[3] A general restoration of all the frescoes in the courtyard was undertaken in 1833 by Domenico della Potestà.[4]

In the *Clothing of the Leper* the monks foreground are in a faded blue-grey; where they appear in the distance of the fresco their garments bleach toward light grey. The beggar in the foreground wears a light tan shirt with a violet belt; he carries a grey-green bag with a blue strap. In the distance he wears only a middle violet cloth. The sky shades from pale blue-white into pale lilac, with touches of pale salmon pink, dull violet, and dull red-gold in the clouds. The landscape shades from light grey-green through yellow-green into a blue-grey mountainous distance. The foreground is in various light browns. In the *Gamblers* the landscape is as in the *Clothing* but in somewhat darker tone. A dull red-orange shaft of fire comes down from the grey-blue storm clouds. The figures of the gamblers are in pale madder, burnt orange, pale lilac, green, yellow- and orange-gold, and reddish orange. The monks wear habits of grey-blue. In the *Obsessed Girl* the architecture is in a faded lilac tone, except for the white "sculptured" spandrels on it. Through the opening to the rear we see a light green landscape. The ground before the architecture is greenish. The figures to the left of the central group are, from left to right, in yellow-gold with red touches, light lavender, pale brick red, and the monks in blue-grey; in the central group the obsessed girl wears a cold lilac dress with pale orange sleeves, and is surrounded by figures in deep red, pale blue-green, and blue-violet. The figures to the right of the central group are in cherry red, pale green, blue and red, yellow-gold, red and light blue-violet, light green and yellow-gold. In the *Funeral* the architecture is a greyish-tan, with the articulating features in pale lilac tone. Except for the monks, who are as usual in blue-grey, the other figures left to right wear: light green and light red; red-violet and grey-blue; pale blue-violet, orange, and green; white, pale red and faded blue-violet; orange and lilac; red and brown; yellow-orange over white and lavender. The pillow beneath St. Philip's head is a faded salmon; the covering of the bier is grey-blue. In the *Relics* the center architecture is a pale tan; the walls left and right a neutral violet; the ground to the front a very pale pinkish-brown tone. Left to right, the figures are in: white; pale lilac; brick red; orange-gold and blue; white, light green and light blue-violet; dark blue-grey; white, yellow, and lilac; white and light blue; light green and lilac; blue-grey, light blue, and lilac; blue-violet, lilac, and light blue; reddish-orange; pale brick red.

A.S.F. Conv. Sopp. 119 (SS. Annunziata di Firenze) 59, no. 19 (Notizie delle cose memorabili del convento e della chiesa della Nunziata . . . scritte del P. Maestro Eliseo Biffoli) [written 1587] informs us without date, but just preceding a notice dated 1511 (referring to Andrea's later frescoes here) that "Andre d'Agnolo detto del Sarto pittore ecc^{mo} dipinse tutte quell'altre historie dopo quella d'Alesso fino alla porta grande che va fuori e n'hebbe scudi X dell'una da f. Mariano." [5]

The Benizzi frescoes mentioned in the *Libro di Antonio Billi*, 51: ". . . et più storie nel chiostro della Nunziata, et per le altre . . . Sto Filippo . . ." ; also referred to in the *Codex Magliabechiano*, 108. Vasari 1550, 737–739 tells the story of the manipulations by which Fra Mariano, a sacristan of the convent, induced Andrea to accept the commission for continuing the work left unfinished by Cosimo Rosselli, at the price of ten ducats for each story. Vasari asserts that Andrea first painted the three frescoes on the side wall (the *Clothing*, the *Gamblers* and the *Obsessed Girl*) and then "inanimato per la lode," continued with the two further episodes (the *Funeral* and the *Relics*). He observes that Andrea della Robbia and Luca, his son, are portrayed in the *Relics*, and Girolamo della Robbia in the *Funeral*. The same account is given in Vasari 1568 [1880] V, 10–13. Bocchi [1677] 419–423; Baldinucci [1769] IV, 188–191; Richa VIII (1759) 60; Biadi 1829, 26–27; Reumont 1835, 28–29. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 165 imply a beginning date in 1509, and recognize the terminal date as that on the *Relics*. Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 12n1 and 66–67 also dates the frescoes 1509–1510.[6] Guinness 1899, 85–86, follows Crowe and Cavalcaselle and Milanesi, as do Knapp 1907, 18–27, 130, Sinibaldi 1925, 7–8 and Venturi 1925, 520–528. Knapp stresses the connections of the frescoes with antecedent art in Florence; Sinibaldi suggests an analogy in temper to Raphael's art; Venturi more specifically asserts the influence of Raphael's style from the frescoes of the Stanza della Segnatura [ignoring, apparently, the chronological circumstances, which would virtually certainly preclude such an influence]. Fraenckel 1935, 20–27, 135–138, 204n22, 205n23, cites only the terminal date, 1510, and regards these frescoes as the earliest certain works of Andrea. She is the first to differ with the order of execution given in Vasari's account, and places the dated fresco, the *Relics*, earliest in the series, and the *Gamblers* second; she does not specify the order further. She sees an actual intervention of Franciabigio in several places in these frescoes [despite the fact that the circumstances of Andrea's commission, as Vasari recounts them, would eliminate all reasonable likelihood of their collaboration in this series]. Fraenckel much exaggerates the degree of overpainting in these frescoes. Wagner 1951, 9, 37–40, accepts the dating 1509–1510, and would see an influence (as yet indirect) of contemporary and of Quattrocento architectural style in the settings. Paatz [1955] I, 93, 152nn179–183. Freedberg 1961, 218–221.

The order we propose for Andrea's execution of the Benizzi frescoes is as follows: (1) the *Obsessed Girl* (2) the *Funeral* (3) the *Relics* (4) the *Gamblers* (5) the *Clothing*. For the considerations that support a development, within the frescoes, in this order, see our exposition in the text, p. 8 ff. If the dated *Relics* is taken as the third painting in the series, it could be assumed that the *Obsessed Girl*, at the beginning of the series, may be dated also within the same year. The last episode in the series (by our account), the *Clothing*, moves in style in the direction of the S. Salvi tondi and the *Adoration of the Kings* of 1511, but not enough to require that we advance the last parts of Andrea's work on the Benizzi frescoes into that year.[7]

PREPARATORY STUDIES

FLORENCE, Uffizi no. 270F. Head of a woman in profile to the right. Black chalk, 36 x 21.5. Fig. 27.

Correctly identified by Knapp 1907, 124, 133 for the head of the woman standing left of the altar in the *Relics*. Di Pietro 1911, 8 asserts that the drawing is after a lost study by Andrea for the fresco, and considers the copyist is certainly Sogliani. Venturi 1925, 528n1, as Knapp. Fraenckel 1935, 186 considers the drawing by Sogliani, copying Andrea's fresco, and destined by Sogliani for use in the *Noli Me Tangere* which she believes is his rather than Andrea's. Berenson [1938] no. 108B (not in 1903) feels the study may be connected with the *Noli Me Tangere*; he remarks on the closeness of style to Franciabigio. Berenson [1961] considers the association with the woman in the *Relics* more probable.

The gravely damaged condition of the sheet prevents conclusive judgment, but all visible indices are in favor of its originality.

——— no. 309F. Nude male standing, in hunched posture to the right. Red chalk (pieced out to) 41.2 x 11.2. Fig. 28.

Knapp 1907, 133 attributes it to Andrea, for the figure in the background of the Benizzi *Gamblers*, but di Pietro 1911, 9 properly cannot find the relation Knapp suggests. He believes, however, this may be a copy of a lost drawing, of which the original was used for one of the Benizzi frescoes, which he does not specify. Fraenckel 1935, 72 considers the sheet original and says it was used, but not exactly, in either the Benizzi *Clothing* or the *Obsessed Girl.* Presently catalogued in the Cabinet as anonymous sixteenth-century Florentine.

The drawing is not a copy: as Fraenckel indicated, its modelling, built up in layers, would not be imitated by a copyist. The pose of the figure is close to that of the leper to the left rear in the *Clothing*, where, however, it is used in reverse; this would be a model study for which Uffizi 310F, in which the figure is exactly as it appears in the fresco, was substituted. The *trait* here, as might be expected in a less deliberate drawing than the finished study 310F, is broader than there and less stylized, but sufficiently like. The mode of drawing compares well with that in such a sheet of 1511 as Lugt Collection J5085v. for the *Adoration* of the Annunziata.

——— no. 310F. Nude man facing left, in a hunched posture, his hand held out in supplication. Red chalk, 38.5 x 12.9 (repaired at top). Fig. 29.

Ferri 1893, 136 for "uno dei lebbrosi" in the Benizzi frescoes. Jacobsen 1898, 278 for the Benizzi frescoes. Knapp 1907, 133 for the *Clothing.* Not discussed by either Fraenckel or Berenson, and now catalogued in the Uffizi as a copy.

May be for the figure of the leper in the left middle distance of the *Clothing.* A somewhat fumbling study, but an original one, which compares in every respect with the other certain drawings by Andrea of this early time. It should be observed that the very *pentimenti* that result from Andrea's hesitations support the character of originality in the sheet. A copy of the drawing is on Uffizi no. 14429 (red chalk, 38.6 x 16); its deficiencies relieve the comparative quality of the present drawing.[8]

PARIS, Louvre no. 1689. Nude male facing left, seen from the side and rear. Red chalk, 39.5 x 19.5. Fig. [20].

Identified by Berenson [1938] no. 151 as a study for the half-clothed figure, fourth from the right, in the Benizzi *Obsessed Girl.* The identification is repeated in the subsequent literature, for which see Bacou 1955, no. 33.

A drawing of extraordinary energy, reflective almost certainly of Andrea's study of the Cascina Cartoon; its linear vigor is in contrast to the more tentative draughtsmanship of Uffizi 310F.

The vocabulary and technique of these two studies is different in just such degree as would be required by our assumption that Uffizi 310F is for the later fresco, and the present drawing for the earliest of the series. The shift in drawing style, to a less linear and more sfumato technique, is like that in the painting of the frescoes.

COPY AFTER LOST PREPARATORY DRAWING (?)

CAMBRIDGE, Fogg Art Museum, Loeser Bequest no. 138. Nearly nude male figure in a crouching attitude to the right. Red chalk, 39 x 24.5.

Berenson [1938] no. 55D, by Andrea, probably for the nude leper in the Benizzi *Clothing*; Cat. Fogg Museum 1946, no. 176, as Berenson [1938]. Berenson [1961] specifies that he would associate the sheet with one of the appearances of the leper in the second plane of the fresco.

In reverse direction from the corresponding figure in the fresco, upper left in the middle plane, but such reversal occurs also in certain preparatory studies for the slightly later *Adoration of the Kings* (cf. Lugt Collection J5085v). The sheet may copy such a reversed study by Andrea, now lost, but it may also be a free imitation after the fresco itself. The facile, somewhat rubbery, line has no analogy in Andrea's certain early drawings, and suggests the hand of a draughtsman of the next generation, already mannered.[9]

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[1] The first episode of the history of the saint, his taking the Servite habit, had been painted by Cosimo Rosselli c. 1475; cf. Paatz [1955] I, 150n178.

[2] S. Filippo Benizzi, born 1233, died 1285, was a major early figure in the history of the Servite order; he was canonized in 1671 (cf. Reumont 1835, 26).

Bocchi [1677] 419–422 gives the subject matter of the episodes in detail; so also Reumont 1835, 29 ff.

[3] Baldinucci [1771] X, 63–64, in his *Life* of Passignano recounts that a hole was punched in one fresco by a careless workman, so that two heads fell; their fragments were pieced together and skillfully restored by Passignano (1626). The same story is repeated (but without identifying the restorer) by Bottari, in Borghini [1807] I, xix and by later authors. The damage here referred to is precisely identifiable: it is to the two heads at far left of the *Funeral*.

[4] Paatz [1955] I, 92.

[5] Cited by Biadi 1829, 27; repeated by Reumont 1835, 28–29. The content of this *memoriale* repeated in 119/59, no. 5, c. 23r.

Biadi 26–27 also cites a *memoriale* as above, dated 16 June 1511, which reads "Andrea cominciò le pitture nel chiostrino," but no such record can be found. Biadi had alleged his (unfindable) record must apply to the beginning of the Benizzi series. In any case, the painted date, 1510, on the *Healing by St. Philip's Relics*, shows no sign of alteration and must be taken as definitive for the Benizzi frescoes. Reumont 37n1, trying to reconcile Biadi's alleged *memoriale* with the inscribed date on the *Relics*, cannot do so, and wonders if "das letzte 'I,' welches im schatten eines Randes stehen musste, durch einen Zufall erloschen ist."

[6] Milanesi does not cite the *memoriale* given by Biadi (see note 5 above) in connection either with the Benizzi frescoes or the *Adoration of the Kings*; but Scott 1881, 82 uncritically reuses it, and thus gives a date for the Benizzi series in 1511.

[7] Prof. Creighton Gilbert has indicated that it is his opinion that the order I proposed for the execution of the three frescoes with architectural backgrounds is supported by the character the architecture shows in each: quattrocento Florentine in the *Obsessed Girl*, Bramantesque in the *Funeral*, and an original synthesis in the *Relics*. Prof. Gilbert's view of the character of this architecture, and of the principles of style that appear in the later *Adoration of the Magi*, requires that by 1510 Andrea would have had to know Raphael's *Disputà*, at least, among the Segnatura frescoes: a possible hypothesis for the time of Andrea's disputed experience of Rome.

[8] Uffizi 284F, in our estimation a copy, has been associated by Knapp 1907, 134 with the *Clothing*, but belongs rather with the Scalzo *Baptism of the Multitude*, q.v.

[9] Dr. John Shearman has informed the author that Mr. Popham has considered that Salviati might be responsible for this drawing. Also, the drawing in Milan, Rasini Collection (formerly Dubini Collection?), of the mother standing, holding a child, at left in the *Relics* (red chalk, 22.5 x 14), by a good late sixteenth-century or early seventeenth-century hand, may be a free rendering rather than a copy of a lost drawing by Andrea, but it may also be freely taken from the fresco.

The following are copies in drawing after the frescoes: Florence, Uffizi 14444F (the woman kneeling right on the steps in the *Relics*). Holkham Hall, portfolio IV, 19, after the *Obsessed Girl*, red chalk, 28 x 44, by Naldini?. Paris, Louvre 1734, after the right figure of the *Funeral*; 1747, after the *Gamblers*. Sold Paris, Drouot, 27 June 1927, no. 13, from the figure left on the steps in the *Relics* (red chalk, 35.5 x 19.5); sold Tunbridge Wells, Craddock and Barnard, n.d., no. 285, the three monks right in the *Gamblers*. Vienna, Albertina, SR 67, after the half-nude figure toward the right in the *Obsessed Girl*; SR 109, after the beggar seated on the steps in the *Relics*; SR 112, after the *Funeral*.

10 · 1510. NOLI ME TANGERE. Florence, Uffizi no. 516. Figs. [21–22].

Panel, 176 x 155.

Darkened by old varnish to the point that precise condition cannot be assessed; but there is visible minor damage along the length of cracks in the panel to the left and right, in the drapery of the Magdalen, and in general toward the bottom edge of the panel. There are no major losses or any grossly obscuring restorations.

The Magdalen wears a greyed-green dress under a mantle of middle red; she has a gold fillet and belt. The garment of Christ is greyed blue-white. The foreground, and the landscape in general, now appear brownish; dark green foliage at left.

Painted for the church of S. Gallo, and on the destruction of the church (in the Siege of Florence, 1529) transferred to S. Jacopo tra' Fossi. When the latter church was disaffected the picture came to the Academy, in 1849.[1] From 1875 exhibited in the Uffizi, but since World War II held in the deposit.

Mentioned in the *Codex Magliabechiano* 109, in S. Jacopo tra' Fossi. Vasari 1550, 736 describes the painting as still from the period of partnership with Franciabigio, and in sequence following the *Baptism of Christ* in the Scalzo, but preceding the Benizzi series: "Erasi in quel tempo murato, fuor della porta a San Gallo, la chiesa di San Gallo, a frati Eremitani osservanti, del ordine di Santo Agostino: et andavano ogni giorno faccendo fare a padroni per le nuove cappelle della chiesa tavole di pittura. Et così fu fatto dar principio a Andrea, che ne fece una di CHRISTO, quando in forma d'ortolano apparisce a Maria Magdalena, et di colorito condusse tutta quell'opera, con una morbidezza molto unitamente, et dolce per tutto. La quale fu cagione ch'egli in ispazio di tempo, ne fece poi altre due. Et detta tavola è posta oggi al canto a gli Alberti, in San Iacopo fra fossi." The same account appears in Vasari 1568 [1880] V, 9–10. Borghini [1807] II, 215. Bocchi [1677] 305: ". . . fatta negli anni più verdi;" in San Jacopo. Richa I (1754) 271 in the Cappella dei Morelli in S. Jacopo. Biadi 1829, 27, 140–141n1. Reumont 1835, 24–25, *Verz.*, 1510?, the color "sehr nachgedunkelt." Guinness 1899, 82, 101, a work of 1508–1509. Knapp 1907, 31, 129 dates it c. 1510; he compares the composition with Schongauer's engraving B. 26. Sinibaldi 1925*a*, 6 c. 1509–1510; she observes the closeness of Andrea's manner here to that of Franciabigio. For Venturi 1925, 517–520, this is Andrea's earliest surviving work; he asserts Franciabigio's influence. Fraenckel 1935, 97–98, 165 by an imitator of the second decade; on p. 186 she asserts this may be by Sogliani and repeats this assertion in her article on Sarto in Thieme-Becker 1935, 474. Paatz [1955] II, 419, a shop-piece. Freedberg 1961, 221–222.

More fluent in form, more finely controlled in drawing and in manipulation of the modelling light than in the comparable elements (the Christ, the leftmost angel) of the Scalzo *Baptism*. A close counterpart in almost all respects of style (including the ordered deliberation of the composition) would seem to be in the dated *Relics* of the Benizzi series. The type of the Magdalen is close to that of the woman standing left of the altar in that fresco.[2] The Magdalen's quality of posture suggests that of the kneeling woman in the fresco, and the pondered grace with which Christ moves appears first there. Compare his effect of stance, and his drapery also, with that of the figure standing back to us, right, in the *Relics*. Christ's type, and the manner of painting in his head, suggests the standing spectator second right from the altar. In this panel there is, also, a logic of perspective that does not appear earlier than the *Relics* fresco. The connections with this fresco are numerous and close, but the figures of the panel convey yet more of an effect of deliberated posture and conscious fluency of form, like that in the subsequent Benizzi paintings, and brings to mind the same qualities, apparent in much higher degree, in the *Tobias* altar of 1511.

A predella (with three panels, showing Sts. Helen, Jerome, and Rosa?) formerly attached to this altarpiece[3] was removed in the 1890's. It is by a later hand, probably of the 1540's; the author is not identifiable. It may be assumed that an original predella, if it in fact existed, was supplanted by this second predella when the picture was transferred from S. Gallo to S. Jacopo, and the saints of the original predella became inappropriate to the new altar.[4]

[1] Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 9, 10n1.

Baldinucci [1769] IV, 187–188 had reported falsely that the picture had been transferred to the Ducal collections, and is corrected by Moreni 1792, II, 37. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 171 describe the painting as being rumored to exist in a private church in the Casentino; their error is corrected by their editor in this edition (*ibid.*, n3). Scott 1881, 80 imitates Crowe and Cavalcaselle.

[2] Berenson [1938] no. 101B has observed the likeness of the preparatory study for the head in the fresco, Uffizi 270F, with that of the Magdalen here.

[3] The predella illustrated in Alinari photograph 1045.

[4] See our observation about the distant possibility of an association between this altar and the predella now in the Borghese, under our catalogue entry no. 3, n. 3.

11 · (1510–) 1511. PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG MAN. Alnwick Castle, Duke of Northumberland. Fig. [23].

Panel, 70 x 51.

The panel has apparently been cut down slightly at the sides. Somewhat rubbed, but condition is in general satisfactory. An inscription on the letter at left has been damaged and incorrectly remade. An inscription on the rear of the panel describes it as "Andrea del Sarto dipinto da se medēmo.[1] The inscription on the letter now reads "Al di [secondo di Iunio (?)]/Andrea di/del Sarto pictore/(Flo) rentia." [2] The "secondo di Iunio" in the first line is uncertain, and in the second and third lines only the "Andrea" is authentic; illegible traces of the original writing can be seen beneath the restored words.

The sitter wears a plum-colored jerkin with violet sleeves, grey-trimmed. The stonework on which he leans is grey. The sky pale blue; the clouds touched with pink and lilac.[3]

In the Braschi Collection, Rome, in the early years of the nineteenth century. Bought by the painter Vincenzo Camuccini 1811; to the fifth Duke of Northumberland 1856, with the rest of the Camuccini Collection.

Remarked by Waagen 1857, 467 as an alleged self-portrait ". . . rather small and tame in conception, and glassy in surface, for this master." Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 164 doubt that it is a self-portrait and observe it is "somewhat empty . . . timidly drawn." They compare it with the Benizzi frescoes, and consider an attribution to Andrea more likely than one to Franciabigio. Scott 1881, 85 entertains the possibility that this portrait might be by Franciabigio. Berenson 1904, 158 has ascribed it to Puligo, and persisted in this attribution in the *Lists*, 1932, 474; 1936, 408. Exhibited London, Royal Academy, "Italian Art and Britain," 1960, no. 89; there it was catalogued by Waterhouse as by Andrea, though not a self-portrait, and dated c. 1508–1510. Shearman 1960*a* 58–59 correctly affirms this traditional attribution, and dates the painting, also correctly, "soon after 1510."

The resemblances of style and of quality of expression in this portrait to Andrea's works of 1510 are numerous (the heads, e.g., of the *Funeral* or of the *Relics* of the Benizzi series; the head of Christ in the *Noli Me Tangere*) but there are still more cogent likenesses in works that date in 1511. Compare the heads of the *Adoration of the Kings*, and more particularly, the *Tobias* altar in Vienna, where heads, hands, and drapery style all relate to what we find here. The breadth and softness of the drapery style especially are more than in any of the works that surely date still within 1510. In general effect of style, and in detail, the portrait seems close to the tondi of S. Salvi. The head in the portrait almost approaches, in its subtlety of sfumato modelling and its flexibility of drawing, the triune head of the topmost tondo in the convent.

We suggest in our text volume (p. 12) a relation of the Alnwick picture to the portrait of a man by Franciabigio in the Louvre (no. 1644) different from that assumed by Shearman 1960*a*, 61. While Shearman would date the Franciabigio later (c. 1512) than Andrea's similar painting, we consider the Franciabigio to be precedent, and take it as a work of his Raphaelesque moment, c. 1509.

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[1] Obviously, considering the authentic self-portrait left by Andrea in the *Adoration of the Kings*, 1511, this cannot be a self-portrait also.

[2] As transcribed and commented upon by Shearman 1960*a*, 58.

[3] The color description after Shearman 1960*a*, 60–61.

12 · 1511. THE ARCHANGEL RAPHAEL, TOBIAS, ST. LEONARD, AND A DONOR (*Tobias Altar*). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum no. 650, inv. 182. Fig. [24].

Panel, 178 x 153, arched top.

The flesh tones in particular seem to be abraded, but are not. They were originally very lightly painted and now seem to have been partly absorbed into the ground. There are pervasive minor losses, and significant areas of loss in the neck of the donor and in the neck of Tobias. The draperies and the background in general are in fair state.[1]

The donor, brown-haired, wears a light red mantle over a dress that shades from blue-grey into plum. St. Leonard is in a light rose-colored dress over a white shirt; he has a dark blue collar; the band across the front of his garment, his cuffs, and the tassels hanging from his collar are green. Raphael has a mauve shirt under a light green drapery; below this drapery, the garment on his lower legs is *changeant* from mauve to lilac. His wings are blue-black with orange-brown edges. Tobias' hat is the same in color as the shirt of the angel. His shirt is dull blue with a greyish sash; his sleeves are *changeant* from plum to mustard-yellow. The tan-colored fish is held in a whitish scarf. Tobias' stockings are tomato red; his boots are mauve with yellow-white cuffs and blue laces. The landscape shades from grey-green in the foreground through a transparent brown, and in the distance becomes blue-green and blue. The sky is an intense middle blue, with grey and lilac-shadowed clouds. At the top of the picture, the figure of God the Father is in blue and cranberry-color; he is relieved against a yellow aureole of light.

To the Belvedere in Vienna in 1792, by exchange from the Medici collections in Florence.[2]

Cited in A.S.F. Inv. Med. 525, Inventario del R. Palazzo de' Pitti, 1637, c. 43, under date 3 March: "Un quadro in tavola entrovi dipinto l'angiolo Raffaello, e Tubbia con due altre fig^{re} di mano d'Andrea del Sarto con ornam^{to} grande tutto intag^{to} con Cherubino frontespitio e cartella da piè alto Br. 5¾ e largo Br. 5 e ½ . . ."[3]

Cat. Vienna (Belvedere) 1796, I, 35, 141 as an original work of Andrea; so also Lanzi [1824] I, 206. Reumont 1835, 210 observes that the painting seems at one time to have been considered in the Belvedere as a work of Santi di Tito. Cat. Vienna (Belvedere) 1853, 35 as a work of Andrea or his school. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 196 accept it still for Andrea. Waagen 1866, I, 61, no. 4, referring to an older opinion of his, of 1839, reassigned the picture to Puligo. Not in Guinness 1899, Berenson 1896, Knapp 1907, or Fraenckel 1935. Berenson [1932], 19, [1936] 17 accepts the painting as Andrea's. Berenson correctly designates the saint left as Leonard (rather than Lawrence, as it is given in the literature generally).[4] Shearman 1960*a*, 61n12[5] assigns the painting to Andrea wholly, and dates it c. 1511. Freedberg 1961, 242 places this work too late, 1513–1514, and incorrectly considers most of its execution is by Puligo.

A close relation between this painting and the time of execution of the *Adoration of the Magi*, in 1511, is implied strongly, though not proved, by the fact that the study for the head of the donor here (Paris, Lugt Collection, see below) has on its verso a study we can identify as being for the fresco in the Annunziata. Points of contact with the *Adoration* in the painting style are numerous: in general heaviness of proportion of the forms, in quality of stance, in fullness of the draperies, and in the types. Compare the drapery of the old King in the *Adoration* with that of Raphael here, and Raphael's head with that of the young King in the fresco. For the head of the Tobias there is a series of connections we may make in the fresco, beginning with the Moor at left and the figure just to his rear. The donor portrait in the altar suggests some measure of comparison with the mode of painting in the frescoed Sansovino. For the special quality of expression in the faces of the altar, there are parallels among the accessory heads to the right in the *Adoration*. However, for all these connections, it is likely that the *Tobias* altar precedes the *Adoration*. It may be observed, first, that in respect of quality of expression, as well as in sfumato, the St. Leonard and the Raphael suggest the portrait at Alnwick. In that portrait (as in some parts of the *Adoration*) there is an idiosyncratic way of painting in the hands that is also markedly evident in the altar.

More even than the heads in the altar suggest those in the *Adoration* they resemble, as the Alnwick portrait does, those in the S. Salvi tondi, painted earlier in 1511 than the Annunziata fresco. And when the style of drapery in *Tobias* is considered, it is evident there is a more specific resemblance to the manner at S. Salvi than to that in the *Adoration*. In fact, the relative simplicity and smoothness of drapery patterns brings to mind that of the *Noli Me Tangere* of 1510. These elements affirm the persistent connection, in the *Tobias* altar, with the style of that picture of the preceding year: compare the postures of the Archangel and the Christ, the profiles of Tobias and the Magdalen, the head of God the Father and that of the risen Christ, and the distant landscape forms. All this would seem to point, for the *Tobias* altar, to a moment within 1511 at latest contemporary with the first phase of the S. Salvi decoration, or even antecedent to it.

There are some peculiarities of drawing in the *Tobias* altar, and a special quality of color, that invite criticisms, and explanation by an assistant's presence in the execution. However, contrary to the opinion we formerly expressed (1961, 242), we think these peculiarities Andrea's; and we now find comparable matter in the other approximately contemporary works.[6]

PREPARATORY STUDIES

PARIS, Institut Néerlandais, Lugt Collection no. J5085. *Recto*, study for the head of the donor. Black chalk, 31.5 x 23. Fig. [25]. *Verso*, study for *Procession of the Magi* (q.v. under our catalogue entry no. 14).

From the Lely, Richardson, Lawrence, and Oppenheimer collections.

Published by Colvin, Vasari Society, ser. 1, 10:5 (1914/15) with its traditional attribution to Andrea, as a study for the head of St. John Evangelist in the *Assuntas* of the Pitti. Popham 1930, no. 204 and Berenson [1938] no. 129A (not in 1903) confirm the attribution to Andrea, but with a reserve as to Colvin's identification of the drawing's purpose. Popham dates the drawing c. 1521. Fraenckel 1935, 197 refuses the sheet to Andrea, and associates it with early drawings of heads that she considers to be by Sogliani as, e.g., Uffizi 270F (which we give to Sarto). The attribution properly maintained, and the correct identification, as here, made by Shearman 1959, 130n35. Berenson [1961] no. 159A–1 cites the verbal advice of this author (1957) of the association of the drawing with the Vienna painting.

Related in style and mood to the study (Plymouth) for the Gabriel of the S. Gallo altar, but finer in technique and in sensibility.

DERIVATIONS[7]

Formerly CORSHAM COURT, Lord Methuen. Panel, 36.8 x 25.4. From the Rev. Sanford Collection, in which it was inventoried 1838. Sold London, Christie's, 14 May 1920, to Stockbridge.[8] Untraced, but see (formerly) Paris, Brunner Collection.

FLORENCE, Galleria Corsini no. 113 (Cat. 1886). Copper, 37 x 27.

Reumont 1835, 210 as "from Andrea's school." Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 194.

——— Pitti no. 292. Panel, 41 x 27.

Reumont 1835, 210. Crowe and Cavalcaselle VI, 194. Berenson [1932] 17 as an early and unfinished school work.

Formerly NEW YORK, Public Library, Picture Gallery; sold Parke-Bernet Galleries, Paulding, *et al.* sale, 24 May 1944, no. 84. Canvas (transferred), 157 x 104.

Formerly PARIS, Brunner Collection. 36.2 x 25.4. Perhaps identical with the copy formerly at Corsham Court.[9]

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[1] The design not only drawn with the brush on the panel, but in part traced on with a stylus; an unusual procedure in Andrea's easel work, but which recalls his early habit in fresco, as in the Scalzo *Baptism of Christ.*

[2] For the details of this exchange, in which the *Tobias* altar was one only among a number of interesting pictures, see Cat. Vienna 1882, LXV ff.

[3] Unpublished. The measurements given evidently include the elaborate frame here described.

[4] Cf. Kaftal 1952, no. 186.

[5] Cited Cat. Vienna 1960, no. 650.

[6] The "faulty" passages are, conspicuously, in the hands and heads, which are the least likely to have been left to an assistant.

[7] All of the Archangel and Tobias only.

It may be speculated whether the cartoon for these two figures of the Vienna original was not reused to make a separate shop painting, which (rather than the larger altar itself) served as the model for these derivations.

[8] Nicolson 1955, 213.

[9] See also our entry in the catalogue of attributed paintings under Nancy (by Sogliani).

13 · 1511. Five Tondi: ST. BENEDICT, S. GIOVANNI GUALBERTO, S. SALVI, S. BERNARDO DEGLI UBERTI, AND A TRIUNE HEAD. Florence, S. Salvi. Figs. [26–30].

Frescoes, on the under-side of the arch, or narrow vault (width circa 2.30), that frames the later *Last Supper* in the former refectory of the convent. The tondo frames form part of a fictive architectural decoration of the vault; between the tondi are fields of grotesque ornament that should be attributed to a collaborator, Andrea di Cosimo Feltrini.

There is some damage by flaking and loss of paint, and by cracking of the plaster, especially in the two (upper) tondi of the bishop saints. There is no marked evidence of restoration in the figures, but the backgrounds of sky in the three upper tondi have been grossly overpainted with dark blue; this dark blue restoration has partly flaked away.

Color descriptions are given in clockwise order, from the tondo at the lower left: S. Giovanni Gualberto wears a brown Franciscan habit; his cross, halo, and staff are yellow-gold; the devil beneath his feet is of an orange tone. The clouds have a strong lilac tint. S. Bernardo degli Uberti[1] wears a brown habit over which is draped a light green cloak, gold-edged, and with a *revers* of dull rose over his right knee. The triune head is light in complexion, against a pale yellow aura ringed with lilac. S. Salvi wears a dull robe of pinkish-salmon over a gown of tone intermediate between pale brown and lilac. He carries a red cardinal's hat in his right hand. St. Benedict wears a brown robe, also with a lilac tinge; he carries a dull red book. The simulated architectural enframement is a white like that of stone, as are the grotesques; the grotesques are relieved against a background of orange-golden color.

A new reading of a known document, the *ricordo* of the commission for Andrea's *Last Supper* in S. Salvi (A.S.F. 88/3, Monasterio di S. Pancrazio, Giornale di S. Salvi dal 1525, segnato K, c. 7r)[2] may be applied to the present paintings. Heretofore the date of the commission, as it is recalled in this document, has been read as 15 June 1519. From careful collation with the first twenty-one pages of the journal in which the *ricordo* appears it is certain that the terminal number of this date must be read as a "1," not as a "9." The date of Andrea's original commission for the *Last Supper*, and thus, in all probability, also for its framing arch, was 1511.[3]

The *ricordo* should be transcribed as follows: "Ricordo come in sino adi 15 di giugno 1511 domino Ilario Pannichi allogò a Andrea Dagnolo dipintore a fare e dipignere uno cenaccolo ò vero mensa nel nostro refettorio con pacto e conventione come si vede in una scripta facto per loro sotto decto dì che ne debbe havere per decta dipintura fiorini trentotto larghi . . . F 38—."

In the margin beside the *ricordo*, in a later hand, is the entry: "valuta del cenacolo posto nell refettorio di San Salvi."

This *ricordo* makes no specific reference to the framing arch, but it should be observed that, as a *ricordo*, it is an abbreviation only of the "pacto e conventione" in the original "scripto facto per loro," which may have contained such a reference.[4] The wording of Vasari's text of 1568 [1880] V, 14 supports the idea that there was a single commission for the painting of both the arch and the later *Cena* fresco: " . . . gli furono allogati . . . per il monasterio di S. Salvi . . . l'arco d'una volta e la facciata per farvi un Cenacolo. . ." and when Vasari describes the later painting of the *Cena*, he speaks in terms of the resumption of work on an old commission that had included the framing arch ([1880] V, 47): "Erano stati i monaci di S. Salvi molti anni senza pensare che si mettese mano al loro Cenacolo, che avevano dato a fare ad Andrea, allora che fece l'arco con le quattro figure . . ."

The debit entries against the allocated sum follow after the *ricordo* on the same page. The first debit entry reads: "Hanne havuto di decto domine Ilario in più volte fiorini diciotto come si ve'[de] in decta scripta . . . F 18." The remaining entries that follow on this page refer entirely to payments which (as is established specifically by collation with other accounts on the preceding and following pages)[5] were made in 1526 and 1527, when, as Vasari 1550, 764 observes of the *Last Supper*: ". . . fra non molti mesi, lavorandone a suo piacere un pezzo per volta, lo finì." The usual presumption would be that the preceding payments, in the amount of 18 florins, received "in più volte" from the original commissioner, were for the part of the work painted at the time of that commission, i.e., for the tondi of the vault. However, this price may be more than a reasonable expectation for Andrea's painting of this space, when it is compared with the sums received by Andrea for other contemporary fresco work. It also does not seem in proper proportion with the sum of 20 florins that remains, of the whole contracted price of 38 florins, to pay for the painting of the *Cena* (though it should be noticed that in subsequent fact, as recorded in the disbursements of 1526 and 1527 to Andrea and to his *garzoni*, 24 florins, not 20, were paid out for the *Cena*). It may be supposed that some part of the 18 florins paid by Don Ilario to Andrea may have been handed over by him to his presumed collaborator on the grotesques, Feltrini, or that it may have included a sum required for the work of preparing the large end wall, where the *Cena* would be painted; or it may have included an advance of payment to Andrea for his work expected on the major fresco.[6] Don Ilario Panichi, from whom the 18 florins were received "in più volte" had died late in 1521 or early 1522; this whole sum, therefore, would have been disbursed before then.[7]

Vasari 1550, 739 gives his report of the painting of the S. Salvi tondi in sequence just following the

Benizzi frescoes: ". . . gli furon' allogati molti quadri et cose d'importanza et fra gli altri da el generale de frati di Valle Ombrosa per il convento di San Salvi fuora della porta alla Croce, n'el refettorio loro un arco d'una volta: et la facciata per farvi il cenacolo. La qual' volta egli comiciò et dentro vi fece in quattro tondi quattro figure: San Benedetto, San Giovan Gualberto, San Salvi Vescovo, et San Bernardo delli Uberti di Firenze lor Frate Cardinale: et nel mezo figurò un tondo dentrovi tre facce che sono una medesima, per la Trinità. . . ." In 1568 [1880] V, 14 Vasari connects the act of commission of the tondi with that of the *Last Supper* (see above). Borghini [1807] II, 216. Baldinucci [1769] IV, 191. Biadi 1829, 83–84, among the works of Andrea's "terzo stile," without distinction from the later *Cena*. Reumont 1835, 163, before the trip to France. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 170 accept Vasari's implication of a date, remarking the close likeness in style to the Benizzi frescoes. Guinness 1899, 89 dates the tondi 1515, as does Knapp 1907, 130. Berenson [1932] 18: "four Evangelists," 1515. For Fraenckel 1935, 165 the saints are works of Sarto's shop, 1509–1511, perhaps with the participation of Franciabigio, but she illustrates the *Trinity* (her plate II) as by Sarto. Wagner 1959, 434 probably in collaboration with Franciabigio. C. and G. Thiem 1960, 192 ff. accept Franciabigio's collaboration, and 1961, 5 further specify the implication of Fraenckel that all four tondi of the saints are Franciabigio's, and the triune head only by Andrea; the Thiems assign a date c. 1512.

More valuable in the Thiems' article is their near-proof of Andrea di Cosimo Feltrini's presence in this work as collaborator for the design and execution of the grotesques that fill the spaces in between the tondi. We have long considered this a likely solution to the problem of authorship of this part of the decoration, which the literature hitherto has not faced. The Thiems point out convincing likenesses of motive in the S. Salvi grotesques to those used in surviving certain works by the Florentine specialist in that genre, as especially in Feltrini's *sgraffiti* of the Palazzo Sertini, of the Palazzo Lanfredini, and in the Cappella del Papa of S. M. Novella of 1515. They publish two drawings, Uffizi 1420 Orn. and 1564F (Fig. 190), properly called Feltrini's, which while not for S. Salvi directly, show the same motives and (as the Thiems are too cautious to observe) the same elements of Morellian detail and a similar quality of touch. The Thiems correctly emphasize that it is established by document that Feltrini and Andrea had both already been employed on a more or less common decoration, in the Annunziata, since 1510.

Andrea's painting of the arch was the initial act (of which we have record) of decoration of a new refectory in the convent of S. Salvi. A document of 11 April 1505, found by Shearman, informs us of the beginning of a program of rebuilding in the convent.[8] In a further document of 2 November 1517,[9] specifying further benefits received from, and conceded to, Don Ilario Panichi, reference is made to his contribution to the "muramenta refectorii noviter constructi in partibus inferioribus"; on 15 February 1518 (st. c.) the same donor commissioned, from the woodworker Michele del Tasso, the doors of the "refettorio nuovo" and on 17 February its remaining fixed interior furniture.[10] These documents tend to indicate that the refectory building (substantially, that which now exists) was put up not long before 1517. However, since Don Ilario commissioned a *Last Supper* for the refectory from Andrea in 1511, and the first work, on the arch, for that commission is, in style, surely of that year, there must have been a refectory in existence in this place in 1511. The conclusion is that the "refettorio nuovo," to the *muramenta* of which Don Ilario contributed, must have been, in part at least, a rebuilding rather than an entire new construction, and that in the rebuilding the work by Andrea, for which Don Ilario had paid already, was retained.[11]

Interruption by a rebuilding program, which took eight years after 1511 to complete, helps to explain the extraordinary gap that intervened between Andrea's beginning of his decoration in the refectory of S. Salvi and its completion; but even this explanation may be gratuitous. Vasari 1550, 764 informs us, when he gives his account of the resumption of Andrea's work in S. Salvi, that the interruption had been due, initially at least, to troubles that had taken place within the monastery: "Erano stati i frati di San Salvi per le loro discordie et altre cose importanti del generale, et di Abati che avon disordinato quel luogo, molti anni, che il cenacolo che già a Andrea allogarono, quando e' fece l'arco con le quattro figure, non s'era mai nè ragionatone nè risoluto di farlo . . ." There were, in fact, troubles within the monastery, of the gravest sort, which had resulted in the arrest of the General of the Order and of the Abbot of S. Salvi in 1513, in their removal to Rome and imprisonment. They were replaced in 1515 with new officers.[12]

The style of Andrea's painting in the tondi of the S. Salvi refectory accords exactly with the expectation we should have of the moment specified in our reading of the document, in mid-1511, following on the *Clothing* of the Benizzi series and preceding the *Adoration of the Magi* of the Annunziata, commissioned in October of that year. In the two figures of the lower tondi (the monastic saints) their proportions (somewhat awkward in their seated postures) much resemble those in the earlier sequence of the Benizzi frescoes. One of the bishop saints above makes a close approximation to the figure proportions seen in the more advanced Benizzi *Clothing*; and the other is such a thick-set type as is to be found for the first time, beyond this single instance, in the *Adoration*. The anatomical mode is not consistent, but the drapery style in every instance departs from the linear manner of the Benizzi frescoes (still somewhat astringent even in the *Clothing*) and approaches the broader, more movemented and shadowed drapery of the *Adoration*. The heads reflect an exactly similar change in handling, toward the manner of the *Adoration*. For the beautifully subtle drawing and sfumato modelling of the *Trinity* there is no antecedent in the Benizzi frescoes; but this resembles, as we have observed, the portrait at Alnwick, and it is a counterpart of what, in the Adoration, the portrait head of Sansovino must have been.

The assertion of a collaborator's hand in the execution of the tondi may be justified in the case of the figure of S. Benedetto, and possibly in the S. Salvi. It is probable that this collaborator should have been Andrea di Cosimo rather than Franciabigio. The former's presence is already indicated in the grotesques, and the two tondi in question show no trace of Franciabigio's style.

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[1] So identified by Vasari 1550, 739.

[2] Described by Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 47n2; but first published by Shearman 1959, 128n14.

[3] With great patience and generosity Mr. Edward Sanchez undertook the rechecking of the author's own examination of this document and, departing from this point, proceeded to research the other documentary material related to S. Salvi. It was Mr. Sanchez who first established that the date of the present document must be read 1511 rather than 1519. In this conclusion, we have the support of Dr. Gino Corti (who has also been of the greatest help in the documentary researches on S. Salvi) and (by letter, 2 April 1961) of Dr. Shearman.

[4] Since no account books of the convent survive prior to 1525, our only evidence of work by Andrea at S. Salvi earlier than that date is this abbreviated *ricordo*.

[5] For details of the collation, see our catalogue entry no. 65, for the *Last Supper*.

[6] There is record of such advance payment, e.g., for the *Birth of the Virgin* in the Annunziata. An advance would make it clearer why, after so long a lapse of time since the decoration of the vault, Andrea would be willing in 1526 and 1527 to honor a contract, hardly lucrative, made so many years before.

[7] A.S.F. Notarile ante-cosimiano, G 488 (1522–1523), fol. 13r–13v, under date of 30 April 1522, records that the house conceded Don Ilario for life by the convent is, now that he is dead, rented to another party. The concession had been made exactly eleven years before, on 30 April 1511. A.S.F. Notarile ante-cosimiano, G 487 (1509–1511), fol. 175r–175v, records a meeting of the congregation of S. Salvi in which, in consideration of benefits Don Ilario has conferred on the convent ("tam in altari maius et eius tabula et ornamentatione in dicto monasterio existente ineius ecclesia, quam etiam in paramentis duobus de brocchato iam per dictum donnum Ylarium fieri inceptis et pro finendis multum expendit . . ."), and to come ("et multum maiora fieri speratur"), the life lease of a house in the district of S. Ambrogio was given him, as well as the assurance of masses after his death. It may be observed that the first of the new benefits received from Don Ilario was his commission of Andrea's decoration, only six weeks later.

[8] A.S.F. Conv. Sopp. 88/68, Badia di S. Pancrazio, Ricordanze, B (1483–1527), c. 46v: "chome avendo la badia di san Salvi chominciato la muraglia p[er] fare el monast° di nuovo."

[9] A.S.F. Notarile ante-cosimiano, G 487 (1513–1517), fol. 252f–252v; kindly transcribed for the author by Mr. Edward Sanchez and Dr. Gino Corti.

[10] "Cioè tavola pavimento (cioè dove si tengliano e piè quando si siede) panche ispalliere chornicione e tutto el fornimento de' rifettorio nuovo . . ." Records of payment for this work, in the amount of 233½ florins, proceed to 26 October 1518. A.S.F. Conv. Sopp. 88/57 (untitled; described on the cover as "scritte private della Badia di S. Pancrazio") *ad annum*, found by Mr. Sanchez and transcribed by Dr. Corti. A further record of Don Ilario's expenditures in building, but not specifying for what, is in A.S.F. Notarile ante-cosimiano G 488 (1517–1522), fol. 69r–69v, under date 11 September 1518.

[11] It is also possible to speculate that the "rifettorio nuovo" had been built by 1511, as part of the program of reconstruction begun in 1505, and that Don Ilario's contribution to the *muramenta* may have in fact been relatively minor (large for a private individual, and

thus to be singled out, but not large in terms of the whole cost of the edifice), or else a reimbursement of past costs rather than a payment of running costs. A document of September 1518 records that Don Ilario has promised a total expenditure for the convent of 500 florins, and to date has spent 430. When the sum expended by this date for the furniture of the refectory (233½ florins) and, presumably before this date, for Andrea's work (18 florins) are deducted from the 430 florins spent, only 179 remain, hardly enough to pay for the whole of this large room. It should probably remain an open question whether Andrea's first work in the refectory was in a building already wholly done, or later reconstructed. We have examined the architecture of the refectory, and it offers no evidence useful to either view. The problem is, in the end, irrelevant; the fact of Andrea's work, of 1511, when it was commissioned, is unaltered in either case.

[12] See P. Abate Torello Sale, *Dizionario Storico Biografico di Scrittori, Letterati, ed Artisti dell'Ordine di Vallombrosa* (Florence, 1929) vol. I, s.v. Bellieri, Don Francesco (abbot of S. Salvi until 1513); and vol. II, s.v. Milanesi, Don Biagio (General of the Order to the same date). A.S.F. Conv. Sopp. 88/39, c. 174 left, contains a note of the expenses connected with the removal to Rome of Don Francesco. We are indebted to Mr. Edward Sanchez for this and further information on this topic.

14· 1511. PROCESSION OF THE MAGI (*Adoration of the Magi*). Florence, SS. Annunziata. Figs. [32, 33].

The Magi are depicted as en route to Bethlehem; the *Adoration of the Shepherds* is represented to the left side of the façade, beyond the doors, in Baldovinetti's earlier fresco.

Fresco, 407 x 321. Monogrammed.

Weathered and faded. There are pervasive small losses, of which the cumulative effect is perceptible especially in the lower right sector of the fresco. The figures toward the lower left of the fresco, from left to right, wear pink and white; red-violet, rose, light green; lilac, middle violet; blue-violet, yellow-gold and grey-white. The larger group, from the Moor in the center of the picture to the right, shows the following colors, in approximate sequence left to right: reddish-yellow with lilac shadows; dark red, blue-violet, light green; dark violet, dull salmon over white; blue, yellow-gold, dark violet; yellow-gold, pale lilac, white, dark lilac; blue-grey; red-orange; blue-violet. The small figures scattered through the middle distance are mostly in touches of reddish-orange, blue, and violet hues. The landscape is yellow-green and green, in many places touched with a lilac tone; the architecture is a light tan. The sky is now a faded greyish-blue with greyish clouds.

The documents of payment for this fresco are preserved in A.S.F. Conv. Sopp. 119 (SS. Annunziata di Firenze) 704 (Entrata e Uscita, 1509–1512). In this same book, and in the close context of payments made to Andrea del Sarto, there are records of payment made also to Andrea di Cosimo Feltrini (Andrea di Giovanni). After an initial entry that might have been confused as referring to one or the other (see c. 106v, 15 November 1511, below), the clerk subsequently distinguishes our Andrea as Andrea d'Agnolo, while he continues to use Andrea, simply, for Andrea di Cosimo.[1]

c. 106v. 5 November 1511: "A Andrea dipintore questo dì decto lire sette, somo per suo conto per dipignere el chiostrino della Nuntiata, portò lui decto contanti .... £ 7"

c. 108v. 20 November 1511: "A Andrea d'Agnolo dipintore, questo dì decto, lire sette, sono per suo conto per dipignere el chiostrino, portò lui decto .... £ 7"

c. 111v. 12 December 1511: "A Andrea d'Agnolo dipintore, questo di decto, fiorini uno largo d'oro, portò lui decto, per resto di fiorini III larghi debe avere del convento per fornitura del quadro de' Magi .... £ 7"

On c. 113v, 25 December 1511, Andrea receives the first payment on account for the *Birth of the Virgin*, q.v.

A.S.F. Conv. Sopp. 119/59, no. 19 (Notizie delle cose memorabili del convento e della chiesa della Nunziata . . . scritte dal P. Maestro Eliseo Biffoli): c. 85r, under date 1511, recalls that Andrea "piglia da' frati a dipignere que' dua vani che sono tra S° Bastiano e la porta, cioè la Natività di Mª Vergine e l'Adoratione de' Magi, dove è ritratto lui medesimo, ch'è quello che ha la beretta alla civile e col dito acenna. Convennone e frati di darli £ 28, et essendogli poi tanto piaciuta l'opere, la quale veramente è meravigliosa, gl'aggiunsero

£ 42. Cosi si truova al libro di Camarli[n]g^a segnata D, c. 132, e al Campione B, c. 178." See also under the *Birth of the Virgin*.[2]

Codex Magliabechiano, 108: "Nel chiostro dinanzj alla chiesa della Nunziata dipinse più storie, cioè Santa Anna nel parto di Santa Maria et la storia de magi . . ." Vasari 1550, 740–741 and 1568 [1880] V, 15–16 describes the execution of the *Adoration* and the *Birth of the Virgin* in inverted order from that given in the documents, but gives both in a sequence that follows on the vault at S. Salvi. Vasari interprets the subject correctly, and identifies the three portraits right front as of Andrea himself, Jacopo Sansovino, and the musician Francesco Ajolle: Andrea at left, pointing, Jacopo in full figure, looking toward the spectator, Ajolle behind.[3] Bocchi [1677] 430 romantically identifies the head of the laughing child to Andrea's rear as Henry II, Dauphin of France; Biadi 1829, 39 suggests this head may have been painted into the fresco after Andrea's return from his French voyage. This head is, of course, of a single pictorial and stylistic piece with the remainder of the fresco, and both Bocchi's identification and Biadi's suggestion are, properly, not seriously entertained, except by Guinness 1899, 87. Reumont 1835, 59 doubts, and Mantz 1876, 475 refutes Bocchi. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 175 assert that the cartoons for the *Adoration* and the *Birth of the Virgin* were made simultaneously. They discuss the *Birth of the Virgin* first in order, as does Vasari, and imply that the *Adoration* is successive to it, and they appear to take the date of 1514 on the *Birth of the Virgin* as an indication of a terminus for both paintings. Janitschek 1879, 31 also follows Vasari's order. Knapp 1907, 30, 130 dates the *Adoration* 1511, and cites the payment of 12 December 1511. Sinibaldi 1925*a*, 5–6 accepts this date, as does Venturi 1925, 434–436. Fraenckel 1935, 23 dates the picture on the basis of the documents of 1511 given by Milanesi, and informs us that the composition is inspired by a model of Perugino's in S. Giusto. [There is a relation to Perugino's precedent only in the motive of the architecture seen in perspective to one side of the design.] [4] Wagner 1951, 8–9 considers the iconography to be a worldly interpretation of the theme, and remarks the unusual fact of the presence, in an Italian painting of the Magi theme, of the Negro king.[5] Wagner alleges a decisive influence of Raphael on the style of this picture. In his opinion, the group at right resembles that in Raphael's *School of Athens* [6] and he would see a portrait of Raphael in the young Magus center. Paatz [1955] I, 93. Wagner 1959, 433 is more cautious on the point of connections in the *Adoration* with Raphael, saying only that the figure of the young king is "Raphaelesque." He insists that a Roman trip before 1511 is necessary to account for what he regards as Raphaelesque elements of motive and style. Freedberg 1961, 224–227.

The resemblance Wagner points out between the group at right of this fresco and a counterpart in the *School of Athens* exists, but not to the degree that makes a relation of dependence clear. The same is true of other motives in the fresco that suggest the possibility of a precedent in Raphael.[7] Our inability to define an exact dependence in terms of motives extends to our assessment of the qualities of larger style that may seem Raphaelesque. For a discussion of this question see our text volume p. 15. Though, as we observe there, some external stimulus would seem to be required to account for the development toward maturity of Andrea's style in the *Adoration*, it cannot be established, on the basis of the suggestive elements in it of a Raphaelism, that this stimulus lay in a trip to Rome. It should be noted, also, that the interval allowed by the documentary evidence of Andrea's activity in 1511, between the tondi at S. Salvi and the *Adoration*, does not encourage our locating a Roman visit at that time.

PREPARATORY STUDIES

FLORENCE, Uffizi no. 667E. *Adoration of the Kings*, composition sketch. Red chalk, 36.6 x 30.7. Creased at left.[8] Fig. [31].

Ferri 1893, 133 as a *primo pensiero* for the fresco in the Annunziata. Jacobsen 1898, 278 certainly related to a fresco for the Annunziata cloister, but he does not specify that this is the extant *Procession of the Magi*. Guinness 1899, 87, as Ferri. Berenson [1938] no. 107 says this may be the earliest of Andrea's extant drawings, and that it is not for the fresco of similar theme in the Annunziata. He notes that the Virgin's head vividly recalls the manner of Piero di Cosimo. Knapp 1907, 123, 134: perhaps Andrea's only authentic(?) extant design for a whole picture. Di Pietro 1911, 15 denies the attribution to Andrea, and indicates points of contact with a composition by Eusebio da S. Giorgio. He would assign the sheet to an eclectic artist of the Umbro-Tuscan school. Not in Fraenckel 1935. Comandé 1952, 5, 122n10 as Andrea's, earlier than the Benizzi series. Presently catalogued in the Cabinet as Umbrian School.

Certainly Andrea's, and probably of 1510; and in our opinion a thought for the space now occupied by the *Procession of the Magi* before the subject had been precisely fixed.

The divergence of manner between this *invenzione* and the detail studies of this approximate time is not more than we experience elsewhere among Andrea's drawings. The *trait* is Andrea's, in an early variant of the elastic and sharp-accented mode he uses for such sketches. Compare the character of line with that especially on Lugt Collection J5085v, for a figure on horseback in the rear of the executed fresco, and note further the extreme likeness in the drawing of the horse left center here and on the Lugt sheet. For the quick notation used for the figures in the cortege left rear, compare the corresponding passage in Uffizi 334F, for the same fresco, but (like the Lugt drawing) done within 1511. The mode of abbreviation here used for faces reappears in Uffizi 334F and in yet another study, of the figure of Sansovino, Uffizi 6435F. A camel's head finds a close counterpart in another later preparatory design (Merton Collection).

There is sufficient distinction in style between this drawing and Uffizi 334F, which is for the fresco in its finally determined form, to require we place the former earlier, but Andrea must already have been thinking of a design for the same space. Certain motives in the present sheet reappear, even in the different subject matter of the actual fresco, in an expected altered, but still recognizable, guise: the arch in perspective, the eccentric hills of the landscape background and the procession winding a path across them, the architecture on the hill and in the central plain, the solitary tall tree, the rearing horse. Further, the basic idea of the figure composition is not unlike: here too, it is composed obliquely to the picture plane. The figure style, as we know from our experience of other *invenzioni*, is not comparable to that in the detail studies or the paintings, and thus gives no index of a date, but it should be noticed that the proportions are not much different from those of the figures in the distance of the *Clothing of the Leper*, by our account the latest of the Benizzi frescoes, and the landscape forms are comparable to those of that fresco and the (just antecedent) Benizzi *Gamblers*. The Pieresque accent of this sketch style is an understandable persistence from Andrea's early education, but it does not indicate that the design antedates 1510.

FLORENCE, Uffizi no. 334F. Compositional sketch for the lower portion of the fresco. Red chalk (pieced out to) 16.5 x 23; torn at the top. Fig. [34].

Ferri 1893, 137 for the *Adoration*; so also Jacobsen 1898, 278, Berenson [1938] no. 119, and Knapp 1907, 134. Di Pietro 1911, 12 regards the drawing instead as a probable *ricordo* of a lost authentic sketch. Fraenckel 1935, 190 denies both that it is by Andrea and that it is such a *ricordo*. Now assigned in the Cabinet to an anonymous Florentine of the sixteenth century, after Andrea.

An unequivocally original example of what is, in Andrea's surviving drawing *oeuvre*, a rare occurrence, an *invenzione*. The habits of hand in it and its quality of draughtsmanship relate on one hand to the earlier composition sheet for an actual *Adoration of the Magi* (Uffizi 667E), and on the other to a later composition sketch, in the same style, for the *Beheading of St. John* in the Scalzo (Uffizi 321F); the common conventions used in the drawing of the heads in all three sheets should be noted especially. There is the closest relation in style also to Uffizi 6435F, below.

——— no. 6435F. Study for the drapery of Sansovino. Black chalk (pieced out to) 30.2 x 20.8; torn, and the lower left side of the drawing lost. Fig. 30.

Berenson [1938] no. 126, and di Pietro 1911, no. 87 identify the sheet as in our heading. Fraenckel 1935, 178 makes the same identification, but with a reservation as to the authenticity of the sheet. The reserve is unjustified.

In support of the association of this sheet and Uffizi 334F, and of both with the fresco of the *Adoration*, we should observe not only their common character of style but also the way in which the motive of Sansovino's drapery in 6435F is developed from the figure second from the right in the *invenzione*, conceived before Andrea had the idea of making a portrait group from this side of the composition.

The strong new accent of explicitly Bartolommesque drawing style in 6435F may be yet another index of the direction from which we suppose the altered style of painting in the *Adoration* comes: from the native Florentine example more than from a hypothetical influence of Rome.

PARIS, Institut Neérlandais, Lugt Collection no. J5085. *Verso*, a horse walking to the left, the legs of the rider mounted on it; to the right, the front legs of another horse, lightly sketched. Red chalk, 31.5 x 23. Fig. [35]. *Recto*, study for the head of the donor in the *Tobias* altar (q.v. under our catalogue entry no. 12).

Popham 1930, no. 204; Cat. Oppenheimer Collection, plate 43. Berenson [1938] no. 129A, with an identification (incorrect) for the recto only. Berenson [1961] no. 159A–1, still with no identification for the verso of the sheet.

For the horseman beside the leader of the procession in the distance of the fresco. The legs of the horse lightly sketched are like those on Louvre 1724 verso. Like that sheet, this one is also in reverse direction from the painting.

——— Louvre no. 1724. *Verso*, a mounted cavalier in armor, his right arm raised. Red chalk (cut and pieced out to fit a circular frame) diam. 19.3 (in a Vasari mount). From the Vasari and Jabach collection.[9] Fig. 31. *Recto*, a dragon (see under Authentic Unassociated Drawings).

Study for the rider on the rearing horse at the head of the distant part of the procession, in the landscape right rear of the fresco. Used mostly in reverse, but the connection is unmistakable. The drawing rather awkward, but convincing in detail, more than in its general effect. Compare with the companion study, more instantly convincing, Lugt J5085v. This figure on the verso, which resembles a St. George, has been associated in a later moment with what now serves as its "recto," a drawing of a dragon; the dragon is not on the reverse of the same sheet as the mounted figure, but on an entirely distinct sheet of paper that has been pasted back to back with the rider. The association of the two drawings may make more than accidental sense. It is likely that the "verso" was born as a St. George, and the dragon on the "recto" was a companion study for the same theme. The "St. George" would then have been exploited for the rider in the *Adoration* fresco.

COPIES AFTER LOST PREPARATORY STUDIES

DRESDEN, Gallery, Kupferstichkabinett no. C68. *Recto*, draped standing figure. Red chalk, 40.9 x 25.2 *Verso*, copy after Fra Bartolommeo.

The recto is after a study by Andrea for the turning figure left front of the *Adoration*; identified in the Cabinet (on the attribution of Shearman) as by Naldini.

FLORENCE, Uffizi no. 14425F. Hand pointing to the front. Red chalk, 18.5 x 16.2.

Correctly described as a copy in the Cabinet.

After a study by Andrea for his own hand in his portrait in the *Adoration*.[10]

[1] The documents which refer to the *Adoration* published by Milanesi 1880, V, 67 in accurate but not quite complete transcription.

[2] The content of this *memoriale* repeated more summarily in 119/59, no. 5, c. 22r–23r.

The *memoriale* of 119/59, no. 19, transcribed by Biadi 1829, 40–41. P. 41, Biadi corrects Richa VIII (1759) 59 who asserts the prices paid for the Annunziata frescoes were 10 and 12 lire each.

A document in A.S.F. 119/59, no. 52, Libro delle Ricordanze del Convento della Nunziata, B (1550–1559) c. 91r, has sometimes given confusion in connection with Andrea's *Adoration*, and occasionally with his *Birth of the Virgin*. Dated 1 December 1513, it records a commission to Francesco di Lazzaro Torni (sometimes known as Francesco l'Indaco), which was never executed. The document is fully and accurately transcribed by Milanesi 1879, III, 679n1: "Richordo chome questo di primo di dicembre Fra Ridolfo sindacho del nostro convento di commesione di maestro Tinrentio [*sic*] nostro padre priore, aloghò a Francesco di Lazaro dipintore a dipignere in frescho due archi del nostro chiostricino, cioè quello che è tra la porta grande e la pichola di chiesa, dove debe dipignere quando e'magi andorono a parlare a Herode in Jerusalem; e l'altro archo è quello che è dove è la porta del fiancho della chapella di san bastiano, dove debe dipignere una visione della Natività di Nostra Donna con duo Sibille et dua Astrologi, a sua cholori e nostra chalcina e la turata intorno; per el pregio chome hanno auto gli altri che ci anno dipinto. E oblighasi detto Francesco d'auere finito di dipignere detti archi per tutto el mese di giugno proximo a uenire. E chosi fu contento detto Francesco in presenza di maestro Matteo di francesco nostro frate, e di me Francesco di Nicholaio da Meleto sotto di detto."

It should be noted that neither of these commissioned subjects is the same as those painted by Andrea. The theme "Quando e' magi andorono a parlare a Herode in Jerusalem" (Matthew 2: 7–8) might be placed with iconographic appropriateness in the space that follows Andrea's (incorrectly titled) *Adoration*, "tra la porta grande e la pichola di chiesa"; the "visione della

Natività di Nostra Donna con duo Sibille et dua Astrologi," which iconographically precedes Andrea's *Birth of the Virgin,* is appropriate to the space (now occupied by a relief) "dove è la porta del fiancho della chapella di san bastiano." Shearman 1960*b*, 155n31 arrives at the same conclusions as to the meaning of this document.

[3] On Ajolle, see Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 16n3.

[4] See Fischel, "Zeichnungen der Umbrer," *Jahrbuch der preuszischen Kunstsammlungen* 38 (1917) pl. 1.

[5] The same comment may be applicable to Giorgione's so-called "Magi" (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum), a half-decade earlier in date.

[6] By our account (Freedberg 1961, 112 ff.) finished only in mid-1511.

[7] The young king in the foreground (who suggests the standing youth at the right of the "Bramante" group in the *Disputà,* or in the "Pythagoras" group of the *School of Athens*), or the attendant to the left, seen back-to (who suggests the figure in the left center of the *Disputà*).

[8] The watermark resembles Briquet no. 6294, found on papers used in Lucca 1520 and Siena 1524–1528.

[9] Apparently unpublished.

[10] In addition to the opinions that hold Uffizi 667E to be a preparatory study for this fresco, Guinness 1899, 87, Knapp 1907, 134, and Fraenckel 1935, 175 consider Uffizi 626E to be for it also: Guinness for the head of the Moorish king, Knapp for the head behind the Moor, and Fraenckel for one or the other of them. For our identification of this drawing, see under Florence, Pitti, *Disputà* (our catalogue entry no. 40), where Fraenckel would also, but with less assurance, permit the sheet to be placed.

The following are copies in drawing after the fresco. Florence, Uffizi 14440F, left front section; Milan, Ambrosiana, after the left front figures, attributed to Andrea by Knapp, 1907, 135; Paris, Louvre 1754, after the oldest king; Oslo, National Museum, after the young king right; Princeton, University Gallery, Mather Collection, after the turning figure left front; Rotterdam, Boymans Museum, Koenigs Collection, after the figures center front (by Naldini; but Fröhlich-Bum 1928, 163 ff. as by Andrea, and Fraenckel 1935, 195 as a copy).

15 · 1512. ANNUNCIATION. Florence, Pitti no. 124. Fig. [36].

Panel, 182 x 176. Inscribed on the Virgin's stool: "Andrea Del Sarto Ta Pinta/Qui Come Nel Cor Ti Porta/Et Nō Qual Sei Maria/Per Ispar/Ger Tua Gloria Et Non Suo Nome/."

Pervasive minor damages, and a major area of apparent loss at the lower edge of the painting. The leg of the angel right abraded. A long crack through the center of the panel has been repaired and retouched too generously.[1]

The Madonna wears a dark violet hat over dark brown hair, a lightish blue cloak and a bleached red dress. Gabriel wears a dress *changeant* from lilac to salmon pink; his undergarment is a blued white. His wings are neutral blue and blue-black. The angel farthest to the rear wears a dark green cloak over a dark violet sleeve, barely visible. His wing is a muted red-orange brown. The angel to the extreme right wears an orange-yellow dress with a deep blue sleeve. The cloud on which Gabriel kneels is inky grey. The earth is yellowish-green; the furniture is light brown. The architecture behind is a yellow-green; the sky an intense blue. The figures to the upper rear, on the porch of the architecture, show spots of very dark green, brilliant rose-red, and glowing violet.

Removed from the convent of S. Gallo to S. Jacopo tra' Fossi after 1529 (during the destructions occasioned by the Siege of Florence). Bocchi [1677] 303–304 notes that this painting is in the church of S. Jacopo on the right wall, on the altar next nearer the choir than Andrea's *Disputà.* Taken from S. Jacopo in 1626 to the chapel of the Dowager Grand Duchess Maria Maddalena in the Pitti, and substituted in the church by a copy.[2] Cinelli [1677], 303 states the painting is in the "camera del Granduca." Richa I, (1754) 271 notes only that it is missing from S. Jacopo.

Mentioned in the *Codex Magliabechiano,* 109. Vasari 1550, 742 for the *frati* of S. Gallo; in sequence immediately succeeding Vasari's discussion of the *Adoration* for the Annunziata: "Fece ancora per i frati di San Gallo, una tavola di una Nostra Donna, quando è annunziata da l'Angelo, nella quale si vede una unione di colorito molto piacevole, et alcune teste di Angeli che accompagnano Gabriello, con dolcezza sfumate et di bellezza di arie di teste condotte perfettamente." Vasari further states in this same place that the predella of the painting was by Pontormo "a l'ora suo discepolo." The same information is given in 1568 [1880] V, 17. In his life of Pontormo ([1881] VI, 246–247) Vasari reports that Pontormo was with Andrea in 1512, though shortly, and describes the subject of the predella, now missing from the picture: ". . . un Christo morto con due angioletti che gli fanno lume con due torce, e lo piangono: e dalle bande in

due tondi due Profeti. . . ." Vasari continues, "Ma può anco essere, come dice il Bronzino ricordarsi avere udito da esso Jacopo Pontormo, che in questa predella lavorasse anco il Rosso."[3]

Borghini [1807] II, 217; Baldinucci [1769] IV, 187; Biadi 1829, 45, 140;[4] Reumont 1835, 41–42, *Verz.* as a work of 1511. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 171 state that from Vasari's account of the predella the *Annunciation* is exactly dateable, since Pontormo entered Andrea's shop in 1512 and left in 1513.[5] Wölfflin [1952] 172 observes, in the floating figure of the Gabriel, the readmission into High Renaissance art of an element of Gothic iconography; he notes also that the usual left to right direction of action in the scene has been reversed. Guinness 1899, 79 follows Crowe and Cavalcaselle. Knapp 1907, 97, 130 dates the picture c. 1512 and points out the relation of motive with Albertinelli's *Annunciation* of 1510 for S. Marco (Florence, Academy). Venturi 1925, 531–532, 625 gives the date c. 1512. Rossi 1930, 8–9 gives a dating of 1514–1515, but without any evidence for it.

Fraenckel 1933, 161 and 1935, 141, 210n36 suggests Pontormo may be the author of the nude figure on the steps in the middle distance and the figures on the balcony, and she does not exclude Rosso's participation in this picture. Improperly assuming a longer collaboration between Pontormo and Andrea than that Vasari delimits, Fraenckel dates the painting c. 1514. (The background figures conform wholly to Andrea's own mode in small scale in the background of the *Adoration* of 1511; there is no basis for Fraenckel's suggestion either of Pontormo's intervention or of a date in 1514.) Comandé 1951, 62 places the picture in 1511–1512; he reminds us 1951, 62 and 1952, 38–39, 49–50, that the model of Andrea Sansovino's *Justice* in S. M. del Popolo served not only for Andrea's *Justice* of the Scalzo, but for the Virgin of this picture also; and he notes the correspondence in pose between the Gabriel here and the Margaret of the Dresden *Marriage of St. Catherine.* Wagner 1959, 434 follows, as usual, Fraenckel's dating. Freedberg 1961, 227–228: c. 1512.

For a discussion of Pontormo's time of association with Andrea, used as a principal point of external evidence for dating of the S. Gallo *Annunciation* see F. M. Clapp, *Pontormo* (New Haven, 1916) 268–270. Clapp deduces that Pontormo must have entered Andrea's shop in late 1510 or early 1511 and left at latest in 1513. This information (which, strictly speaking, concerns only the lost predella of the S. Gallo altar) is less precise than the internal evidence offered by the style of the surviving painting itself.

The sequence in which Vasari mentions the S. Gallo *Annunciation,* following immediately on the *Adoration* fresco of the Annunziata (finished December 1511) appears to be exact; so also his indication of the date when Pontormo, briefly Andrea's assistant, would have helped with the (lost) predella. In this painting the types find their closest likenesses in the *Adoration.* Compare especially the head of the Virgin and that of the young king center in the fresco; while the heads of the standing angels, warm and dark-shadowed, are like those of the attendant in the left foreground or the figure at the fresco's left edge. For the profile of the Gabriel there are numerous analogues in the *Adoration.* The drapery style is also like that of the *Adoration*: more complex than in the works that precede it, but also more deliberate, stiff, and linear in its foldings than in those that follow. The resemblances of minor figures in the backgrounds of both the fresco and the easel work are obvious, and so is the similarity in the use of a supporting architecture. But even the basic idea of compositional structure shows that, in the *Annunciation,* Andrea is still thinking in terms of the invention of design he had conceived for the *Adoration.*

PREPARATORY STUDIES

FLORENCE, Uffizi no. 273F. For the kneeling Gabriel, full figure. Red chalk (torn, pieced out to) 35.1 x 29.5. Fig. 32.

Reumont 1835, 41n1 first published the correct identification of this drawing. His identification, and the certainty of Andrea's authorship, recur in all the subsequent literature, except for Fraenckel 1935, 186 who sees this as a copy after the painting. Berenson 1903, no. 58; [1938] no. 108C. For complete bibliography see Marcucci 1954, no. 16.

Of a finely controlled and even somewhat precious draughtsmanship, new in this respect among Andrea's surviving early drawings, and corresponding to the careful character of Andrea's execution in the painting.

PLYMOUTH, Municipal Museum, Cottonian Collection. Head of a girl in profile to the left. Red chalk, 20.6 x 14 (without the margins, made up right and top). Fig. [37]. From the Hone and Rogers collections.

Published by Popham, Vasari Society, ser. 2, 9:5 (1928), and Popham 1930, no. 196, as Andrea's study for the Gabriel of the S. Gallo *Annunciation*. Fraenckel 1935, 200 is doubtful of Andrea's authorship and of this suggested identification, and would have the drawing by Sogliani. Berenson [1938] no. 159B (but not in 1903) accepts Popham's identification but is not wholly satisfied with the drawing on account of its condition. Marcucci 1954, 15 attributes and identifies the drawing as does Popham.

This study was reused, more literally than in this picture, for the St. Margaret in the subsequent *Marriage of St. Catherine* (Dresden).

COPY

Formerly FLORENCE, S. Jacopo tra' Fossi (present location unknown), by Ottaviano Vannini?

Substituted for the original when it was removed from S. Jacopo tra' Fossi. Cinelli in Bocchi [1677] 305 states the replacement had been made, but does not identify the copyist, who is identified by Biadi 1829, 45. Moreni II (1792) 37 had asserted the copyist was Piero Dandini. Paatz [1955] II, 418 follows Biadi's identification, and suggests the copy (with its predella?) might now be found in the Uffizi deposits. The copy was seen by Biadi 1829 and Reumont 1835, but neither mentions a predella. The last published mention of the copy as being in S. Jacopo is by Fantozzi 1842, 231.

[1] Sinibaldi 1925*a*, 10 asserts — much too harshly — that the picture is "tutta guasta di ridipinture."

[2] See A.S.F. Lettere Artistiche di Diversi, 1602–1654, II, Inserto 10, for the correspondence that regards the transfer from S. Jacopo to the chapel in the Pitti.

[3] Paatz [1955] II, 418 somewhat uncertainly implies that the copy of the altar by Vannini, substituted in S. Jacopo for the original, may have included the predella also; Paatz surmises that this copy may survive in the Uffizi deposits, but we have no indication that this is so.

The predella of a *Pietà* and attendant saints in Dublin, National Gallery, and Warwick Castle has been incorrectly identified as the missing predella of the *Annunciation*. For bibliography see Freedberg and Rearick 1961, 7–8.

[4] Biadi 1829, 28 had misconstrued Baldinucci's description of the predella for this painting into a separate predella painting altogether, by Andrea rather than by Pontormo (and Rosso). Biadi informs us that the "artisti" of his time, apparently similarly confused, were accustomed to identify, as this "separate" predella, a predella scene of "S. Pietro Igneo" in the Academy; but this is in fact part of the predella of the much later altar for Vallombrosa, painted in 1528.

[5] Scott 1881, 80 dates the painting, on Vasari's evidence in 1512, but she is apparently the victim of a confusion between this picture and the *Annunciation* for S. Godenzo.

16 · 1512–1513. MARRIAGE OF ST. CATHERINE.
Dresden, Gallery no. 76. Figs. [38, 39].

Panel, 167 x 122, monogrammed.

Five cracks running partly through the length of the panel in a vertical direction; numerous and pervasive losses from flaking and blistering of paint. The damages restored 1957–1959, when old disfiguring repainting, most of it too generously applied, was taken off.[1]

St. Catherine wears a golden-orange mantle with a yellow-gold revers over a light blue-green dress; the Madonna a dark blue mantle over a bleaching red dress; Margaret a middle green mantle over a grey-green dress. The curtains of the *baldacchino* are light green, lined inside with a pale brown that turns to gold in light. The architecture is light tan.

To Dresden in 1749 from the Imperial Gallery in Prague. There is no information of the prior history of this picture.

The old catalogues of the gallery[2] carry the attribution to Andrea del Sarto. Hirt 1830, 30 is the first to remark on weaknesses of drawing he perceives, and on a reddish tone which, to him, suggests the style of Puligo. Reumont 1835, 209n1 asserts more certainly that Puligo either assisted in the execution of this picture or painted it from Andrea's drawing. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 197 describe the picture as an example of Andrea imitating Fra Bartolommeo, and do not refer to Puligo. Morelli [1883] 203 regards it as Andrea's work (though in contrast to all other authorities he is not satisfied with its condition) and dates it 1512–1515. Guinness 1899, 75 repeats Morelli's dating, but regards Puligo's collaboration as possible. Knapp 1907, 39 makes no mention of Puligo, and considers that the picture is of 1512–

1513, or even earlier. Goldschmidt 1911, 3–4 asserts that Andrea's assistant in the picture was Pontormo. Fraenckel 1935, 95, 162 considers this to be the invention of another master, perhaps Puligo, and only retouched by Andrea's hand. She is doubtful of the monogram. Comandé 1952, 58 thinks the painting of 1511, contemporary with the *Adoration* of the Annunziata and the S. Gallo *Annunciation*, which he dates in that year. Shearman 1961, 229 dates the painting c. 1513. Freedberg 1961, 228–229, c. 1513, with assistance from Puligo.

A likely, but by no means certain *terminus post* for the Dresden painting may be given by the large altar of the same theme (Florence, Academy, formerly in the Pitti) by Fra Bartolommeo, which is dated 1512. Andrea's picture seems to be in many respects of general design and particular motive a reduction of that work. A dating in 1512–1513 for the Dresden painting would be justified on internal grounds of style, for the repertory of forms in this picture, and much in its temper of expression, develop those of the *Adoration* of late 1511, and into a greater fluency, which is evidently also beyond that of the S. Gallo *Annunciation*. The vocabulary of the Dresden picture looks forward to the *Birth of the Virgin*, begun late in 1513 (compare the infant forms and faces in particular; and the three female figures with the handmaids at the fireplace left in the larger scene), and the action of the figures conveys almost the same effect of fluency. There are not, in the Dresden altar, the disciplines or finenesses that are evident in the later work.

The conception of this picture is certainly Andrea's in its entirety, and (on the basis of photographic evidence only) we can see no part of its execution that could not be his. As in the other pictures we assign to a moment close to this, there are peculiarities of drawing, but they are not such as to justify the intervention of an assistant. Like the related paintings, this one has areas of seemingly excessive thinness of technique, and a few passages of vaporous, smudged modelling, but these appear to be integral to Andrea's original intention.[3]

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[1] The process of restoration described in detail by the restorer in charge, K.-H. Weber, 1960, 81–89.

The author has not seen this painting.

[2] E.g., Riedel 1765, no. 197.

[3] See the previous catalogue entry, for the S. Gallo *Annunciation*, for a preparatory study reused by Andrea for the Dresden painting.

A sheet published in *Drawings by the Old Masters in the Collection of the Earl of Pembroke* . . . (London 1900) pl. 48, with an attribution to Correggio, is identified by di Pietro 1911, 14 as a "ricordo . . . di un primo pensiero per il Matrimonio di S. Caterina a Dresda." This drawing would seem to us to be a *ricordo* taken from the picture rather than from a drawing.

Knapp 1907, 133 catalogues Uffizi 272F, sketch of a putto, as for the Dresden altar. The pose roughly resembles that of the putto, foreground, in the painting, but the drawing is by a later hand. See in the Catalogue of Attributed Drawings.

17· 1512–1513. MADONNA AND CHILD WITH THE INFANT ST. JOHN. Rome, Galleria Borghese no. 4, Cat. 1959, inv. 336. Fig. [41].

Panel, 80 x 60.

A repaired crack at left, through the figure of St. John. Some minor losses, but the condition in general is good.

The Madonna wears a dark blue mantle over a bleached red dress. The Baptist's garment is greyed blue and greyed lilac. The foreground landscape brown.

It is probably this picture that is described in an inventory of the Borghese collections of 1626, and again in 1682 and 1693, always with the mention of Andrea del Sarto as its author.[1] Morelli [1897] 92 was unwilling to accept this traditional attribution, and assigned the picture to Bugiardini, in which he was followed by Venturi 1925, 424. Berenson [1909] 16, and subsequent *Lists* retained the Sarto attribution; and Longhi 1927, 86 reaffirmed it. Longhi dates the work c. 1514. Freedberg 1961, 242 c. 1513, perhaps executed mostly by Puligo; but the assumption of Puligo's intervention is incorrect.

The posture, costume, and type of the Madonna are, obviously, nearly identical with those of the

Madonna in the Dresden altar, and the size of these two figures is also very similar, though not so much as to justify our assuming the reuse of the relevant parts of the same cartoon. Since the pose of the Madonna in the Dresden altar seems more immediately objectively justifiable than that of the Borghese Madonna, we may assume that the latter is the derivation. The handling would seem to support the assumption that this is the slightly later work; it seems still freer and more elliptical. Indeed certain passages of modelling (in the drapery of the Madonna and the St. John, and in his anatomy) seem almost carelessly summary, and some of the drawing with the brush is so rough as to give the effect of a mannered abbreviation. For the character of most of these arbitrary incidents there is adequate analogy in the Dresden altar, and we accept them for Andrea here as well.

The rough passages coexist with incidents of the most brilliant execution. The head of the Madonna, e.g., is finer and more complex than that of her counterpart in Dresden, and more closely approaches the comparable heads in the *Birth of the Virgin*. It is likely that the head of the Madonna here is already influenced by the features of Lucrezia del Fede. A resemblance (not yet visible in the Dresden source for the design) may be noted between the head in Borghese 336 and the portrait we think of Lucrezia and date 1513–1514 (Prado); compare also the central actress of the *Birth of the Virgin* and the St. Catherine of the *Holy Family* in Leningrad.[2]

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[1] Cat. Borghese 1959, no. 4.

[2] It should be observed that there may be some relation between this composition and the Michelangelo-inspired design of which Granacci's *Holy Family with St. John* (Dublin, National Gallery) is the most prominent example. Cf. Freedberg 1961, fig. 69.

18 · (1512–)1513. MADONNA WITH ST. JOHN AND THREE ANGELS. Lost. Cf. Fig. [40].

Vasari 1550, 747 gives a report of a picture done for Alessandro Corsini: "Fece un quadro ad Alexandro Corsini pieno di putti intorno: et una Nostra Donna che siede in terra, con un putto in collo." In the second edition [1880] V, 23 the punctuation is altered, substituting a comma for the colon, and a semicolon for the period. The text of the first edition permits that this description refer to two pictures rather than one, but the second edition seems to correct this ambiguity; it is almost certainly the sense of the second edition that is correct. In any case, part or whole of this report appears to be referable to the present design. Borghini [1807] II, 219 also describes this design, and in less ambiguous terms: ". . . ad Alessandro Corsini un quadro d'una nostra Donna, intorniata da pargoletti fanciulli."

According to a manuscript *postilla* in an old Vasari edition in the library of the Palazzo Corsini their picture was sold to the Crescenzi family in Rome in 1613.[1] The original was substituted by a copy, which may be either that retained in the Corsini family (no. 175, Cat. 1886) or a painting (fig. 5) now in Toronto for which a provenience from the Corsini Collection is alleged. This latter is a copy of high merit, but it much less precisely reflects the vocabulary of Andrea's lost original than a copy, of equal artistic quality, in the Petworth Collection (now on loan to the Courtauld Institute, London; Fig. [40]). These two best among the many extant copies offer different indications for the time of the original design: the Petworth copy suggesting an immediate association with the style of the Dresden altar of 1512–1513, and the Toronto copy with Andrea's vocabulary of a moment slightly later. The consistent reflection of an earlier style, in the Petworth picture, must obviously be taken as our basis for deduction of a date for the lost original; while the style, and the quality also, of the Toronto work may be accounted for by the possibility of its being a derivation manufactured in Andrea's shop, but from the same cartoon. Vasari's implication of chronology for the lost original is not sufficiently exact to help in determining a close date: he puts the painting for Corsini in a context of works that may be assembled only loosely in the middle of the second decade.

COPIES

BASEL, Art Market. 60 x 50. By Cornelis van Cleve? So attributed by M. Friedlaender 1943, 8.

Formerly? BRUSSELS, King Leopold I; listed Cat. Lille 1893, under their own copy no. 780.

Sold BUDAPEST, Ernst Museum, Mezey sale, 21 November 1927, no. 163 (as Franciabigio). Canvas, 76 x 60.

Very close to the painting now in the Kress Collection no. 173, q.v.

Sold DORDRECHT, Mak, from Castle Moermond Collection, 6–8 November 1913, no. 487. Canvas, 126 x 108.

Of good quality, but of late date in the sixteenth century.

FLORENCE, Galleria Corsini no. 175 (Cat. 1886). Panel, 121 x 99.

Unlike the Petworth or Toronto copies, this one shows a landscape background.

Gonze 1872, 118 describes this as the "original." Cat. Lille 1872, under their own no. 365, and 1893, under their own no. 780, note that the Corsini version of their painting is regarded as the original. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 194 consider the Corsini picture feeble, and dark in shadow, "like a Puligo." Guinness 1899, 93 as a poor copy. Both Crowe and Cavalcaselle and Guinness incorrectly describe four angels, rather than three.[2]

——— Uffizi, deposit, no. unknown.

Of good quality, but ruined (photograph Soprintendenza 5350).

Formerly FLORENCE, Art Market.

Friedlaender 1943, 9. Of inferior quality.

——— Rev. Sanford Collection. 135 x 124.5.

Nicolson 1955, 210. Listed in the Sanford inventory as a Bronzino, with a provenience from the Guidi Gallery, Florence. Sold from the Sanford Collection in 1839. Differs from the other copies in that a *cartellino* with the legend "Ecce Agnus Dei" is painted into the lower left corner beside the Baptist's cross. Untraced.

LILLE, Musée des Peintures no. 780. Panel, 120 x 100.

From the Nantes Museum, by government decree, in 1801;[3] earlier in the Campana Collection. Inscribed on the rear: "Parma." Villot (Cat. Louvre 1869, 270) had identified this painting as that done by Andrea for "un mercaio" at Rome; without foundation. Gonze 1872, 118 as a copy by a pupil, perhaps a Fleming in Florence, of the painting in the Corsini. Gnoli 1908, 159 as a shop piece. Friedlaender 1943, 9 as a copy or shop piece.

Of Raphaelesque accent, and probably of seventeenth-century date.

LONDON, E. Hockcliffe.

A late sixteenth-century Mannerizing copy. The drapery is suspended from trees; open sky to rear.

NEW YORK, Kress Collection no. 173. Canvas, 75 x 69.8. Monochrome.

From the C. D. Rotch Collection, sold London, Christie's, 29 January 1949, no. 70. To the Kress Collection 1950. An attribution to G. B. Naldini is suggested by Longhi (letter to Kress Collection, 20 March 1950).

Apparently faithful in motive, but the most independent in style among the copies. Cf. the painting sold Budapest, Ernst Museum, Mezey sale, 21 November 1927.

Formerly? NEW ORLEANS, Mrs. C. K. Prentiss. Panel, 119.5 x 96.5. Last recorded in 1908.

PETWORTH HOUSE, Sussex, John Wyndham, Esq. (ex-Lord Leconfield Collection no. 333, Cat. 1920). Panel, 132 x 96.5. Inscribed on the center foreground "ANDREAS DELSARTO FLS FACIEBAT." A *cartellino* with music to the lower right. Fig. [40].

The Madonna wears a robe of muted blue with gold edging; her undergarment is violet, her sleeves pale ochre *changeant* to rose-grey. St. John wears a rose-red loincloth and brown goatskin. He stands on a pale dove-grey sack. The angel right in a transparent loincloth. The background is blue-grey; the curtain green.[4]

Suggestive in style of a painter of the midcentury, working in a vein like that of Michele di Ridolfo.

The connection of this copy with the style of the Dresden altar and with the *Madonna*, Borghese 336, in types, proportions, expression, and attitudes is evident, and the copy reflects the smoothed fullness of modelling we find in these same works. If there were doubt left by the evidence of this copy as to the time of origin of Andrea's original painting it would be resolved by the relation in design between this and the Dresden altar. Both use the same device of a *baldacchino*, containing an oval grouping of figures in an arrangement that is plastically dense but carefully articulated by effects of light. It should be observed that the pose of the Virgin here is partly reused in the *Birth of the Virgin* of the Annunziata, in the handmaid at the right of the group beside the fireplace.

TORONTO, Art Gallery no. 50/40 Panel 124.5 x 91.5. The angels in the other versions have here been unwinged, and given haloes.[5] Fig. 5.

The Madonna wears a rose dress, touched with violet, with yellow-gold undersleeves and (across her lap) a cloak of muted blue with a green cast. Her head scarf is white. John wears a dull grey-lilac cape over his brown goatskin, and stands on a white sack. His hair is strongly reddish-orange. The background curtain green.

Exhibited as "Workshop of Andrea del Sarto." This version of the composition is supposed to have been in the possession of the Corsini family, presumably in the gallery in Florence, until it was brought to England in the last years of the eighteenth century by John Udny, then English consul in Leghorn.[6] It then came into the possession of the Beauchamp-Proctor family of Langley, Norwich, supposedly before 1800, and remained in that family until sold London, Christie's, 31 May 1946. Sold from Agnew & Sons, London, to the Toronto Gallery 1951, gift of the R. W. Leonard estate.

This may be no more than a close contemporary copy, but we believe its difference in style from the Petworth copy is best explained by predicating an origin in Andrea's shop, as a reuse of the same cartoon, at a moment which at earliest corresponds to that of the Scalzo *Caritas*. There is, in general, in this copy, a sharper and more angular manner of indicating form than in the Petworth picture. This sharper drawing appears in particular in the drapery and in the headdress of the Madonna in a way that may even suggest works of c. 1515, as, e.g., in the Scalzo *Preaching of the Baptist*, the woman seated left center.

VALENCIENNES, Museum no. 175 (Cat. 1931). Copper, 45.5 x 36. A smaller derivation, with angels added above.

In the exhibition *Geborgene Kunstwerke aus dem Besitzen Nordfrankreich* (Valenciennes, 1918), no. 303, this copy was attributed to Rottenhamer.

Formerly? WILSHIRE, Stourhead Collection no. 30. 110.5 x 92.

Cf. R. C. Hoare, *History of Wilshire . . .* (1820). A good copy of the sixteenth century.

UNIDENTIFIED PLACE. Formerly Comte d'-Espagnes Collection (so listed Cat. Lille 1893, under their own no. 780).

——— Flemish copy of the midsixteenth century (photograph Witt Library).

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[1] Ed. Vasari 1767–1771, III (1771) 362n2, reports this *postilla.* The information repeated by Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 23n2. Bottari, ed. Vasari [1759] II, 223n4 reports a "bella copia" of the picture in the Casa Corsini, but he knows nothing of the fate of the original.

[2] The Corsini copy was mislaid from the collection during World War II, and has not yet been traced. I am indebted to Donna Elena Corsini for her kindness in attempting to locate the picture.

Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 23n2 observes that the "original" had been identified in a *Holy Family* in Munich (cf. Cat. Munich 1877, no. 548); actually that painting is a version of Louvre no. 1515. Cat. Corsini 1880 and 1886 note this identification is erroneous.

[3] See also *Notice Historique sur le Musée de Peintures de Nantes* (1858) 17, no. 12.

[4] Color description kindly supplied by Dr. John Shearman.

[5] Perhaps to make a deliberate iconographic change of the *angelini* into *Innocenti*?

[6] Udny was also the owner of a *Madonna with Sts. John and Elizabeth*, attributed to Sarto, sold London 1804. See in our Catalogue of Untraceable Attributed Pictures.

19· c. 1513. MADONNA WITH STS. ELIZABETH, CATHERINE, AND THE INFANT ST. JOHN. Leningrad, Hermitage no. 62, Cat. 1958 [1].

Figs. [42–44].

Canvas (transferred from panel), 102 x 80. Inscribed (on St. Catherine's wheel) "Andrea del Sarto Florentino Faciebat."

It is reported (see below) that the painting is in dubious or bad condition.[2] Some effect of abrasion is in fact evident in the flesh tones and in the lighter draperies. Damage exists, but not to such extent that it is substantially disfiguring. In particular, it would seem incorrect to read the blanched appearance of the flesh, with the accents of dark that are seemingly too sharply contrasting (as in the eyes) as the result of damage only. The handling in these areas resembles that we see in the *Tobias* altar of Vienna, where it is clearly the result of intention, not of condition.

Elizabeth in a white scarf and muted violet garment; the Madonna in a dark blue skirt and mantle over a reddish-violet dress; Catherine wears an orange-gold cap and reddish-orange shawl. St. John is red-haired. The sky a soft but intense blue, touched with violet.

Cat. Leningrad 1899, no. 24 gives the provenience of the picture as follows: Comtesse de Verue, Comte de Morville, Duc de Tallard,[3] Prince William of Cassel. It was seized from the latter by the French in 1806, and placed at Malmaison. Acquired from Malmaison in 1866; transferred to canvas at that time.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 199 as a replica of the painting at Windsor, q.v. below. They state that the Leningrad picture is overcleaned and restored, so that they doubt if it is by Andrea or a pupil. Morelli [1893] 239 as an overcleaned original. Guinness 1899, 97 as Andrea's. Knapp 1907, 81 reports that it is apparently in dubious condition, but he has no uncertainty about Andrea's authorship, and would assign the picture to 1519, suggesting that it may have been painted in France. In his catalogue, 132, he gives the date 1519 as if it were explicit rather than a supposition; and Venturi 1925, 625 and Berenson [1932] 18 repeat the date from Knapp as if it were a piece of factual information. Fraenckel 1935, 166 considers the picture the work of a follower. Comandé 1952, 38 holds to the attribution to Andrea, and describes the picture in the context of Andrea's works of c. 1511–1513. Freedberg 1961, 447–449 as a work of 1515–1516, incorrectly.

For this work, the most convincing analogues of style are offered in pictures we may date c. 1513. In general, the proportions of the figures, their quality of expression, and the sfumato style relate to those of the Dresden *Marriage of St. Catherine* and (what we know from copies of) the *Madonna with Angels* for Alessandro Corsini. With the latter picture there is also a similarity of composition, and a community of types and even of specific motives that imply a close connection in their time. However, the Leningrad painting much exceeds the Dresden picture, and the Borghese *Madonna with St. John* also, in the fine complexity which all their common elements are handled; and the same relation to the lost Corsini *Madonna* is indicated by the copies. Form is slighter in the Leningrad painting; linear patterns, and still more conspicuously the lighting, are more various and delicate, and expression is more finely nuanced. This work may belong to the group of 1512–1513, but if it does it is the farthest development on their peculiar terms.

With works that (by our account) follow the group that begins with the Dresden altar, the Leningrad picture shows relations that are no less persuasive. In the *Caritas*, which we place from 1513 into early 1514, there is a close likeness in the children; the grisailles (Uffizi) of the same time are similar in types and in their refined, accented handling. In the *Birth of the Virgin*, begun in the autumn of 1513, there is a close kinship of the infant types (cf. especially the statuary putti on the mantlepiece and the newborn Virgin) and a marked likeness particularly between the seated handmaids left of center and the Madonna here. Where the Leningrad painting differs from the *Birth of the Virgin* or the *Caritas* is in its fineness of mood and form; it does not have their effect of breadth, nor does it imply, as they do, a new monumentality.

In the *Birth of the Virgin* the features of the visitor in the center foreground of the fresco are surely the same as those of the woman who plays St. Catherine in the *Holy Family*. She may be identified as the young Lucrezia del Fede, and this may be her earliest explicit appearance in Andrea's work.[4]

COPIES AND DERIVATIONS

Sold COLOGNE, Rinecker sale, 1888, no. 32. Panel, 104 x 77.

Of the seventeenth century or later.

LONDON, National Gallery no. 17. Panel, 106 x 81. Without the St. Catherine.

From the Villa Aldobrandini, Rome. Purchased 1805 by Irvine for Mr. Buchanan. In the Carr Collection 1816, when it was exhibited at the British Institution. Holwell Carr bequest to the National Gallery, 1831.[5]

Waagen 1854, I, 322 by a scholar, most probably Puligo. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 200: "probably by one of the disciples." Freedberg 1961, 497 by Puligo on Andrea's cartoon.

Aside from the omission of the St. Catherine, this is a variation on Andrea's model rather than a literal copy from it.[6] The alterations from Andrea's vocabulary are strongly indicative of Puligo's style; cf. especially the profile heads of the Elizabeth and St. John. The drawing on the panel has been done first with the stylus.

WINDSOR CASTLE, H. M. the Queen. Panel, 107 x 81.2.[7] Branded on the back "WR 127." Apparently acquired by Frederick Prince of Wales and noted in his Leicester House by Vertue, 1749. Catalogued Windsor as a copy.[8]

Waagen 1854, II, 434 suggests that this also may be Puligo, but there is no ground for this assumption. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 203 are nearer the mark in their assessment: "a careful but tame imitation of Andrea by a comparatively modern painter." The picture may be of seventeenth-century date.

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[1] No. 24 in Cat. 1916 and earlier.

[2] This work judged on photographic evidence only.

[3] Sold Paris 1756; see Mireur VII (1912) 279.

[4] See our discussion of the identification of Lucrezia's features in our catalogue entries for the *Birth of the Virgin*, no. 22, and the Madrid portrait, no. 23.

The drawing in the British Museum (Payne-Knight pp. 2–99, red chalk, 33.5 x 21) of the St. Catherine in the Leningrad picture is a copy after the painting, by a hand of considerable sophistication, but of later date (to me suggesting the possibility of Santi di Tito's authorship). Catalogued in the Cabinet as a copy. Berenson [1938] no. 2376 gives this sheet to Puligo.

[5] No. 332 in Cat. 1929.

[6] In color also; the color differs from that in the intendedly literal copy at Windsor.

[7] The vertical dimension is slightly greater than that of the original, but this should not be taken to indicate that the Leningrad picture has been cut down. The more satisfactory proportion of the original, and the accord in proportion with it of the London derivation, suggest the added height of the Windsor panel is a deviation.

[8] No. 2 in Cat. 1937.

20 · 1513 (–1514). GRISAILLE CANVASES.[1] Florence, Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni nos. 91461, 91462, 91464. Figs. [45–47].

Tempera, overpainted in oil, on canvas.

No. 91461: Two female nudes reclining, two putti playing with pieces of armor. 56 x 144. Generally abraded, and a conspicuous entire loss at lower right.

No. 91462: Three satyrlike youths, seated, with musical instruments; the youths wearing crowns of laurel, presumably the Medici *broncone*.[2] 57.5 x 115.

No. 91464: A nude male seated, from the rear, holding the *broncone;* a bearded man in armor, kneeling; both figures wear foliate crowns. Behind them, trophies of weapons and armor. 57.5 x 115.

To the Uffizi 1913, from the Academy. The rear of each canvas bears the seal of the Academy and the seal of the Florentine house of Lorraine.[3]

Assigned for the first time to Andrea (with reservations for an assistant's collaboration in 91462 only) by Giglioli 1926, 261–266 with a dating in 1514–1515. Giglioli observes that the monochrome canvases are imitative of reliefs, and surmises they constituted the frieze of some (temporary) arch erected for a festival; then, in view of the dating at which he has arrived on grounds of style, he makes the suggestion that this festival may have been the ceremonial entry of Leo X, in the autumn of 1515. Wackernagel 1938, 41, 204, 267 refers to these pieces as remainders from the decoration for Leo X. Freedberg 1961, 446–447 takes this association as correct, and uses the date of Leo's entry as relevant to the grisailles.[4]

Most recently, Shearman 1962, 478–483 has proposed another association for these grisailles. He points out that there is an alternate possibility for Andrea's participation in a festival decoration, to which these pieces, by their technique, support, and subject would seem properly to belong: the carnival of February 1513, in which the newly formed Medici companies of the *Diamante* and *Broncone*, under the presidencies of Giuliano and Lorenzo di Piero, exhibited decorated *carri.* These floats are described in some detail by Vasari in his life of Pontormo, of 1568 [1881] VI, 250 ff. The *carri* of the *Diamante*, three in number, were (according to Vasari [1881] VI, 251) painted by Pontormo solely, but among their "architetti" were Andrea del Sarto and his associate of other occasions as a decorator, Andrea di Cosimo Feltrini. There were seven *Broncone* floats, of which Vasari does not name the "architetti," but which he discusses as if their principal, if not their sole painter was Pontormo. Vasari describes each of these floats and, in the course of four descriptions, takes care to connect Pontormo's name with their paintings (floats 1, 3, 4, and 6); for the last float, decorated with reliefs, he specifies that Bandinelli is the author. Because Vasari has not repeated his mention of Jacopo's name in his descriptions of floats 2 and 5 it is at least logically possible to assert, by argument *ex silentio*, that these were by another artist. Shearman suggests, only tentatively, that Sarto (already involved as a named "architetto" in the *Diamante* floats) may have been this presumptive unnamed artist, and that the grisailles now in the Uffizi may have been a contribution by him to the decoration of the *Broncone* cars. (Like Giglioli, Shearman sees the hand of another painter than Andrea in the grisaille of the three seated youths. Shearman would assign this to Andrea di Cosimo; and we see some justification for separating the execution of this panel from the others.) Shearman's argument is suggestive, but his tentative attachment of the grisailles to the *Broncone carri* is, on his evidence, unprovable; and in his own opinion it is not certain. The grisailles, Shearman concludes, may have been made for some other festival occasion of about the same date.

What is beyond contest, however, is Shearman's initial reason for searching, for these grisailles, for an association of an event toward 1513 rather than one of two years later, such as the festival for Leo's entry. The style of the grisailles is, as Shearman points out, comparable to that of the upper (and earlier) portions of the *Birth of the Virgin* fresco, begun in 1513 (though not so early in the year as Shearman believes; see our account of the documents, our catalogue entry no. 22) and to the Scalzo *Caritas*. In our opinion, the resemblances to the *Caritas* may be the closer: cf. particularly the putto center in no. 91461 with the infant held by Caritas, and the female anatomies of the same grisaille with that of Caritas; in no. 91462 cf. the head of the child at right with that of the standing putto in the *Caritas*. The full and rounding contours in all three grisailles are very like those in the *Caritas* fresco. In no. 91464 especially the quick and subtle accenting of contour suggests Sarto's mode of drawing in the Leningrad *Holy Family*, which we have placed c. 1513. With the *Birth of the Virgin* fresco, further comparisons may be made, beyond the summary few Shearman has selected: as, e.g., of the seated youths in 91462 with the putti-ornaments upon the fireplace.

While the exact destination of these grisailles remains unclear, it would seem that they could not have been painted at a time much distant from that of the *Caritas* or the earlier portions of the *Birth of the Virgin*. In both cases, we are dealing with works which (in the case of the *Birth of the Virgin* by document, and in that of the *Caritas* by evidence of style) belong to 1513–1514. It is within this short span, but toward its earlier rather than its later term, that we must date the grisailles.[5]

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[1] Tan, white, and black.

[2] A Medicean symbol, referring to the living, as contrasted with the extinct, branch of the Medicean house. Cf. Vasari 1568 [1880] V, 251, Cox 1957, 107, and Shearman 1962, 478.

[3] A fourth panel, no. 91460, *Two Angelini*, 51.5 x 79.5, largely in grisaille but touched with color, is associated with these in the Gabinetto dei Disegni. It is correctly attributed by Giglioli 1926, 266 to Pontormo; so also Cox 1957, 201.

[4] Vasari 1550, 747–748; 1568 [1880] V, 24–25 describes Andrea's contributions to the elaborate decorations made for the reception of Pope Leo X in Florence, into which he made his ceremonial entry on 30 November 1515. For this occasion Jacopo Sansovino designed a false façade for the Duomo, of wood and painted canvas, which was "lavorata in diverse storie di chiaroscuro dal nostro Andrea tanto bene, che più non si sarebbe potuto disiderare" (V, 25). Sansovino was not only architect of this façade, but also the author of "alcune storie di bassorilievo, e di scultura molte figure tonde."

For further bibliography on the decorations for Leo's entry see especially Reumont 1835, 66–68 and Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 24n3, 25n1–3. Milanesi cites a document from records of the Otto di Pratica of payment for the entire decoration, on 8 December 1515, in the amount of 5090 gold florins, 36 lire, 2 soldi, 8 denari. The participants in the work are named in this document, and their contributions mentioned; Andrea and Jacopo are cited as working on the façade of the Cathedral.

Pope-Hennessy 1959, 4–10 has correctly identified a relief by Jacopo Sansovino of a *Susannah and the Elders*, in the Victoria & Albert Museum, 56.5 x 127.5, in light material, but simulating bronze, as from this decoration.

Waagen 1854, I, 44 mentions a drawing of the façade by Sansovino, then in the possession of the dealer

Woodburn, London. Presumably the same drawing was sold to another dealer, Thibeaudeau, from the collection of the Duke of Hamilton in 1882 (Redford 1888, I, 330), 14½ x 25 in. This drawing had at one time been in the Lawrence Collection.

[5] The possibility of dating into 1514 does not, however, revalidate the likelihood of the former assumption that these panels belong to the pictorial decoration for Leo X; it is hardly likely that the preparation of that decoration, intended for use in November 1515, had begun already in the previous year. It might be observed, to support the inclination of these canvases backwards from 1514 rather than into it, that their figures resemble the putti, on very small scale, but also in grisaille, painted by Andrea on the base of the Virgin's lectern in the S. Gallo *Annunciation* of 1512.

Giglioli makes the assumption (based on the difference in size, and in scale of its figures, from Andrea's grisailles) that Pontormo's canvas, no. 91460, grouped in the Uffizi with Andrea's, did not belong to the same decoration. Shearman would also dissociate Pontormo's piece from Andrea's, and allow it to remain as a work of 1515.

21 · 1513 (–1514). CHARITY. Florence, Chiostro dello Scalzo. Figs. [48, 55].

Fresco (grisaille), 194 x 91.

The plinth lower left effaced.

A dulled yellow-orange at the hem of Charity's drapery remains of a former gold-toned accent.

Mentioned by Vasari 1550, 746 and 1568 [1880] V, 21, together with the *Justice*, as a work of the time when Andrea resumed painting in the Scalzo (after an interval since the early *Baptism*). Reumont 1835, 146–147 and *Verz.*, 1525 (as he dates the three other *Virtues*, also). Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 181 place the *Caritas* with the *Fides*, in 1520, as does Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 69; this dating rests upon the improper association with the *Caritas* in particular of a document dated 19 August 1520. For our comment on this point see our catalogue entry no. 8, p. 11. Mantz 1877, 264; Guinness 1899, 91; Knapp 1907, 82; Sinibaldi 1925*a*, 18; Venturi 1925, 548; Fraenckel 1935, 166; all persist in the dating 1520. Sinibaldi doubts the entire originality of the *Caritas* and Venturi suggests it may be executed with assistance. Fraenckel unequivocally considers the fresco to be shop work. Freedberg 1961, 442 c. 1515.[1]

The order of execution of the *Caritas* among the frescoes of the cloister does not violate the progression counterclockwise, space after successive space, that we can document for the remaining paintings. Evidently its style is much more developed than that of the early *Baptism of Christ*, which it adjoins; it is equally evident that the *Caritas* does not yet show the more angular and accented manner of its pendant, *Justice*, documented late in 1515. The association of style the *Caritas* suggests is with the group of works that lie close to 1513 or into 1514. The physionomic and anatomical type of Caritas is almost interchangeable with those of some of the figures in Andrea's *Birth of the Virgin* (cf. especially her head with that of the handmaid at the far left, and her proportion and shape of body with the woman center); the drapery style is also closely comparable. The infants with Caritas compare, in face, posture, and in drawing of anatomy, with those of the fresco. Compare the pose and drawing of the infant held by Caritas with the angel in the center of the canopy, and the head of this same infant with that of the statuary putto to our left on the fireplace. Compare also the foreshortened head of the standing infant with that of the baby Virgin.

While these likenesses to the vocabulary of the *Birth of the Virgin* are entirely convincing, the Caritas also suggests, more than the figures in the fresco, qualities and details like those in the group of paintings that preceded the fresco in time, as the Leningrad *Holy Family*, the *Madonna with Angels* for Corsini, and the *Madonna with St. John* (Borghese no. 336). There is still something in the *Caritas* of the strong, but slightly graceless, proportion and articulation of the figures in those paintings. The head of Caritas is close to that of the St. Catherine in the Leningrad picture,[2] and the head of the standing child is a near paraphrase on that of the Christ child in the *Holy Family*.[3]

All the resemblances we point out are so close as to assure us of Andrea's own entire execution of the *Caritas*, and so also does the quality of the painting. Vigorous and quick in handling, it is (excluding the neutral background) three days' *buon fresco* work. It is only when a mistaken effort is made to compare the *Caritas* with the products of Andrea's hand c. 1520 that the hesitations of Sinibaldi and Venturi, and the negative estimation of Fraenckel, must occur. The *Caritas* is one of two Virtues that are not mentioned in the surviving documents for the Scalzo decoration (Comp. Sopp. 1198/28), which begins (as we have noted) only in September 1514. The much later omission, of the Virtue of *Faith*, is not accountable for but this omission, of the *Caritas*, may be, since its style indicates that it was painted probably in 1513, at the latest early in 1514, before the ledger we still have starts.[4]

COPY

FLORENCE, Contessa Francesca Piccolomini-Bandini. Canvas, height c. 1 m.

Of the later sixteenth century.

See also under our catalogue entry no. 8, Florence, Art Market.

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[1] Wölfflin [1952] 170 notices a connection of motive with the scene on the *Heliodorus* ceiling, in the *Stanze*, of *God Appearing to Noah*; this might be taken as evidence for a Roman trip if the resemblance were more convincing. A Florentine antecedent for Andrea's motive, not too dissimilar, is in a context we believe Andrea studied, Filippino's Strozzi chapel in S. M. Novella. Pope-Hennessy 1959, 7 suggests the child at left in the *Caritas* may be derived, loosely, from a work by Jacopo Sansovino, a *Bacchus* for the garden at Gualfonda, documented in 1512.

[2] Guinness 1899, 91 asserts the *Caritas* is a portrait of Andrea's wife; there is in fact a resemblance to the frequent model who begins to appear c. 1513–1514, and who we assume is Lucrezia.

[3] There is a reference in the *Caritas* to a still earlier work, the *Annunciation* for S. Gallo of 1512, but this (in the pose of the main figures and their lower draperies) is of motive more than of style, and the source of the motive is in Andrea Sansovino's *Justice*, soon to be reused in Sarto's figure of the same subject.

[4] Jacobsen 1898, 297 and Knapp 1907, 131 doubtfully associate with Andrea's *Caritas* the drawing of the same subject, Uffizi 341F, which since is usually attributed to Pontormo. The Pontormo drawing can be dated with some precision, on grounds of style, in 1515 (Cox 1957, 19; but cf. Berenson [1938] no. 1963 and Marcucci 1955*b*, 250, who place it c. 1512. Pontormo's sheet would seem to be inspired by Andrea's fresco. Andrea's group is also quoted by Pontormo in the background of his *Joseph Sold to Potiphar* (1516 on grounds of style, but with precision).

Venturi 1925, 548n2 wrongly identifies as a study for the head of Caritas the drawing Louvre 1686, which is for the head of the Madonna in the Wallace Collection no. 9.

Müller 1886, 707–718 publishes, but does not illustrate, a large drawing, 5′ 2½″ x 2′ 10″ (damaged and pieced together), and inscribed "abozzo di Andrea del Sarto," which he purchased in Florence. Guinness 1899, 31, 91 gives the dimensions of this attributed drawing as 2′ 6″ x 2′ 10″, and doubts its originality. There is no recent record of the Müller sheet.

22 · 1513–1514. BIRTH OF THE VIRGIN. Florence, SS. Annunziata. Figs. [49–51].

Fresco, 413 x 345. Signed "Andreas Faciebat" on the fireplace left, and dated 1514.

Pervasive damage by humidity and weathering; there are pin-point losses throughout the fresco, and a few areas, especially in the background, where modelling is lost or has become indecipherable. The color has faded badly, but more or less evenly. Cleaned 1957.

The colors of the figures, left to right: the boy in the fireplace wears a dark brick-red dress over light violet sleeves, yellow-grey stockings. The standing handmaid has a blue-violet hat and a muted lilac dress with touches of white, green, and pink. The seated maid below her has a light blue hat, gold-edged, a gauzy white scarf, and a light green dress. Behind these figures, the figure of the porter coming through the door shows a neutral red-violet behind a bronzy yellow-green curtain; the space through the door is pale blue. The handmaid just left of the bed has a yellow-orange golden dress with reddish-orange sleeves; she holds a white cloth on her lap. Joachim has a pale violet hat and coat with a salmon-colored collar and green stockings. The lady center is in a dress of pale rose with a salmon tint over a dark violet underskirt; the upper edge of her bodice violet, as is that of the figure to her left. This lady wears a pale yellow-orange dress *changeant* to pale lilac in shadows. Her underdress is green with a dark violet edging. The maid behind the bed in a red-violet dress with green sleeves. The blanket on the bed light blue, the sheet white; Anna in a violet dress and grey-white hood. The maid to her left wears a blue-grey hat, a pale lilac dress with grey-white sleeves and light green shoes.

The upper region of the picture has inky purple clouds, in which we see the angel in dark red-violet; the *angelini* are blonde with blue and dull red-orange wings. The bed beneath them is stony grey, with a dull gold frieze and light lilac curtains. The walls of the room are a faded green. Joachim's seat and the frame of the bed to the front are a red-violet brown; there is a redder brown panelled wall behind Joachim. The fireplace is in stony grey with pale grey-blue simulation of *pietra serena.* The floor to the front is reddish tan.

A.S.F. 119/704, SS. Annunziata, Entrata e Uscita, 1509–1512, c. 113v, carries the first document for this fresco, a payment on account of the work to be done, dated 25 December 1511: "A Andrea d'Agnolo dipintore questo dì detto lire sette, sono per conto della nova storia di Nostra Donna debe fare: portò Francesco suo fratello contanti .... £ 7" [1]

A further payment, also on account for work yet to be done, is recorded in A.S.F. 119/705, Entrata e Uscita D, 1512–1516, c. 76r, under the date 7 January 1512 (st. c. 1513): "A Andrea dagnolo dipintore questo di 7 di detto fiorini due larghi d'oro in oro sono per conto del quadro debe dipignere portò lui detto .... £14" [2] The similar amount of payment and the repetition of the phrase "per conto del quadro debe dipignere" would indicate that this document also applies to the *Birth of the Virgin,* and that it was still to be begun by Andrea.

Further documents, so far unpublished, are in the same book of record:

c. 106r., 22 September 1513: "A Andrea d'-Agnolo dipintore, adì decto, f. dua d'oro in oro, sono per parte di dipinture, portò lui contanti £ 14"

c. 116r., 17 December 1513: "A' Ndrea d'Agnolo dipintore, adì 17 di decto, f. dua d'oro, sono per parte di dipintura, portò lui contanti .... £ 14"

c. 117v., 7 January 1513 (st. c. 1514): "A Andrea d'Agnolo dipintore, adì decto, £. tre, portò lui contanti, per parte del quadro .... £ 3"

c. 122v., 7 March 1513 (st. c. 1514): "A 'Mdrea [*sic*] d'Agnolo dipintore f. tre d'oro portò lui contanti per dipignere e quadri del c[h]iostro, cio[è] portò el suo fratello .... £ 21"

c. 124r., 28 March 1514: "A spese de muraglie adì decto f. quatro d'oro in oro, f. tre portò Andrea d'Agnolo dipintore per oro per inorare e capitelli de dua quadri à dipinto, e f. uno d'oro portò Iacopo dipintore sopra a l'archo dela volta sopra ala porta di fora, per inorare quelle figure .... £ 28"

Following on the previous records of payment on account for the fresco not yet begun, the connection of these last five documents with the *Birth of the Virgin* would seem certain; they indicate its beginning in the early autumn of 1513, and its completion (according to the language of c. 122v) by early March of 1514. The document for expenses of gilding on c. 124r is of particular interest, since it refers also to the completion of the papal *stemma,* on the outer façade of the *chiostrino,* by Andrea's former assistant, Jacopo Pontormo.

The record on c. 125r, 31 March 1514, reports the completion of agreed payment for both the *Birth of the Virgin* and the *Adoration,* and a supplementary payment: "A' Ndrea [*sic*] d'Angnolo dipintore, adì decto, £. quatro, sono per resto di dua quadri à dipinto, e più f. 6 sono per compimento di decto dipintore glie dà el convento di soprapiù, portò lui contanti .... £ 46"

The total payment for the *Birth of the Virgin,* excluding the odd amount of three lire (c. 117v), the gratuity of 31 March, and the payment for gilding, was ten florins.

Mentioned in the *Libro di Antonio Billi,* 51 and in the *Codex Magliabechiano,* 108. Vasari 1550, 740–741, in sequence preceding the *Adoration* of the Annunziata: "Aveva in questo tempo il frate de' Servi allogato al Francia Bigio una delle istorie de'l cortile; il quale non aveva finito ancora la turata, che Andrea insospettito, perchè gli pareva che il Francia nel maneggiare i colori a fresco, valesse più di lui: con prestezza per gara fece i cartoni di due storie, nel canto fra la porta del fianco di San Bastiano: et quella a man ritta che entra ne' Servi: et si messe a colorirle con un gradissimo amore. Nelle quali istorie in una fece la natività della Nostra Donna, dove si vede un componimento di figure, ben misurate in una camera, figurato certe comari o parente, che vengono a visitare la donna de'l parto: con quegli abiti stessi che si usava a suo tempo. Et in oltre fece al fuoco le donne che lavano la Nostra Donna: donde che fa le fascie, et chi altre facende. Et fra gli altri un fanciullo che si scalda al fuoco molto vivace: Senza che vi è un vecchio che si riposa in s'un un lettuccio: ch'è molto naturale. Et inoltre è piena l'istoria di femmine, che ministrano cose da mangiare: et in aria putti che getton fiori: i quali con tutte le figure, son d'aria, di panni, et d'ogni cosa consideratissimi, oltre il colorito morbido et dolcissimo, che paion carne; et le figure più vive che dipinte. Simile è l'altra dove Andrea fece i tre Magi scavalcati . . ." Substantially the same account is in Vasari 1568 [1880] V, 15–16. Del Migliore 1684, 270. Richa VIII (1759) 60. Cinelli [1677] 427 reports that the woman standing center is supposed to be a portrait of Lucrezia del Fede. Baldinucci VIII (1770) 4, 5, in his life of Jacopo da Empoli, offers some confirmation of this identification. Baldinucci tells us that Empoli, as an old man, used to recount how on one occasion, when "da giovanetto," he was drawing from the *Birth of the Virgin*, Lucrezia ". . . allora di grave età . . . si fermava quivi con gran piacere a vederlo operare, e andavagli accennando i ritratti, che sono in quella storia stati cavati al naturale dal volto di lei medesima, discorrendo col giovanetto (forse non senza lagrime) del tempo, e luogo, ed altre circonstanze del suo stare al naturale al Marito quando gli faceva." It should be noted that Baldinucci reports Empoli as speaking of "ritratti," rather than a single head, of Lucrezia in this fresco. There is in fact a close resemblance to Lucrezia in a second head in the fresco, in addition to that of the lady center, in the handmaid on the right side of the group before the fireplace. The head Cinelli identifies is an explicitly convincing portrait of Lucrezia, almost interchangeable in features with that of Lucrezia as St. Catherine in the Leningrad *Holy Family*, shortly precedent in time. Biadi 1859, 37–38, would have the handmaid to Lucrezia's left a portrait of her sister, and the girl, who approaches Anna's bed from the rear, a portrait of Lucrezia's daughter Maria (but she was born in 1512). Biadi gives the inscribed date of the fresco, 1514, but like Vasari places it before the *Adoration;* so also Reumont 1835, 57, 58n. Reumont notes the evident relation of the painting to Ghirlandaio's antecedent in S. M. Novella. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI 172–175, place the beginning of the *Birth of the Virgin* toward the end of 1511, and regard its execution as contemporary with that of the *Adoration*. They indicate the likeness of the head center, of Lucrezia, with the [late] portrait of her in Berlin. Guinness 1899, 87 as Crowe and Cavalcaselle, citing the document of 25 December 1511 published earlier by Milanesi. Knapp 1907, 42–43 points out the connection, of motives but also of certain elements of composition, with Dürer's *Birth of the Virgin* (B. 80) in the *Marienleben* woodcut series of 1506.[3] Sinibaldi 1925*a*, 10–11 correctly interprets the relation of the documents of prepayment to the dated time of execution of the fresco. She remarks the likeness to Correggio of the angels in the upper part of the painting. Venturi 1925, 538 mentions the affinity of mentality, and of female type in particular, to Palma Vecchio.[4] Fraenckel 1933, 162–163 improperly assigns the group of angels above the canopy of Anna's bed to Pontormo as executant, but in 1935, 206–207n25 is more tentative. She speculates that the motive of the putti on the mantelpiece may be derived from Jacopo Sansovino. Shearman 1962, 480, apparently on the basis of the (then still unpublished) documents, also known to him, asserts the fresco was begun in January 1513; but see our analysis above.

COPY AFTER LOST PREPARATORY DRAWING

FLORENCE, Uffizi no. 6466F. An angel, draped and in flight; the head and right arm of a younger angel; the head of the first angel restudied lower right. Black chalk, 20.4 x 31.2. Fig. 33.

A copy of later sixteenth-century date, after a fairly finished study by Andrea for the figure upper left of the canopy of Anna's bed, and an unused study for one of the *angelini* toward the right. The style of the original drawing must still have been related to that in the study for the S. Gallo *Annunciation*, Uffizi 273F.

The copy presently carries the attribution to Maso di S. Friano in the Cabinet.

DERIVATION

ALNWICK CASTLE, Duke of Northumberland. Panel, 86.3 x 68.6. From the Camuccini Collection, as a copy by Pontormo. Waagen 1857, 467 by Pontormo.

A free copy.[5]

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[1] Transcribed by Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 67.

[2] This document was published, but in an only partially correct transcription, by Milanesi (*ibid.*) and in a context that made its reference ambiguous, following a document of 25 June 1512 that was once believed to apply to a work of Sarto's (the *Parables* of the Anunziata *Orto*) but which Shearman 1960*b*, 155 has proved was meant to describe a transaction with Andrea di Cosimo Feltrini.

[3] A somewhat strained analysis of the transformation worked on Dürer's model by Andrea is in Hagen 1918, 230.

[4] ". . . il sole di maggio ha fatto sbocciare in un interno color di viola le immagini muliebri, luminose

nei loro toni di rosa e d'oro, i fiori di rorida e opulente bellezza che ci richiamano — in terra toscana — i veneti giardini di Palma il Vecchio."

[5] Lanzi [1824] 216 implies the existence of a copy in the Collection Pirri, Rome. Borghini [1807] II, 226 mentions "un bellissimo quadretto, entrovi una Natività di Christo con più figurine di sua mano" [i.e., Andrea's] in the collection of Baccio Valori, but Bocchi [1677] 366 describes the same picture as a "parto di S. Lisabetta." What he describes, however, would seem to resemble the Annunziata fresco. The same picture is cited separately, with both titles, by Biadi 1829, 155 and 156, with the indication that the Valori house is now occupied by the Altoviti. The picture is given as a "Birth of St. John," in the Palazzo Altoviti, by Scott 1881, 126, evidently following Biadi.

The following are copies in drawing after the fresco: Florence, Uffizi 636E (formerly assigned to Andrea, but now given in the Cabinet to Giovanni da S. Giovanni); London, British Museum 1889-8-6-304, after the boy in the fireplace; Vienna, Albertina SR 174, after the lower part of the fresco (Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 16n1 as an original); SR 187, after the handmaid with the salver, to the right (this a copy of the copy sold Vienna, Dorotheum, 20–23 March 1918).

23 · 1513–1514. PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG WOMAN (Lucrezia del Fede). Madrid, Prado no. 332. Fig. [52].

Panel, 73 x 56.

There is a major loss in the left cheek of the sitter; there is reglazing in the mouth, eyes, and neck; and there is some gross restoration on the chest. There are extensive losses in the sleeves, and the apron is almost entirely repainted. All losses have been much too generously restored. The surface may well be in better state than this restoration now permits us to perceive. A strip about 2.5 cm wide all round the picture has cracked away from the remaining surface of the panel, but the restoration toward the outer edges of the panel is so heavy that it does not permit us to judge accurately if the strip is, as it would seem to be, a later addition.

The sitter wears a dark red bodice with a dark green stripe across it. The shirt, showing above the bodice and gathered on the upper sleeve, is white. The sleeves are dull yellow-gold. The apron was apparently originally a yellowed white. The turban is white with stripes in reddish-brown, gold, and blue. The hair is light reddish-brown; the eyes are dark brown. The background is an almost entirely neutralized, very dark green (?).

In the old inventories of the Alcázar, and in the inventory of the New Palace in Madrid, 1794.[1]

Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 175 somewhat doubtfully accept the traditional identification of the sitter as Lucrezia. They think this one of Andrea's best portraits, though much restored. Mantz 1877, 351–352 identifies the portrait as Lucrezia's, and dates it c. 1520 on the basis of the costume. Guinness 1899, 98 (as Prado 383): "much retouched by a Spanish hand." Knapp 1907, 12, 132 as Lucrezia, c. 1516–1517, assuming the death of Lucrezia's first husband in 1516; spoiled by restoration. Alazard 1924, 130 refuses this identification; he suggests the influence of Leonardo. Venturi 1925, 538 also denies that this is Lucrezia. He dates the painting c. 1514, and suggests the work is imitative of a Florentine portrait of Raphael's (evidently the *Donna Gravida*). Berenson [1932] 18 as Lucrezia. Fraenckel 1935, 166 captiously suggests this portrait might be assigned to Bacchiacca. Comandé 1952, 62: Lucrezia. Wagner 1959, 453 would give the picture to a follower.

The date of this portrait, which we regard as Lucrezia's, is regardless of the disputable time of her marriage to Andrea.[2] The countenance is that (a little less rounded and thus, either somewhat flattered or, conceivably, a little less mature) of the woman who is the central figure in the *Birth of the Virgin*, and who takes the role of St. Catherine in the *Holy Family* of Leningrad. This latter head (a more literal portrait than the visitor in the *Birth of the Virgin*) is, in turn, unmistakably to be identified with the model who served for the Madonna of the *Harpies* altar, where we now have the evidence of a drawing, not earlier known in the literature, to confirm that the Madonna is Lucrezia.

Vasari notes a portrait of Lucrezia as the Magdalen of the *Disputà*, 1518, in a *profil perdu* that is of no use to us for purposes of comparison. It is in this context that Vasari observes [1880] V, 28: "non faceva aria di femine in nessun luogo, che da lei non la ritraesse, e se pur avveniva che da altro talora la togliesse, per l'uso del continuo vederla e per tanto averla disegnata, e, che è più, averla nell'animo impressa, veniva che quasi tutte le teste che faceva di femine la somigliavano."

Lucrezia's costume, and the manner of painting it in the Madrid picture, agree entirely with what we observe in her appearance in the *Birth of the Virgin*: cf. especially the painting of the folds across the upper sleeve, and the triangular folding of the sleeve itself. Cf. also in the fresco the painting of the headdress of the handmaid in the center of the group at left.

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[1] Cat. Prado 1949, no. 332.

[2] See our observations in Biographical Documents and Commentary, p. 269, on Andrea's relationship with Lucrezia.

24 · 1515. JUSTICE. Florence, Chiostro dello Scalzo. Fig. [54].

Fresco (grisaille), 194 x 110.

Severe and disfiguring losses throughout.

A faded yellow-bronze in the hem of the dress and in the scale survives of former gold-toned accents.

For the document of payment, 1 November 1515, see under our catalogue entry no. 26, *Preaching of St. John Baptist.*

Vasari 1550, 746; 1568 [1880] V, 21: at the beginning of Andrea's resumption of work (since the early *Baptism of Christ*) in the Scalzo; mentioned together with the *Charity* and the *Preaching of the Baptist.* Wölfflin [1952] 170 observes the derivation of Andrea's figure from Andrea Sansovino's statue on the tomb of Ascanio Sforza in S.M. del Popolo, Rome (1504), and also notes Andrea's important basic changes in the sense of more developed Cinquecento style. The observation is repeated in subsequent literature, as in Knapp 1907, 50–51 and Fraenckel 1935, 37, 213n42. While this derivation may be taken as evidence for Sarto's presence in Rome before 1515, Knapp suggests he may instead have known a *modello* in Florence for the Sansovino figure, which the latter may have held in his Florentine shop. Knapp also notes the possibility of influence, in the pose of Andrea's *Justice*, from Fra Bartolommeo's *St. Paul* (Rome, Vatican Museum) done in Rome in 1514. The comparison is stylistically opportune, but the assumption of influence unnecessary in view of the entire adequacy as Andrea's model of Sansovino's statue.[1]

COPY

See under our catalogue entry no. 8, Florence, Art Market.

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[1] The connection in pose between the lower part of the figure of Justice and that of the Charity, and the relation between the former and the Annunciate Virgin of the S. Gallo altar, not only in pose but in drapery motive, is evident. This is the area of both figures in which Andrea departs most independently from Sansovino's model; but it would seem that the S. Gallo Virgin was also surely influenced by the same sculptural precedent. See our catalogue entry no. 15, *Annunciation.*

25 · c. 1515. MADONNA WITH SAINTS JOHN BAPTIST AND AMBROGIO. Lost. Cf. Fig. [58].

Vasari 1550, 742: "Prese a fare per gli huomini della compagnia di Santa Maria della neve dietro alle monache di Santo Ambruogio una tavolina con tre figure la Nostra Donna, San Giovanni Batista et Santo Ambruogio; la quale col tempo ancor'ella fu condotta da lui, et data a quegli, che la posono in sull' altare di detta compagnia." Substantially the same statement is in 1568 [1880] V, 17–18.[1] Vasari's implication of sequence is rather indefinite at this point in his text, but might imply that the altar had been painted, roughly, c. 1514. Borghini [1807] II, 217–218; and the editor, Bottari, reports 218n1 that the *tavolino* by Sarto "fu donato al Cardinale Carlo de' Medici, che vi fece fare una bella copia dall' Empoli, e donò 200 scudi alla compagnia." Baldinucci [1770] VIII, 10 also reports the substitution of a copy by Empoli for the original.[2] Biadi 1829, 153 and n1 reports the picture described by Vasari, and repeats the notice of its sale as Bottari had given it. Reumont 1835, 64 gives both Vasari's and Bottari's information, but reports that he did not find the copy by Empoli in place in the oratory on Borgo La Croce.

Berenson 1903, I, 287 had speculated, as it proved correctly, that the drawing Uffizi 325F, for a St. John Baptist, might be for this lost altarpiece, but it would appear this speculation was made, remarkably, without his knowing any of the extant copies. Berenson was followed in his supposition by di Pietro 1911, 16 and no. 39. Published identification of the extant copies as being for the S. Ambrogio altar is by Shearman 1961, 225–230. Shearman gives the history of the copy now at Stoke Poges, and identifies it, certainly correctly, as that by Empoli which Cardinal Carlo de' Medici had commissioned in substitution for the original. Shearman confirms Berenson's intuition of the purpose of the study, Uffizi 325F, and associates two further preparatory drawings with the altar.[3] Shearman observes that the Uffizi study for the St. John seems to be based on a sculpture *modello*, perhaps by Jacopo Sansovino; he observes also that this same modello, restudied, served for the Baptist of the Preaching in the Scalzo (paid for November 1515). Shearman points out that there is a reflection of Andrea's picture in a fresco altar by Ridolfo Ghirlandaio (Galuzzo near Florence, Villa Agostini) dateable in the early months of 1516. On these, and on other comparative grounds of style, Shearman dates the lost *tavolino* 1514–1515. He finds, justly, that this painting is an important precedent for Andrea's own later *Madonna of the Harpies.*

By our chronology, those works with which Shearman finds the most convincing resemblances are more likely of 1515 rather than earlier; and we also find the analogues of style (as they appear in the Stoke Poges and the Chrysler Collection copies) with the *Preaching* fresco of the Scalzo so compelling as to justify a dating within the same year. However, as Shearman notes in his remarks on the relation between the St. John of the altar and of the fresco, the former should have been the prior work.

PREPARATORY STUDIES

BERLIN, Kupferstichkabinett no. 5133. A youth standing facing left, holding a book in both hands; at the left edge of the sheet (cut) part of a hand and an edge of drapery. Black chalk, 37 x 16. Inscribed at lower left, in a later hand, "Andrea del Sarto." Fig. 34.

Knapp 1907, 135 as an authentic drawing c. 1517. Leporini 1925*b*, pl. 8, authentic, c. 1516–1517. Fraenckel 1935, 185 as a possible Sogliani. Shearman 1961, 226 by Sarto, a "garzone" study for the St. Ambrose of the Neve altar. Shearman observes that the forms cut off at the left are the hand of the Child and the knee of the Madonna.

A somewhat exceptional sheet, neither so forceful nor so well controlled in its draughtsmanship as in other Sarto drawings of the approximate date. However, it is not a copy, and its connection with the St. Ambrogio design is inescapable. Compare Louvre RF76, which shows much the same character. Compare also Uffizi 659E, for the *Arrest of the Baptist* in the Scalzo.

FLORENCE, Uffizi no. 325F. St. John Baptist, in the pose of the figure in the St. Ambrogio altar. Black chalk, 41.3 x 17.4. Fig. 35.

Berenson 1903, I, 287, II, no. 76; [1938] no. 117A. For Berenson's exact speculation of the purpose of this study, see under the discussion of the painting, above. Berenson dates the drawing c. 1511. Di Pietro 1911, 16, and no. 39, follows Berenson.[4] Clapp, *Pontormo* (1914) 87: Sarto, c. 1518. Fraenckel 1935, 189 rejected the drawing for Andrea, but proposed no alternative. Marcucci 1955*b*, 250 published the sheet as a Pontormo of c. 1511–1512. Berenson [1961] no. 117A notes Marcucci's attribution. The style does resemble that of a drawing by Pontormo for a *Caritas* (Uffizi 341F; inspired by Andrea's fresco in the Scalzo, and dateable c. 1515), but the present sheet is not assimilable to Pontormo's early manner as a draughtsman.

Shearman 1961, 226 confirms the connection of the drawing with the St. Ambrogio altar, and points out that its style (exceptional in a different way than that of Berlin 5133) is the likely result of its being drawn from a sculpture model. He makes a convincing comparison with the style of Louvre 1732, for the Evangelist of the *Harpies*, also probably after a modello by Sansovino. Shearman also notes the relation of the mode of drawing to a sheet in Melbourne, for the Baptist of the *Baptism of the Multitude*. The style of an earlier sheet, Uffizi 273F, for the S. Gallo *Annunciation*, may also be compared.

PARIS, Louvre no. 1726. Head of an old man, in profile to the left, looking slightly upward. Red chalk, repaired and pieced out to an octagon, 24 x 18.2. A fragment, cut out and grossly overdrawn; rubbed; the back of the head and neck, and the upper shoulder, added by a later hand. From the Vasari and Jabach collections. Fig. 36.

Knapp 1907, 135 by Andrea, for the head of the old man ("Andrea della Robbia") in the Benizzi *Relics*. Berenson [1938] no. 157A (but not in 1903) an authentic drawing, but without indication of its purpose. Shearman 1961, 226 makes the correct identification, with the head of St. Ambrose in the altar for the Company of the Neve.

The grave damage does not obscure the remaining character of originality in this sheet. Compare its style with Louvre 1678, for the St. Francis of the *Harpies*.[5]

COPIES

NEW YORK, W. Chrysler, Jr. Panel, 167 x 132. Purchased by Mr. Chrysler at the Ehrich sale, New York, American Art Association, 18–19 April 1934, no. 74.

The provenience given in the sales catalogue is from the collections Rogardeo di Torrequadra, Giuseppe de Vagas, Pesenna (Naples).

Of the early seventeenth century, but not quite as good in quality as the following.

STOKE POGES, Parish Church. Panel, 167 x 132. Fig. [50].

Shearman 1961, 226 gives the history of this copy. Purchased Florence 1790 (four years after the suppression of the Company of the Neve) by Sir Richard Colt Hoare as Sarto's original altarpiece for the Company; kept at the Hoare place, Stourhead, where it was recorded, among others, by Waagen 1854, III, 172 as a work by Sarto. Sold Christie's, Stourhead Heirlooms sale, 2 June 1883, lot 58; bought by Grindley. Sold London, Rogers, Chapman and Thomas, Strickland sale, 19 May 1914, no. 310; 1925 bought from J. Glen by W. F. Kenny; sent to New York. Offered Plaza Galleries, New York, Kenny sale, 3 April 1937, no. 47, bought in; offered Sotheby's, Kenny sale, 17 July 1937, no. 152, bought in; acquired by T. Cannon-Brookes and deposited in Stoke Poges church 1938.

Shearman correctly identifies this painting as the copy by Empoli substituted for Andrea's original. Shearman indicates that the exact agreement in size between this and the Chrysler copy implies the same size for the original.

Formerly S. GIOVANNI VALDARNO, S. M. dalle Grazie.

A literal but coarser copy than the two listed above. Not now in the church.

The St. John only, extracted from the painting, is recopied in fresco left of the high altar of the church.[6]

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[1] The Company, popularly called "degli Azzurri," occupied an oratory behind the church of S. Ambrogio; the oratory still exists in Borgo la Croce. Shearman 1961, 226 pointed out that Paatz [1952] IV, 349 had incorrectly located this oratory in the premises of the Convento delle Murate, in the Via Ghibellina. The Company of the Neve was founded in 1445 and suppressed in 1786.

[2] Shearman 1961, 226 reports that there is no mention of Sarto's picture in the inventory of the Cardinal Carlo's possessions, drawn up after his death (1666) or in the inventory taken in 1770 of the Medici houses in Rome, which the Cardinal Carlo had been privileged to use.

[3] We had independently identified the Chrysler copy of this lost altarpiece, but had not observed the connections made by Shearman for the drawings.

[4] Knapp 1907, 133 wrongly gave the number 325 to Uffizi 303F.

[5] See also Paris, Louvre RF 76, under Authentic Unassociated Drawings.

[6] Shearman 1961, 226.

26 · 1515. PREACHING OF ST. JOHN BAPTIST.

Florence, Chiostro dello Scalzo. Figs. [56, 57].

Fresco (grisaille), 194 x 210; monogrammed left front.

Substantial damages only in the lower portion of the fresco. Otherwise the condition is, in general, good.[1] The underdrawing (in a brownish tone, tending toward violet) is visible in many places; it is of particular delicacy. Touches of yellow-brown (the faded relics of former lights) remain in the haloes and in St. John's cross.

The fresco was paid for, with the adjoining *Justice*, on 1 November 1515. A.S.F. Comp. Sopp. 1198/28 c. 30 right: "Andrea d'Angniolo pittore de' avere addì primo di novenbre [1515] £. settantaquatro s. II piccioli, sono per suo magisterio del quadro della predichatizione di Santo Giovanni e del quadro della g(i)ustizia, tutto d'achordo chon Christofano di Lionardo nostro proveditore, deto di .... £ 74 s.2"[2]

Vasari 1550, 745–746 as one of "due istorie" (in addition to the *Charity* and *Justice*) done on Andrea's resumption of work for the Scalzo; 1568 [1880] V, 21. Vasari remarks in this latter context (p. 22) that Andrea began to adapt figures from the prints of Dürer, "il che ha fatto credere ad alcuni, non che sia male servirsi delle buone cose altrui destramente, ma che Andrea non avesse molta invenzione." Two derivations of motive from Dürer are remarked by Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 22n2: of the standing figure at front (from the *Ecce Homo* [B. 10] in the *Small Passion*); and the woman seated left center, holding a child (from the woodcut *Birth of the Virgin* [B. 80], consulted previously by Andrea for his *Birth of the Virgin* in the Annunziata). Knapp 1907, 44 notes another derivation (of the bearded head, wearing a pointed cap, right center) from Dürer's *Ecce Homo*, and observes further derivations of heads from the *Christ before Pilate* (B. 7) in the same set. He would have Dürer's influence extend beyond the borrowing of motives, into the style of drapery, and he also makes a mistaken case for Dürer's influence on the concentrated spatial composition of this scene. Fraenckel 1935, 213–214n43 points out more possible derivations of motive. However, she would limit Dürer's impress on Andrea's style, admitting (1935, 213–214n43, and p. 38–40) something of his model in the patterns of Andrea's draperies in this and in other pictures of the time 1515–1517, but pointing out the persistent basic difference in Andrea's classical conception of the function of drapery. She properly rejects any influence from Dürer on Andrea's pictorial structure. She suggests a possible relation of Andrea's figure of John the Baptist to a sculpture model by Jacopo Sansovino, and cites an approximately resembling statuette (Vienna, Collection Zatzke, cf. Planiscig, *Venezianische Bildhauer der Renaissance*, 1921, 348 ff.). Shearman 1961, 229, in his discussion of Andrea's lost altarpiece for the Company of S. M. della Neve, develops the problem of relation of the St. John to a Sansovino model, and believes the pose of the saint in the fresco is a revision of a study made previously, from the sculpture model, for the Baptist of the altarpiece.

Andrea's dependence on the compositional model of Ghirlandaio in S. M. Novella was first remarked by Reumont 1835, 20n. He prefers to date the fresco toward 1510 rather than in 1515. Wölfflin [1952] 162–163 makes an analytical contrast between the Quattrocento and Cinquecento styles of the Ghirlandaio and Andrea's fresco.[3]

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[1] Richardson 1728, II, 147 ff., in his remarks on the Scalzo frescoes, observed this one was among the best preserved in the cloister.

[2] Transcribed, but incorrectly, by Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 68.

[3] No preparatory drawings survive. Venturi 1925, 545n1 and fig. 409 gives a copy by Naldini (Uffizi 646E) as an original by Andrea; Berenson 1903, no. 1755 had already long since established this drawing as Naldini's. A more literal copy by Naldini after the left front figures of the fresco (red chalk, 29.4 x 12.1) is in the London market. Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 22n1 cites, without opinion, an oil sketch on paper in the Munich Pinakothek (no. 582; Cat. 1866); for this see under our catalogue entry no. 8, Copies and Derivations. For other copies see further under Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, and Washington, D.C.

27 · c. 1515. CHRIST REDEEMER.
Florence, SS. Annunziata. Fig. [59].

Panel, 47 x 27.

Pervasive minor losses, especially in the light areas, which are not disfiguring.

Christ wears a glowing red garment, with a marked gold edging across the upper chest. His hair and beard are light brown, almost indistinguishable in color from the background.

On the altar of the sanctuary of the Annunciation, where it is first recorded by Vasari 1550, 749; and more fully in 1568 [1880] V, 27: "una testa d'un Cristo, tenuta oggi dai frati de' Servi in su l'altare della Nunziata, tanto bella, che io per me non so se si può imaginare da umano intelletto, per una testa d'un Cristo, la più bella." Framed into the present silver tabernacle, a donation of Lorenzo di Ferdinando de' Medici, dated 1624.[1]

Bocchi [1677] 437 also records Andrea's painting on the altar, as does Richa VIII (1759) 4 and 169.[2] The picture has been more or less continuously, if not uninterruptedly, in its place since before Vasari's first mention, and was probably intended for it.[3]

Vasari's mention is in a context that implies a date for the *Redeemer* c. 1516–1517. Reumont

1835, 93–94 and *Verz.* dates the picture 1516; Guinness 1899, 19, 1515. Knapp 1907, 40 gives 1513 as the latest date that is possible for the painting. Sinibaldi 1925*a*, 16 and Venturi 1925, 572–574: c. 1517. Fraenckel 1935, 31, 141: c. 1511, as a work transitional to Andrea's maturity. Wagner 1959, 434 follows Fraenckel. Shearman 1961, 229 gives the dating 1514–1515. Freedberg 1961, 450–451: c. 1516.

Though the *sfumato* mode of this panel is close to that of the Leningrad *Holy Family* (which we assign to c. 1513), Andrea's manner of describing shapes in the *Redeemer*, and the character of drawing in it, more squared and angular and more pointed in accent, are like those of his works from 1515 onward. Compare especially the heads of the dated *Preaching of the Baptist* in the Scalzo, and the *Holy Family* of the Louvre (no. 1515) that we assign to 1515–1516. But more than in any painting, the closest analogue to the *Redeemer* — in type, in quality of expression, in manner of drawing and modelling — is in Andrea's preparatory study (Uffizi 639Er) for the head of the angel in the lost *Pietà* for Puccini, and also of 1515–1516.

We might suggest that the particular effects of lighting in the *Redeemer* may have been determined by the special circumstance of place, illumination, and expressive purpose required for this picture on the altar of the Annunziata sanctuary.

COPIES AND DERIVATIONS [4]

BERGAMO, Locatelli Collection.

CAMLOOPS, British Columbia, A. W. Greenwood.

See *Connoisseur* 120:136 (1947), queries no. 1071.

COLUMBUS, Ohio, F. W. Schumacher. 46 x 26.7. From the collection of Count Rantzau, Hamburg.

Cat. (W. Valentiner, 1955) no. 58.

Of the late sixteenth century.

FLORENCE, SS. Annunziata, sacristy. By the Servite brother Giovanni Battista (d. 1659; signed on the rear). Tonini 1876, 148; Paatz [1955] I, 108–109.[5]

——— S. Felice a Ema, church, priests' residence.

——— Uffizi deposit no. 7450 (inv. of 1890).

Of the seventeenth century; with a painted surround imitating the present frame.

Formerly FLORENCE, Monasterio de' Monaci degli Angioli. On copper. Richa VIII (1759) 169 as by Andrea.

Sold FLORENCE, Guidi sale, 1902. Oval.

Of the eighteenth century?

LENINGRAD, Hermitage. Panel. Not in the modern catalogues.

After the Luco version of the design. Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 40n1 states that it came from Francesco Nenci, and before that from a Florentine collection, rather than from the Spannocchi of Siena, as Cat. Hermitage 1838 states.

Formerly MOSCOW, Collection Roumianzeff.

Listed Benezit 1954, s.v. Sarto.

Sold MUNICH, Helbing, Manos sale, 21 November 1912, no. 136. Panel 48 x 29.

PALLANZA, Museo del Verbano. 47 x 36.7.

Formerly PARMA, Palazzo del Giardino.

Inventory of the Palazzo del Giardino (Campori 1870, 215): "Un quadro alto br. 1, largo on. 10. Un Salvatore con le mani incrociate sopra dal petto, d'Andrea del Sarto."

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[1] Richa VIII (1759) 4.

[2] Though in the latter place he describes the painting as on copper.

[3] Paatz [1955] I, 236 (basing his statement on the evidence reported by Tonini 1876, 94 and n2, who cites an old inventory of the Annunziata) would have it that, contrary to Vasari's more credible evidence, Andrea's picture was in the convent, rather than on the altar of the sanctuary, until 1624 (the date of donation of its present frame), but he admits that it may nevertheless have been destined from the beginning for the Annunziata altar. Baldinucci [1769] IV, 193 implies that it was placed there at once: "Colorì poi la bellissima immagine di Christo Salvatore, che allora ebbe luogo sopra l'Altare della Santissima Nunziata." Bocchi [1677] 435 applies to this picture (rather than to the *Dead Christ* now in S. Salvi, to which it is more often attached) the tale of Andrea's being paid with a bunch of candles, or candle-ends ("un mazzo di moccoli"); he also says the same report holds that the painting was commissioned by the sacristan of the moment. Biadi 1829, 164 repeats it as a fact that the

sacristan was the patron; and Paatz [1955] I, 236 evidently deriving his information from the same source, says "apparently" the sacristan gave the commission.

[4] It is impossible, on the basis of the evidence of the copies of the *Redeemer* type, to sort out which may have been after the lost painting by Andrea of the same subject for the convent at Luco, apparently a replica of the Annunziata panel, rather than after the present work. All copies of this type are therefore given here.

Baldinucci [1770] VIII, 9–10 reports that many copies were painted by Empoli.

[5] Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 177n1 make a confusion of a reference in Vasari to the lost *Redeemer* for Luco, and create a further apocryphal copy, in the Annunziata, on canvas, which they report is missing, having been sold.

28 · 1515–1516. PIETÀ (*Christ Mourned by Three Angels*). Lost. Cf. Figs. [60, 61].

Engraved by Agostino Veneziano [B. 40], dated 1516.[1]

Vasari 1550, 747 informs us that Giovanii Battista Puccini, who ". . . faceva in Francia molte faccende," gave Andrea a commission, for export to France, of "un quadro di un CHRISTO morto, che aveva certi angeli attorno, che lo sostenevano, et con atti pietosi et mesti contemplano il lor fattore essere in tanta miseria, per i peccati de gli huomini, che finitolo fu tenuto in Fiorenza cosa eccellente." The picture was, says Vasari, still more praised in France by the King, and by "tutti quei signori"; Vasari states that the success of this picture was the original motive of Andrea's later decision to go to France. In 1568 [1880] V, 23 Vasari tells us that the painting was engraved in Rome by A. Veneziano, but with such ill result that Andrea did not ever again wish to have work of his engraved. Elsewhere ([1880] V, 420) Vasari states that Agostino came to Florence to persuade Andrea to permit him to make the reproduction, and implies the engraving was made there, not in Rome.

We have no knowledge of the history of Andrea's painting beyond the presumption, permitted by Vasari's account, that it came, immediately on export to France, to the French royal collections. Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 23n5 confused the picture described by Vasari with the surviving *Pietà* in Vienna. Berenson [1938] I, 287 remarks that the conception of the subject is not Florentine, and suggests a derivation from the Bellini circle, perhaps through a work of Signorelli in Cortona. Knapp 1907, 46–48 assumes a date in 1515, making convincing comparison of the drapery style of the rightmost angel with that of the *Justice* of that year. He points out the dependence (in the posture of the Christ and in the angels) on Dürer's woodcut *Trinity* of 1511 (B. 122), and indicates a likely influence on elements of Andrea's iconography and setting from Dürer's *Deposition* (B. 14) from the *Small Passion* of 1507. The northern influence, according to Knapp, is not only evident in form, but in the tenor of Andrea's content.

The date of Veneziano's engraving affords a *terminus ante* for Andrea's lost picture, and Vasari's account of its commission for presumably quick commercial traffic implies the painting itself had been done not long before. The two surviving preparatory drawings accord well in style with painted works that are dated not earlier than 1515. For Uffizi 307F, cf. especially the Baptist of the *Preaching* in the Scalzo, and (as Knapp has observed) the *Justice* also; for 639E compare the heads of the former fresco, and also that of the Madonna in the copies of the altarpiece for the Compagnia della Neve.

PREPARATORY DRAWINGS

FLORENCE, Uffizi no. 639E. *Recto*, for the head of the angel left. Red chalk,[2] 19 x 15.5 (pieced out at edges). Fig. [62]. *Verso* (see Authentic Unassociated Drawings).

Ferri 1893, 132 as Andrea's, but without identification. Berenson [1938] no. 92 from Andrea's earlier middle period, but without the identification. Knapp 1907, 134 as a head of a Madonna. Di Pietro 1911, no. 62 "very probably" for the angel left in the lost *Pietà*. Ferri 1916, no. 2 makes di Pietro's association positive. Fraenckel 1935, 175 "apparently" for the lost *Pietà*. Berenson [1961] no. 92 repeats this identification, on the verbal communication (1957) made by this author.

The identification is explicit; and this drawing, with a companion study 307F, indicates the remarkable development about this time of articulate flexibility in Andrea's draughtsmanship.

——— no. 307F. *Recto*, youth in model's clothes, standing profile left, left arm raised; to the right the left arm restudied in more formal drapery; below it a study for the drapery across the youth's back and upper thigh. *Verso*, the drapery restudied from the sketch lower right on the recto; to the right, the drapery studied more fully, and closest to the picture. Red chalk 27.7 x 34.5. Figs. [61], 37.

Ferri 1893, 136 as Andrea; unidentified. Berenson 1903, no. 70; [1938] no. 113A for the angel right in the lost *Pietà*; so also Knapp 1907, 114, 133; di Pietro 1911, nos. 21 and 22, and Fraenckel 1935, 171–172.

[1] In the direction of the original.

[2] The chalk somewhat more violet and brownish than usual in Andrea's drawings.

29 · 1515–1516. STORY OF JOSEPH [1]. Florence, Pitti no. 87. Fig. [63].

Panel, 98 x 135. Signed lower foreground "Andrea Del Sarto Faciebat" and monogrammed.

Small losses only; condition is satisfactory.

The landscape is dominantly in tones of lightish brown; there is a greyish architecture, touched with violet, at the left. Joseph is identified by a yellow-golden garment with salmon-tinted shadows; Jacob by a dark blue mantle; Rachel by a white headdress and deep rose dress. In the group at left colors worn by the other figures include yellow-green, yellow, and a light brick-red. In the group right foreground, Jacob has thrown off his cloak to reveal a grey dress; the brother who presents Joseph's coat to him is dressed in brown and yellow. The actors in the more distant landscape wear the same costumes as they wear in their appearances in the scenes at front.

Left, Joseph recounts his dream to his family (Genesis 37, 5 and 9–10); center, Joseph departs for Shechem (v. 14); rear right, left to right the brothers conspire against Joseph (v. 18–19), they cast him into the pit (v. 24), Joseph sold to the Ishmaelites (v. 28); in the rear center, Joseph's coat stained with the blood of a kid (v. 31); right foreground, Joseph's bloody coat shown to his father (v. 32–34).

Companion to the *Story of Joseph* [2], Pitti no. 88. Fig. [73]. (See our catalogue entry 35). Both pictures were commissioned as part of the elaborate decoration of the "camera di nozze" of Pier Francesco Borgherini and Margherita Acciaiuoli (married 1515[1]) in the Casa Borgherini on Borgo S. Apostoli.[2] The room was the gift of Pier Francesco's father, Salvi. Its interior architecture and furniture were by Baccio d'Agnolo, also designer of the house. Other pictures from the history of Joseph completed the painted decoration, and were by Pontormo, Granacci, and Bachiacca.[3] Vasari informs us ([1881] VI, 262–263) of the attempt made by Giovanni Battista della Palla during the Siege of Florence to purchase the pictures of this decoration from the house, so that they might be presented to King Francis I, and of the vigorous refusal made him by Margherita Acciaiuoli.

Andrea's pictures from this decoration were sold (with the two painted by Granacci) by Niccolò di Giovanni Borgherini through the agency of Niccolò Gaddi to the Grand Duke Francesco for 450 gold scudi, of which 360 represented payment for the pair by Andrea. A.S.F., Depositeria Generale, 995, no. 115 contains the record of the transaction:

"Don Francesco Medici Gran Duca di Toscana, etc.

Napoleone Cambi nostro Depositario generale. In virtù di questo nostro mandato, mettete a uscita a spese nostre generale scudi 450 d'oro in oro, che questo dì n'havete per il mezzo del banco de' Ricci pagati a Niccolò di Giovanni Borgherini per il prezzo di quatro quadri di pittura dell'Istorie di Ioseph, che dua di mano d'Andrea del Sarto per scudi 360 d'oro, et dua di altra mano per scudi 90 d'oro, a noi venduti per mano del Cav.^{re} Gaddi et consegnati nella nostra Guardaroba. Dato adì XV di settembre 1584.

El Gran Duca di Toscana

Ant^{o} Serguidi Secr.^{rio}"

A letter from Niccolò Gaddi accompanies the above:

"Molto Mag.^{co} Sig.^{r} mio Oss.^{mo}

Il Ser.^{mo} Gran Duca nostro padrone ha comperato da mess. Niccolò Borgherini quattro quadri di pittura di Istorie di Ioseph, che dua sono di mano d'Andrea del Sarto, per prezzo di sc. 360 d'oro di £ 7 e mezzo per scudo, et dua d'altra mano, per prezzo di sc. 90 d'oro simili, et detto quadri sono iti in guardarobba, et tutto questo è passato per mano mia, nè occorrendomi per quest'altro li bacio le mani et molto me li raccomando. Di Casa li XV di Settembre 1584. Di V. S. Molto Mag.^{ca}

Servitore
Niccolò Gaddi

(*verso*) Al Molto Mag^{co} S^{r} mio Oss.^{mo} il S.^{r}
Napoleone Cambi Depositario Generale
di SA. Ser.^{ma}"[4]

Recorded, together with the companion picture, in the "Inventario delle robe della Tribuna" of 1589 (Archivio della Soprintendenza delle Gallerie, Ms. 70, c. 28).

Vasari [1881] VI, 262–263 places Andrea's work for the Borgherini camera in sequence almost immediately after the description of the decoration for the entry of Leo X. Reumont 1835, 134 gives the date 1523, but without indicating his reasons. Reumont 173n2 notes that the color in both Andrea's *Joseph* stories suggests Puligo, and implies his intervention. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 182 doubtfully date both paintings c. 1522–1523; Janitschek 1879, 39 also gives c. 1523. Scott 1881, 105 notes Reumont's dating but would prefer the pictures be put earlier, given the relation she sees in them to Piero di Cosimo. Guinness 1899, 77 follows Crowe and Cavalcaselle. Knapp 1907, 85, 129 gives a firm date of 1521 for the marriage of Pier Francesco Soderini [*sic*] and Maria [*sic*] Acciaiuoli, and relates to the present decoration pictures that, in fact, belong instead to a comparable, but later, scheme for Giovanni Benintendi, c. 1523. Sinibaldi 1925*a*, 27n1, erratically, sees the panels as "sicuramente del Bacchiacca." Berenson [1932] 17 gives a date of 1517 for both of Andrea's pictures. Fraenckel 1935, 92–93, 163, 234–236n87 makes the first detailed critical examination of Andrea's *Joseph* panels. For her, the hitherto conventional datings, after 1520, are not acceptable, and she would place them, though uncertainly, c. 1514–1515. She considers both panels under the heading of shop work, in which Andrea probably intervened. She observes, correctly, that Pitti 87 is more even in kind and quality of execution than its pendant, Pitti 88; in Pitti 88 she notes particularly that the surface pigment is summarily laid in over a much more finely differentiated underdrawing, and distinguishes between the hand that prepared the underdrawing, presumably Andrea's, and that of the executant of the visible surface. Many passages of the surface of no. 87, and some in no. 88, are, however, of a quality and color that indicate to Fraenckel their execution by Sarto himself. She gives summary, but good grounds for her early dating. Fraenckel also examines in detail borrowings from Dürer.[5] Freedberg 1961, 497 gives 1515–1516 as the date for Pitti 87, and admits Puligo's participation in the execution.

The date of the Borgherini-Acciaiuoli marriage, 1515, for the celebration of which their "camera di nozze" must have been architecturally prepared (though not yet necessarily decorated with its paintings) affords a *terminus post* c. 1514 for the award of commissions for this scheme. On grounds of style, it is possible to date the four contributions of Pontormo from 1515–1516 to 1518, the two of Granacci c. 1517 and c. 1519, and the remainder, by Bacchiacca, 1516–1518.[6] These datings, arrived at quite independently of any consideration of the style of Andrea's paintings, indicate that his contributions, too, would most reasonably be located in this same span of time. As Fraenckel has observed, neither Pitti 87 nor 88 allows comparison with Andrea's works of the formerly accepted dates for these, from 1521 to 1523. Fraenckel's suggestion of date is, however, too early by a fraction, though more nearly correct for Pitti 87 than for its pendant which, by our account, succeeds it; the pendant belongs more nearly with the date proposed by Berenson for both the panels. Pitti 87 finds, for its mode of drawing of drapery and its specific repertory of types, no close analogy earlier than the documented works of 1515, the Scalzo *Justice* and the *Preaching*. Still more precisely, Pitti 87 requires, in both these respects, to be associated with the more developed *Holy Family* (so-called) in the Louvre, no. 1515. The types in particular, in both these pictures, share the same pointing, more complicatedly angular mode of definition, and the manner not only of drawing but of modelling in light and shade is similar, in a technique that does not occur before. The style of expression in the principal heads of Pitti 87 is also new, and does not occur in any other painting earlier than Louvre no. 1515: the upturned heads and oblique upward gaze, softly but intensely feeling, are also in the Christ Child and the angels of the Louvre picture.

The view held by Fraenckel, that the surface of Pitti 87 is in fair part the product of an assistant, to such measure that she catalogues the painting as a shop piece, seems grossly exaggerated.[7] There are some episodes of handling that seem less finely flexible than in Andrea's works on larger scale of approximately contemporary date (e.g., the draperies of Jacob to the right, the faces of the group at left); but we do not now see these (as in 1961, 497) as necessary evidence of Puligo's, or of any other assistant's, participation. These passages are still superior to what we know of the powers of execution of any of Andrea's helpers, Puligo included. Furthermore, in places in the panel that would seem, less than these, to require painting by the master's hand (e.g., in the architecture left, the figure beyond the margin of the left-hand group, the landscape center and right, the details of herbiage in the foreground) there is a sensibility and skill in the working with the brush that explicitly indicate Andrea's presence. In passages more in view than these what we may see as evidence of lesser quality we should now take to be the result of Andrea's painting, for the first time in some years (perhaps since the early predella of the Borghese), in an unaccustomed small scale; and the look of hardness we discern could be the effect of the exercise of diligence that Vasari reports ([1880] V, 26) Andrea gave to the execution of the Borgherini paintings: "Andrea dunque si sforzò, con mettere in quel lavoro diligenza e tempo straordinario, di far sì che gli riuscissero più perfette che quelle degli altri . . ." If we read the execution according to this last suggestion, such a forced, competitive, technique (even though unsatisfactory to us in its results) as Vasari describes would be at least in this one of Andrea's two *Joseph* panels.[8]

Apparently more or less contemporaneously with this work on the first Joseph story for Pier Francesco Borgherini Andrea was engaged on another work for the same patron, which was never delivered. Our knowledge of this unfulfilled commission comes from the Michelangelo correspondence. On 9 August 1516 (Frey, *Briefe*, no. 23) Sellaio writes from Rome to Michelangelo in Florence, reminding him that he is to do a painting for Pier Francesco Borgherini. On 8 November 1516 Buonarroto di Lodovico writes to Michelangelo in Carrara as follows (Frey, *Briefe*, no. 36): "Baccio d'Agnolo m'a fato solicitare dua volte per tua parte uno quadro, che fa uno Andrea pitotore [*sic*] a Pierfrancesco Borgherini, diciendo, che lo s'a a te. Io l'o fato da tua parte per amore di Pierfrancescho, perche sichondo m'a detto Bacio, non chosa si tornj in danno nessuno, pure non so, se io m'o fato bene o male a solecitarllo da tua parte, dicendo s'a a mandare a Roma. Benche a ogni modo non l'a fornito questa chosa, lo debi sapere, e io mi sono fidato a Bacio." Confused as this communication seems, it would appear to yield the information that the obligation owed to Pier Francesco Borgherini by Michelangelo in August 1516 had been delegated by him to one Andrea, who is unlikely to be any other than our painter. (In view of the fact that the work was originally expected of Michelangelo, it could hardly be in Andrea di Cosimo Feltrini's genre.) Baccio d'Agnolo, Pier Francesco's architect and the designer of the *camera di nozze*, is the patron's intermediary, and has asked that Michelangelo's authority be used to hasten his

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[1] P. Litta, *Famiglie Celebri Italiane* VII (1844) fasc. 60, tav. 6.

[2] Later Rosselli del Turco, as nos. 17–19.

[3] Vasari 1550, 748–749; 1568 [1880] V, 26, 343, 352, and VI, 261–263, 455. Clapp 1916, 156–159; McKillop 1958, *passim*, with further bibliography; Freedberg 1961, 494, 501–502, 510 ff.

Apparently the whole pictorial decoration has survived. The pictures by the other contributors are:

By Pontormo: *Joseph Sold to Potiphar* (now Henfield, Lady Salmond; formerly at Panshanger); *The Butler Restored and the Baker led to Execution* (*ibid.*); *Joseph Revealing Himself to his Brothers* (*ibid.*); *Joseph in Egypt* (London, National Gallery no. 1131).

By Granacci: *Joseph Tempted, Arrested, and Explaining the Butler's and Baker's Dream* (Uffizi no. 2190); *Joseph Presents Jacob to Pharoah* (*ibid.*, no. 2152).

By Bacchiacca: *The Brothers Asked for Food?* (Rome, Borghese no. 427); *The Brothers put in Prison* (*ibid.*, no. 425); *The Brothers Open the Sack* (*ibid.*, no. 442); *The Brothers Take Presents* (London, National Gallery no. 1218); *The Finding of the Cup* (Rome, Borghese no. 440); *The Brothers Brought Back to the City* (London, National Gallery no. 1219).

[4] Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 26n3, and VI, 262n1 gives the information and refers to the documents. Milanesi assumes incorrectly that the two other of the four paintings bought were by Pontormo.

Andrea's pictures were taken from the Pitti to Paris 1799–1815.

[5] Of Fraenckel's considerable list, for Pitti 87, only the following seem explicit and specifiable: the architecture of the house left from the woodcut *Rest on the Flight* B. 190; the dog in the rear distance and some of the sheep, from the *Annunciation to Joachim* B. 78. The type of the older man fourth from the right in the left-hand group had already, earlier than Pitti 87, been borrowed for the *Preaching of the Baptist* in the Scalzo.

[6] Cf. Cox 1957, 33 ff.; Freedberg 1961, 510–516.

[7] Fraenckel 1935, 235n87 lists the insufficiencies of quality she finds; they are actually, even by her own count, very few.

[8] The same excuse cannot be alleged for the handling of Pitti 88, where Fraenckel's opinion is less overstated, and where we still see the possibility of the intervention of an assistant.

A copy in drawing from Pitti 87 is Paris, Louvre 1757, after the figures standing right rear, in the landscape.

deputy in the commission, which Andrea has not completed. On 1 March 1517 (evidently, st. c.) the work has still not been delivered. Sellaio on that date writes from Rome to Michelangelo in Carrara: "Pierfrancesco fece fare un quadro a quello Andrea, e nonne a modo suo: sta disperato. Ora Bastiano [del Piombo] dice, avendo uno vostro charbone, apunto gli basterebe l'animo di eseguire asai, siche parendo vi, potendo o volendo, vi si manderebe le misure e uno aposta per esso: siche risponderete." From this it seems that Andrea's work, still unfinished, was not satisfactory to Pier Francesco, and Sebastiano would be prepared to take Andrea's place in the commission, and seeks Michelangelo's help in a design. This shift probably took place; Sebastiano's painting in the National Gallery, London, of a *Holy Family with a Donor* (c. 1519 in time of its substantial execution) would appear to be the work Pier Francesco intended for Michelangelo, despaired of from Andrea, and received finally from Sebastiano.

30 · 1515–1516. PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG MAN.

Florence, Uffizi, Galleria degli Autoritratti no. 1486. Fig. [64].

Canvas (the original canvas remounted on a slightly larger canvas), 57 x 41.5.

The remounting probably of the eighteenth century; the old canvas now separating from its newer support. The surface shows completely pervasive small losses, mostly retouched. The paint extremely thin, but lacking any effect of transparency such as we are accustomed to see in Andrea's thin techniques as they are applied on panel. The present surface preserves only a portion of the substance, and none of the variations of relief, of the original paint.[1] The appearance of thinness and weakness in modelling, which at first sight may suggest the character of a copy, is the result of the old damage. The drawing with the brush, however, is explicitly of the quality expected of Andrea; and despite the damage, the picture shows a high aesthetic consistency, in form and in expression, of a kind hardly to be found in a copy.

The dress once powder blue (now uniformly discolored toward yellow-green by old varnish); the hat once a dark blue (?); whitish shirt, the collar touched with violet; the hair and eyes middle brown. The background olive-brown.

The records of the Uffizi Collection provide no history for this painting, and no account of its restorations. A seal in red wax, surely of the seventeenth century, on the rear of the panel, identifies it as then Medici property. Old numbers painted on the rear of the panel: LL 13, 409, in red paint; 871, in grey paint.

This picture has been traditionally identified as a self-portrait of Andrea. This identity has sometimes been called in doubt, as has the originality of the picture; another version, in the Pitti (no. 66; an unquestionable copy) has occasionally been preferred in the older literature.

Biadi 1829, 160–161 speaks of both versions as self-portraits, without preference, and states that an original study for both is in the collection of Prince Poniatowski, Florence (untraced). Reumont 1835, 219–220 and n1 prefers the Pitti version, considering it authentic and a self-portrait. He describes the Uffizi painting as a repetition, slightly varied. He also mentions (n2) a third version in the collection of Marchese Vincenzo Capponi, Florence, and (n3) knows the drawing to which Biadi had referred. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 194 (as no. 1176, carried by the painting in the nineteenth-century catalogues): "alleged likeness of himself, full of bravura in the execution." They refer to the Pitti version merely as "Bust of a male, alleged portrait of del Sarto (?)." Bode in Burckhardt [1879] 635: apparently a self-portrait; Pitti 66 is taken as a damaged and later repetition of the Uffizi work. Wölfflin [1952] 180–181 denies that either is a self-portrait, and thinks the Pitti version the original, and that in the Uffizi a copy. Guinness 1899, 77, 83 gives both versions as self-portraits, apparently disputing the originality of neither. Knapp 1907, 74 doubts this is a self-portrait; he thinks the Uffizi version instantly recognizable as a copy, but finds the Pitti version, though preferable, a copy also. He would date Andrea's lost original of these copies c. 1517–1518, on grounds of comparison (of the Pitti version) with the *Disputà*. Alazard 1924, 125–126 also holds the Pitti painting as original; he would date it (126n2) c. 1513–1514. He feels its precedent as a type of portraiture important to Franciabigio especially. Sinibaldi 1925*a*, 25 does not make it clear which version she prefers, but would date the portrait just before 1517. She denies that these are self-portraits. Venturi 1925, 568 and n1, 569–572 approves the Pitti version, and dismisses the Uffizi painting as a copy. He speaks more highly, however, of another version in the Cook Collection, Richmond, which he would date c. 1517. Rusconi 1930, 2 also takes Pitti 66 as original, and the Uffizi painting as the copy, but he doubts that either is a self-portrait. Berenson [1932], 17 lists Uffizi 1486 under the title *Portrait of a Young Prelate*, and accepts it without qualification for Andrea; he does not list the Pitti painting. Fraenckel 1935, 234n86 regards both versions as possible copies from a lost original.

The hesitation of some of the critics between the Pitti and Uffizi versions of this picture is not comprehensible to us, and the view (Venturi) that supports the primacy of the picture formerly in Richmond seems almost as obviously fallacious. The Pitti painting is utterly shapeless in its modelling, misdrawn in the features, and meandering in the drapery: the haphazard placement of the figure in the murk of chiaroscuro is not possible even to the most inept of Andrea's contemporaries. The scale of the figure in the original has been diminished, and the area around it widened to give some breathing space; the operation is characteristic of a mediocre taste of the seventeenth century, to which this poor imitation certainly belongs. The appearance of the subject has been softened; he wears, not the intense and rather disagreeable look of the subject of the Uffizi portrait, but a dark, romanticizing air which, weakly, recalls Salvator Rosa. The Cook portrait, also contender for the title of originality, seems an even more flagrant adaptation to a later taste, almost pre-Raphaelesque, smooth in surface and expression, with the features prettified to an acceptable, almost Anglo-Saxon, kind of good looks. It may be understandable that there should have been an attempt such as these two derivations (they are more that than copies) represent to make the countenance of the Uffizi picture, thought to be Andrea's, conform more nearly to our knowledge of his personality.

Even in its reduced condition the version in the Uffizi compares for quality and kind with Andrea's authentic paintings, of a fairly closely specifiable moment in his career. Different as it may be in theme and in its kind of communication, Uffizi 1486 demands comparison for its mode of handling with the *Redeemer* of the Annunziata: proportions of the forms, effects of light and modelling, and the slow intensity of the expression are similar in the two heads; and specific elements — the treatment of the eyes, the manner of shaping the salience of the nose, the indication of the lips, the soft hair, and the touches of luminous accent at the neckline of the dress — are compellingly alike. In the portrait, there is a reasonable degree less of sfumato than in the *Redeemer*, and more firmness; the exact analogue for the handling of the portrait, more than in the head in the Annunziata, is in the *Holy Family*, Louvre no. 1515. Here, too, there is the exact parallel for the style of the drapery, more differentiated in pattern and more strongly accented than in the Annunziata head. The portrait belongs, we think, in a moment close to that of Louvre no. 1515; should one try to move it later, into the vicinity of the *Harpies* or the *Disputà*, we encounter a different development of Andrea's style, of which the expression in portraiture is in the superior economy and refinement, both, of the London *Sculptor*.

The two positive documents we possess of Andrea's appearance, for which Vasari's indications of a self-portrait of Andrea are not open to any possible equivocation, are (a) in the pointing figure of the *Adoration of the Kings* of the Annunziata and (b) in the late portrait, on tile, in the Uffizi. The face in Uffizi 1486 cannot be reconciled with either of these, nor can the quality of expression, so curiously difficult; this is not Andrea, but we believe we can identify the sitter. In a chronological context of the years 1515–1517 (the execution, in the Scalzo series, of the *Caritas* and *Justice* and through the *Baptism of the Multitude*) Vasari 1550, 746–747 states: "Aveva voluntà gradissima in quel tempo Baccio Bandinelli, ch'era tenuto disegnatore molto stimato, d'imparare a colorire a olio: et conoscendo che nessuno in Fiorenza era meglio di Andrea a doverli mostrare il modo lo pregò che li dovessi fare un ritratto di sè et egli volentieri lo fece che somigliò molto in quella età, il quale è oggi appresso di lui." In 1568 [1880] V, 22, this report is repeated: "Venne in quel tempo disiderio a Baccio Bandinelli, allora disegnatore molto stimato, d'imparare a colorire a olio; onde conoscendo che niuno in Fiorenza ciò meglio sapea fare di esso Andrea, gli fece fare un ritratto di sè, che somigliò molto in quell'età come si può anco vedere; e così nel vedergli fare questa ed altre opere, vide il suo modo di colorire . . ." In the life of Baccio [1881] VI, 138–139 Vasari tells the story of this portrait more amply and amusingly: "Ricercò Andrea del Sarto suo amicissimo, che gli facesse in un quadro di pittura a olio il suo ritratto, avvisando di dovere di ciò conseguire duoi acconci al suo proposito: l'uno era il vedere il modo di mescolare i colori; l'altro, il quadro e la pittura, la quale gli resterebbe in mano; ed avendola veduta lavorare, gli potrebbe, intendendola, giovare e servire per esempio. Ma Andrea accortosi, nel domandare che faceva Baccio, della sua intenzione, e sdegnandosi di cotal diffidanza ed astuzia, perchè era pronto a mostrargli il suo desiderio, se come amico ne l'avesse ricerco; perciò senza far sembiante d'averlo scoperto, lasciando stare il far mestiche e tinte, messe d'ogni sorte colore sopra la tavolella, ed azzuffandoli insieme col pennello, ora da questo ed ora da quello togliendo con molta prestezza di mano, così contrafaceva il vivo colore della carne di Baccio; il quale sì per l'arte che Andrea usò, e perchè gli conveniva sedere e star fermo, se voleva esser dipinto, non potette mai vedere nè apprendere cosa che egli volesse: e venne ben fatto ad Andrea di castigare insieme la diffidenza dell'amico, e dimostrare, con quel modo di dipignere da maestro pratico, assai maggiore virtù ed esperienza dell' arte." It is of course pure romanticizing, but one may fancy that the expression worn by Baccio when he was subjected to this ingenious torment might turn out just that we see in the Uffizi portrait. For Baccio's appearance there is an extensive iconography,[2] of which the image most useful for comparison is in the self(?)-portrait (Fig. [65] now at the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in Boston,[3] in which Baccio is depicted as a knight of the Order of Santiago, holding a drawing of his *Hercules and Cacus*. Bearded, and in middle age, this portrait (less carefully flattering than the two self-portraits by Baccio in the Galleria degli Autoritratti) shows the same wide and flattened nose as the sitter of Andrea's painting in the Uffizi, the same setting of the eyes, and the same high cheekbones. With increasing age, the highly idiosyncratic nose seems to sag and point more at the end, but the singular shape of it is the same as in Uffizi 1486.[4]

We have dated the Uffizi portrait 1515–1516. In 1517, Baccio went off for some years to Rome; that the portrait may be dated in the year or so before indicates he was available, at the time we indicate for this picture, to sit for Andrea. Born in 1493, Baccio would, in 1515–1516, have been about twenty-three; the age would seem very much that we would assign to the sitter of Uffizi 1486.

If we accept our proposed identification, we may attach the little history we know for the portrait that Vasari describes of Baccio to Uffizi 1486. Vasari tells us (1550, 747) Baccio still owned the picture, but this information is not repeated in 1568. Borghini [1807] II, 219 informs us that the portrait was "oggi nello scrittoio qui di M. Ridolfo." [Sirigatti, one of the participants in the *Riposo;* Biadi 1829, 158n8 incorrectly identifies this M. Ridolfo as Ridolfo Bandinelli.] Bottari in Vasari [1759] II, 223n3 says he has no knowledge of the Bandinelli portrait "se non che nel 1605, passò in potere d'un Gino Capponi." (Della Valle in Vasari [1792] VI, 151n1 calls the new owner "Gino Ginori," but since this note is based on Bottari's, the change of name would be an error, not a correction.) A version of Uffizi 1486 was known in the collection of the Capponi family from the seventeenth until the nineteenth century; it passed in the nineteenth century to the Marchese Campana, q.v. in our listing of copies below. In the seventeenth century, this version was already known (Cinelli [1677] 287) as a portrait of Andrea; the change of identity had by this time already taken place.

Biadi 1829, 158n8 and Reumont 1835, 91n1 give della Valle's information, and consider that the Bandinelli portrait has been lost.

COPIES AND DERIVATIONS

BALTIMORE, Walters Art Gallery no. 37.1099. Panel, 59.8 x 44.6.

A seventeenth-century imitation of Uffizi 1486, with a false monogram at left.

FLORENCE, Pitti no. 66. Canvas 70 x 53. In the Pitti before 1799, when it was taken to Paris until 1815.

See under the critical history of the original, above.

——— Marchese Campana, formerly Marchese Vincenzo Capponi. *Self-Portrait.* Panel.

Cinelli [1677] 287 in the Casa di Piero e Fra Vincenzo Capponi da S. Friano: "Ritratto d'Andrea del Sarto fatto dal medesimo Andrea." Biadi 1829, 161n2: in the collection of the Marchese

Vincenzo Capponi. Reumont 1835, 220 and n2, in the Capponi Collection: the face was like that in Pitti no. 66, but a little different in apparent age. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 176n3 report that Reumont said the rear of the panel bore the inscription "p° 1518," but I cannot find this statement in Reumont. Crowe and Cavalcaselle describe the painting in detail, and add the information that it bore the monogram. They regard the portrait as original but much restored. From their description it would appear to have been a variant of Uffizi 1486. Janitschek 1879, 47 apparently took it as original.

Formerly RICHMOND, Cook Collection no. 31. Panel, 61 x 51. A false monogram at left.

Purchased 1871 in Madrid for the Cook Collection; from the collection of Condesa Pachaco, wife of the then Spanish minister in Rome.

Guinness 1899, 70: "pleasing but much retouched." Alazard 1924, 126 a mediocre imitator, "presque doucereux." Venturi 1925, 568–572 as an authentic work, with praise. Fraenckel 1935, 234n86 summarily rejects it.

See also under the critical history of the original.

UPPER MONTCLAIR, New Jersey, Dr. E. N. Dodd.

A late imitation of Uffizi 1486.[5]

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[1] The surface shows two sets of *craquelure*: one fine and small, the other a larger crackle; the latter perhaps the effect of pressure applied during the remounting.

[2] The portraits listed by Fischel, Thieme-Becker 1908, s.v. Bandinelli are: the Vasari frontispiece in the edition of 1568; a relief in the Opera del Duomo (illustrated Venturi *Storia* X/2, fig. 163) and the clay model for it (*ibid.*, fig. 162); a profile in the Louvre (*ibid.*, fig. 164); a medal by Leone Leoni; and in painting there are the two *autoritratti* in the Uffizi (one in middle age [no. 1725] and one as an older man [no. 1510]) as well as the Gardner Museum painting.

Further, not listed by Fischel: a portrait in drawing, by Melchior Lorch, New York, Morgan Library, illustrated in *Studi Vasariani* (Florence, 1952) fig. 6.

[3] At one time in the George Vivian Collection at Claverton near Bath, described in the older literature as by Michelangelo or Sebastiano, then as a self-portrait; see Hendy, Cat. Gardner Collection 1935, 217. Zeri, *Proporzioni*, 2 (1948) 182n2 assigns the work to Jacopino del Conte, c. 1539. However, D. Heikamp (verbal communication) maintains the Bandinelli attribution is correct.

[4] It should be observed, in the way of reservation, that the color indicated for the hair of the sitter in Uffizi 1486 and in the portrait of Bandinelli in middle age, Uffizi 1725, is not quite the same; in no. 1725 the hair has a reddish tinge. The eyes in no. 1725 are of a somewhat darker brown than in no. 1684.

[5] A copy which shows a most uncharitable interpretation of the countenance, but which is of modest quality in execution, is photographed on Brogi 6158; the indication of place is given on that photograph (perhaps in confusion) as Florence, Uffizi.

Graves 1918, II, 140 lists as sold London, 20 May 1826 by Mr. Phillips, lot 131, a portrait called of Baccio Bandinelli, from the Capo di Maïle Collection. There is no further description, nor any indication of the buyer.

31 · (1515–) 1516. MADONNA AND CHILD, ELIZABETH WITH THE INFANT BAPTIST, TWO ANGELS (*Holy Family*). Paris, Louvre no. 1515. Fig. [66].

Panel, 141 x 106.

Before 1709–1710 the picture had been altered to make an oval form, and in the process "rehaussé de 13 pouces et élargi de 1 pied."[1] The panel was restored to its original shape in 1750[2] but the operation previously performed on it required that corners and edges be remade. The present corners and edges (about two centimeters, sight) all round are added. The panel has three long vertical cracks, repaired and discreetly repainted except through the head of the St. Elizabeth. Despite these operations, the present condition of the picture is quite satisfactory.

There are numerous small losses and one irregular hole, about three centimeters in diameter, in the center of the panel (above the head of the Christ), and there is some general abrasion. However, the abrasion should not be exaggerated; the picture would seem to have been quite thinly painted in the beginning. Numerous pentimenti have worked through to become clearly visible on the surface, and underpaint and surface glazes, where they remain, have in places (especially in the flesh) been assimilated into one another.[3]

The leftmost angel is reddish-haired; his wing a bright green-blue. The farther angel dark brown-haired, with green tipped wings, touched with dark gold. The Madonna wears a dress of cranberry-red, bleaching on her right arm, with an undersleeve of yellow-gold showing on the forearm. Her mantle, with its hood, is a powdery blue, gold edged; its *revers* over her thigh is *changeant* mauve to salmon. To the left, this *revers* reflects green from the cloth in the right hand of the angel beyond the Virgin. Elizabeth wears a creamy white mantle over a light greyed blue shirt; her skirt more greyed. John's loincloth is a paled violet with light brown fur. Under the left foot of the Christ Child is a piece of white cloth that reflects the red from the knee of the Madonna's dress above it. The background is a warm neutral dark brown.

From the royal collections at Fontainebleau, where it is supposed to have been in the possession of Francis I. Cited at Fontainebleau c. 1625 by Peiresc, and by Père Dan in 1642. Inventoried at Versailles at various dates from 1695 to 1784.[4]

Vasari 1550, 748; 1568 [1880] V, 26 mentions a "Nostra Donna bellissimma," without further description, which Andrea painted on the request of merchants to sell in France, who got out of it four times the cost of the picture to them. The citation follows in sequence immediately on the decoration for Leo X, and just precedes the mention of Andrea's contribution to the *camera di nozze* of Pier Francesco Borgherini. The very early record of the presence of Louvre no. 1515 in the collection at Fontainebleau, the exact chronological indication given by Vasari for the "Nostra Donna" sold in France, and the dating 1515–1516 that can be established for Louvre no. 1515 converge to make a high probability that Vasari's reference is to the present painting. Biadi 1829, 155n3 had made this identification and Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 26n1 indicated that "si crede" of the Louvre picture that it was this one mentioned by Vasari. Guinness 1899, 72 accepts the identification explicitly, but gives a dating in 1518–1519, which does not suit Vasari's text, the circumstances of Andrea's biography, or the evidence of style in the picture. Knapp 1907, 59–60 is certain of the identification, and dates the painting 1514–1515; however, in his register (p. 132) he gives the dating 1515–1516. Venturi 1925, 576 makes the same identification, but conditionally, and gives a date c. 1517–1518. Wagner 1951, 14 appears to accept the identification, and to place the picture in a context earlier than Andrea's French trip.

Among the principal authorities, neither Reumont nor Fraenckel suggests the association of Louvre no. 1515 with the "Nostra Donna bellissimma" for France. Reumont 1835, 107–108 puts Louvre no. 1515 directly into Andrea's French period, and *Verz.* dates it 1518. Fraenckel 1935, 42, 159, 215n45 places the picture c. 1515, and assumes it reached France before Andrea's trip there. She mentions relations of motive, only dubious, to Raphael or Michelangelo, as well as to Fra Bartolommeo. Comandé 1952, 50 gives the date 1519. Shearman 1961, 229 states the painting is not later than 1514. Freedberg 1961, 451–452: 1516.

This painting is a maximum moment in Andrea's development, since 1515, of a sharply articulate drawing and handling (and here, color also); this surpasses any of the works in our chronology so far in rhythmic subtlety of foldings of drapery — in places almost prismatic; in the quality of draughtsmanship, at once brilliant and of a charged fineness; and in the quick, transparent working with the brush. There is not yet, however, the sense of suavity — nearly an elegance — in the patterning of shapes and in the manipulation of chiaroscuro that appears in the works that decisively post-date 1516, and in the *Madonna of the Harpies* conspicuously. The repertory of types and of expression, and the mode of proportion in the forms, are still those which appeared in 1515.

Specific relations with paintings we have placed in 1515–1516 are numerous, and too obvious to require extended citation, but among them we may note the community of physiognomies with Pitti 87, already remarked; the likeness of lighting and of expression to the *Redeemer* of the Annunziata; the implication of a like mood in the angels of the lost *Pietà*. The brilliantly accented drawing and the complex chiaroscuro refer forward to the *Baptism of the Multitude* of the Scalzo (paid for March 1517), and minus the suavity, the children refer to the infants of the later *Harpies*.

COPIES AND DERIVATIONS (1)

A current of opinion in the nineteenth-century literature regarded Louvre no. 1515 as a second version or repetition of the same subject, slightly altered, in Munich, q.v. below. It should be observed that the great numbers of copies of early date, by specifiably Italian hands, and all agreeing in their differences from the Louvre painting in the figures of the angels to the left, indicates the presence in Italy of another version of this subject, presumably from Andrea's shop, which Andrea's contemporaries and later generations took as their model. It is suggested below that this primary replica is probably not identical with the picture now in Munich.

It is likely that a citation in the "Inventario delle robe della Tribuna" of 1589 (Archivio della Soprintendenza delle Gallerie [Florence] Ms. 70, c.29) refers to such a replica: "Un [quadro] simile di una Nostra Donna in tavola con un San Giovanni, S.^{ta} Lisabetta e 2 angiolini con sua cornice come sopra simile, alto br. 2¾ e largha br. 2⅛, di mano di Andrea del Sarto."

BROOKLYN, New York, Museum. In tondo form.

Published *Parnassus* 10:27 (1938) as a recent acquisition of the museum.

BURGHLEY HOUSE, Marquess of Exeter Collection no. 326.

CASAGLIA (Tuscany), S. Lorenzo.

FLORENCE, S. Salvi no. 4651. Panel, 125 x 95.

Of the late sixteenth century.

——— Villa Petraia.

Lacking the lesser angel (Photo Brogi 7725).

GENOA, Palazzo Bianco no. 45 (Cat. 1912; not in Cat. 1931).

Probably the painting erroneously described by Janitschek 1879, 48 as in the Sala Autumnio of the Palazzo Brignole [Rosso], and as an original by Andrea.

HIXHAM PRIORY.

INCE BLUNDELL, J. W. Weld. Panel, 155 x 124.5.

Waagen 1854, II, 248 reports that the picture was bought from Carthusians in Paris in 1777 as an original, but is only a good school copy. Exhibited Liverpool 1960, no. 32.

A mediocre copy by a seventeenth century hand.

LENINGRAD, Academy of Fine Arts.

From the Hermitage c. 1854.

Cf. Cat. Leningrad 1899, 120.

LONDON, Collection Mrs. A. B. Ashforth. Of the eighteenth century or later.

Formerly LONDON, Duke of Westminster, Grosvenor House no. 74; sold London, Christie's, 4 July 1924, no. 45. Canvas, 131 x 96.5. From the Agar Ellis Collection.

Reumont 1835, xxi as an imitation of Louvre no. 1515; Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 200 as a later copy. Perhaps the same picture as that sold Milan, Geri sale, 17–19 November 1938, no. 29.

——— W. Warren Vernon.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 203 as a pupil's copy.

Sold LONDON 1804, from R. Udney Collection to Hope.

Redford 1888, II, 251.

Sold LONDON 1854, from W. Cave, bought in.

Redford 1888, II, 251.

Sold LONDON 1873, from J. H. Butterworth, bought in.

Redford 1888, II, 251.

MADRID, Bernardo de Quiros.

Of the seventeenth century; probably a copy at second hand (photo MAS 31362).

Sold MILAN, Geri sale, 1938. Cf. formerly London, Duke of Westminster, above.

MODENA, Galleria Estense no. 505 (Cat. 1945). Panel, 132 x 102.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 196.

MUNICH, Alte Pinakothek no. 501. Panel, 137 x 104. Fig. 6.

Considerably abraded; extensive small losses.

Acquired by Anna Maria Luisa of Düsseldorf; to the Elector's Gallery there. Transferred to Munich 1806. To the Hofgarten Gallery 1836, and thence to the Alte Pinakothek.

Cat. Munich 1877, no. 548 assumes that this picture may be identical with a Madonna painted originally for Alessandro Corsini (Vasari [1880] V, 23; which we have suggested instead should be the *Madonna with St. John and Three Angels*, see our catalogue entry no. 16), and of which the original passed in 1613 to the Collection Crescenzi in Rome. Cat. Munich 1877 assumes their picture came from the Crescenzi Collection into the hands of Anna Maria Luisa, but there is no evidence whatever to support this provenience. Their mistaken identification of the Munich painting with the lost Madonna for Alessandro Corsini occurred by misconstruction of an observation made by Förster in his Vasari edition (1843, III, 409n47), which he meant to apply not to this painting but to another in Munich, deposit no. 509, q.v. in our catalogue among the copies after London, Wallace no. 9.

The older Munich catalogues asserted that their painting, rather than Louvre no. 1515, was Andrea's original. In Cat. 1900, no. 1066 the earlier dubious assertion of provenience has been dropped; in Cat. 1938, the claim to originality also, and the picture is listed as a shop replica. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 199 had long since dismissed the claim to originality of the Munich piece; Morelli [1883] 76 implied the same view when he stated that "the Munich Gallery does not possess an original work by Andrea del Sarto." Guinness 1899, 75 gave the Munich painting as a replica of that in the Louvre, and Knapp 1907, 60, 132 held it was an altered shop replica of the Louvre painting.

The Munich picture differs from Louvre no. 1515 in one significant respect of its contents: the angel left has been turned to face the spectator, and the head of the second angel is barely visible. Otherwise, the design is the same, with alterations only of detail. These, however, clearly indicate another hand than Andrea's, highly skilled, but relatively timid; further, Andrea's types and their poignancy of expression have been softened and somewhat prettified. The mold in which the persons of the painting have been cast suggests Andrea's style of a later moment than that of the Louvre original. In color, the Munich picture follows the Louvre example fairly closely. Alone among the known copies and derivations of Louvre no. 1515, the Munich version approaches the standard we might expect of a work produced under Andrea's supervision and in his shop. Yet it is by no means certain that this is its case. It may be the production of a sophisticated younger copyist (a case parallel that, e.g., of the copies we would give to Salviati of Borghese 334, q.v.), or even a work of the late sixteenth-century Sartesque revival. In any case, its close likeness in color to the painting in the Louvre indicates that the author of the present painting must have had available, as his model, either the Louvre original or a replica of it. If the dating of the Munich picture is (as we believe) not earlier than the mid-'twenties, this then requires either (a) that we assume that the painting in the Louvre is not to be identified with the picture made for sale in France, or that it was not so quickly exported as Vasari implies — both suggestions contrary to the weight of evidence; or (b) that the Munich copy was made in France — still more dubious — or (c) that a prior repetition of this altered version of Louvre no. 1515 was made in Andrea's shop, just succeeding the original in time, and that this shop version, now lost, served as the model for the Munich painting and the host of other copies by Italian hands. This last is the most likely supposition, and it takes support from the evidence we may adduce from the derivations of type II, q.v. below.

MUNICH, Alte Pinakothek no. 544 (Cat. 1877). Panel, 114 x 84.
From Ludwig of Bavaria in 1808. A partial copy.

——— Rolf Toussaint. Panel, 138 x 110.
Of the seventeenth century?

Sold PARIS, Sommariva, 1839.
Mireur 1912, VII, 280; from the catalogue description given presumably a copy after Louvre no. 1515.

PETWORTH HOUSE, Sussex, Lord Leconfield Collection no. 320 (Cat. 1920). Panel, 133.5 x 97.8.
Waagen 1854, III, 32 suggested Empoli might be the author (photo Courtauld Institute B58/341).

PROVIDENCE, Brown University, Brown Memorial. Panel. Omitting the angels. From the Olantigh Towers Collection.
Of the seventeenth century?

ROME, Vatican Museum no. 348. Panel, 130 x 98.
Of the sixteenth century, but of indifferent quality (photo Anderson 3111; Brogi 17705).

S. GEMIGNIANO, S. Agostino. Panel. Landscape background.
Of the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century (photo Sansoni 2306).

VENICE, S. Andrea. Lacking the two angels.

Of the late sixteenth century.

VIENNA, Kunsthistorisches Museum no. 409. Panel, 135 x 97.

By exchange from Florence, 1792,[5] from the Tribuna of the Uffizi, and previously in the Archivio Segreto. In Paris 1809–1821.[6]

DERIVATIONS (II)

This set of derivations, of which the best is that formerly at Windsor and now at Hampton Court, extracts the Madonna and the Child of the Louvre no. 1515 design, and adds to it, right, an infant Baptist, taken with alterations of dress, and of the pose of the left arm only, from the antecedent painting (for Alessandro Corsini) of a Madonna and Child with St. John and three angelini.

It is possible that an inventory in A.S.F. Inv. Med. 320, Libro di Debitori e Creditori ai oggetti della Guardaroba, 1612–1615, c. 34, may refer to the initial version of this derivation: "Un' quadro in tavola alto br. 1¾ largo Br. 1⅓ dipintovi dentro una madonna a sedere in terra con il nōs S^{re} in braccio e un' san Giovannino ritto che scherza con n̄ro S^{re} di mano di And^{a} del sarto . . ."

Sold BUDAPEST, Ernst Museum, Szechenyi sale, 31 March 1924, no. 873. Canvas, 105 x 81.5.

Copied from the version now in Hampton Court.

HAMPTON COURT, H. M. the Queen. Panel, 99 x 72.5. Formerly at Windsor Castle, p. 1, Cat. 1937. Fig. 7.

Considerably damaged; the face of the Madonna especially has suffered.

Branded on the rear WR 134. Apparently acquired by Frederick Prince of Wales. In his Leicester House, where it was noticed by Vertue in 1749. To Windsor 1776, Buckingham House 1783, Kensington 1825, returned to Windsor 1835,[7] where it remained until its transfer to Hampton Court after World War II.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 203 as an old imitation, perhaps by Puligo. Berenson [1932] 19 as a school piece; [1936] 17 with the symbol for "ruined" or "restored," but the symbol for school piece has been dropped, implying Andrea's own authorship.

The drawing in many passages of the panel (e.g., the left hand of the Madonna, portions of the anatomy of the Christ Child, the Madonna's face) is of high quality, but in other places is schematic. The laying-in of paint is generally rather inept, but a few passages (again, the left hand of the Madonna, and despite the damage, her face) are quite sensitive. It is possible that the picture may have been underdrawn on the panel by Andrea, and perhaps also touched by him in the places we indicate after its execution by an assistant,[8] whose brushwork has mostly obscured Andrea's preparation.

The differences in form and in character of expression in the Hampton Court picture from its eventual source, Louvre no. 1515, suggest that the moment of this derivation may be 1517. The painting of the Madonna's head, with (what is perceptible through the damage of) the softened light and mood, is comparable to the *Madonna of the Harpies*, and to the head of St. Francis in that picture in particular. The manner of handling of the drapery, also softer and less faceted than in Louvre no. 1515, may not be altogether an effect of the assistant's hand, but of Andrea's intention as we read it elsewhere in the paintings of 1517.

The type and expression of the Christ Child are not those of Louvre no. 1515, but are more nearly comparable to those in the copy in Munich. This points to the derivation of the Hampton Court picture also from a common (lost) source, which had remained in Florence, rather than from Louvre no. 1515 directly, which by this time presumably had been exported to France.

LEIPZIG, Städtisches Museum no. 262 (Cat. 1878).[9] Panel, 97 x 78.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 196 a more modern repetition of the picture in Turin, q.v.

Formerly LONDON, Yarborough Collection. Panel, 110 x 81. Sold London, Christie's, 12 July 1929.

Waagen 1857, 66 "a good work of the school." Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 203 inferior to the Windsor version. The Yarborough picture would appear, in fact, to have been copied directly from the latter.

NANTES, Musée des Beaux Arts no. 153 (Cat. 1917). Canvas, 103.5 x 77.5. From the Cacault Collection, 1810.

Formerly PARIS, M. Marabelle.
Reinach V (1922) 354.

ROME, S.M. dell' Orto, sacristy.
(Photo Anderson 20815.)

——— Vatican Museum no. 348 (Cat. 1934).[10] Panel, 130 x 98; with an extended landscape background.

Of mid-sixteenth century date; next in quality to the version of the painting at Hampton Court.

SALAMANCA, Convent of Santo Domingo.

Of the late sixteenth century, by a Spanish hand.

TURIN, Galleria Sabauda no. 125 (Cat. 1899). Panel, 108 x 80.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 203 a school copy after a portion of Louvre no. 1515; so also Guinness 1899, 96.

Not a literally intended copy; there are variations of costume, and the faces have been interpreted with some freedom, according to the personality of the copyist, who may possibly be Naldini.

Sold VIENNA, Dorotheum, 10–12 December 1925, no. 88. Panel, 97 x 76.[11]

[1] Inventory Bailly, cited Cat. Louvre 1876, 270, no. 438.

[2] We so interpret the summary statement of de Ricci 1913, 139, citing a Ms. source.

[3] The major pentimenti: the left hand of the Madonna, both hands of St. John, the left hand of Elizabeth.

There is no present justification for Milanesi's complaint (Vasari [1880] V, 26n1) that the picture has retained almost none of its originality; and Fraenckel's judgment (1935, 159) of the damage done to the picture is too severe.

[4] Cat. 1913, 139.

[5] For the circumstances of this exchange, in which the *Tobias* altar also figured, see Cat. Vienna 1882, lxv ff.

[6] Duchesne and Réveil 1831, 386 engrave the present subject with the indication that it is "in Florence," and give dimensions of 4′ 5″ x 3′ 4″ (135 x 102). Their note cites, besides the copies listed by us, "repetitions" by the master in Madrid, in the Collection of the Prince of Orange, and a further Florentine version which had been for twenty years in Paris. The two "Florentine" versions here may be a confused reference to the single painting now in Vienna.

[7] Cat. 1937, 1.

[8] The assistant (as Crowe and Cavalcaselle first doubtfully suggested) could have been Puligo. There is some likeness to his translation of Andrea's vocabulary as it appears, e.g., in his version in the National Gallery, London, of Andrea's *Holy Family* (Leningrad), and in early independent works such as the *Madonna with the Infant St. John* (Florence, Pitti 242) or the *Madonna with St. John and Two Angels* of the Galleria Corsini, Florence.

[9] As a school piece.

[10] As shop work.

[11] Uffizi 6460F is a copy in drawing after the head of the St. John in Louvre no. 1515.

32 · (1516–) 1517. TWO SCENES FROM THE PARABLE OF THE VINEYARD.[1] Formerly Florence, SS. Annunziata, *orto*. (1) CALLING OF THE WORKERS. Lost. (2) PAYMENT OF THE WORKERS. Largely lost. Figs. 8 [67].

Grisaille frescoes, ochre ground. A ruined fragment, 110 x 100, is preserved in the Cenacolo del Ghirlandaio at the church of the Ognissanti, Florence.

Originally on two spaces (probably adjoining at a corner, but perhaps on opposite facing walls) at the end of the *Orto* of the monastery, the *Calling of the Workers* to the right, the *Payment* to the left.[2]

Vasari 1550, 754–755 mentions and describes both frescoes "a sommo i dua cantoni," in the context of works for the most part dateable in the earlier 1520's. He esteems the *Payment* the more beautiful fresco. In 1568 [1880] V, 34 his description of their place is "a sommo dell'orto de' Servi in due cantoni." Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 34n2 states that in 1704 [3] the wall with the *Calling* fell in. The second fresco stood, though in ruined condition, until about 1870, when it was taken down in connection with the building of a street.[4]

Reumont 1835, 114 dated the *Parables* in 1519, after Andrea's return from France. Mantz 1876, 476 placed them at the end of 1512 or early in 1513; he already knew the document Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 67 associated with these works, of 25 June 1512, in A.S.F. Conv. 119/704, c. 136r: "A spese di muraglia a di decto soldi dodici per un sacco di chalcina pella spalliera dell'orto, porta Andrea dipintore." Guinness 1899, 12 accepted this association, as did Borenius, ed. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 176n5.[5] Knapp 1907, 55, 132 dislikes this early dating, and places the *Parables* c. 1516–1517. Sinibaldi 1925*a*, 14n1 continues to accept the implication of the document that Milanesi gives, and dates the *Parables* 1512–1513. Fraenckel 1935, 99 asserts that, despite Milanesi's evidence, the frescoes were never executed by Andrea himself, and prefers to associate them with the circle of Bacchiacca. Wagner 1959, 432 takes the document as binding. However, Shearman 1960*b*, 155–156 has proved beyond question that the document taken by Milanesi as referring to Andrea del Sarto refers instead to Andrea di Cosimo Feltrini (Andrea di Giovanni di Lorenzo); records of two other payments for the same work on the "spalliere dell' orto," on 4 July and 3 August 1512, follow immediately on the document transcribed by Milanesi, and in the August payment Andrea di Cosimo is specifically named. The false documentary association put aside, Shearman indicates that a dating in 1512 would be "a shade early."

A photograph (Alinari 44163) survives, evidently much retouched, which documents the appearance of the *Payment*, apparently at a moment close before the destruction of the fresco. There are numerous old copies, in drawing, prints, and painting, after both frescoes; all that have been accessible to us have been included in the list of copies given below.

The surviving fragment of the *Payment*, and the photograph made of it before its destruction, constitute an almost sufficient evidence to fix the time of origin of this fresco; and since the copies of both frescoes indicate no legible difference in style between them, the estimate of date made for the *Payment* should hold also for its companion. The repertory of figure-types and of motives of action in the *Payment* appear to resemble very closely those in the *Arrest of the Baptist* (paid 17 July 1517); there is also a resemblance in the description of setting in these two frescoes. From the copies, it would seem that the repertory of facial types in the *Payment* is found in the *Arrest* and in the *Baptism of the Multitude* also (paid 15 March 1517). Drapery style is sufficiently like that of the former fresco. The weight of evidence tends, thus, to locate the *Parables* in 1517; and certainly, despite Vasari's place for them within a later sequence of events, the *Parables* would not seem to postdate the Scalzo frescoes paid for within the first half of 1517. Indeed, certain qualities suggest (through they are only imperfectly perceptible in the surviving visual material) that the *Parables* may have shortly predated those two Scalzo works: a measure of awkwardness in the articulation of the vigorous movement of the figures, and an element of disjointedness in the relation among them, seem points in common with, e.g., the vocabulary of the first *Joseph* story, Pitti 87. As far as it may be gathered from the evidence, the drapery style, at least of the *Payment*, seems to have been less brilliantly complex than in the Scalzo *Baptism of the Multitude* or the *Arrest*. Some latitude should be allowed in the dating of the *Parables*, from (late) 1516 into earlier 1517.

COPIES AND DERIVATIONS

FLORENCE, S. Salvi nos. 9164, 9165. Both *Parables*. Oil on canvas; each 52 x 72; both are translations into color.

——— Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni nos. 675S (also numbered 660E), 676S (also numbered 629E). After the *Calling* and *Payment* scenes respectively.

These form part of a series with the Santarelli copies (nos. 664S–674S) after the Scalzo frescoes, q.v. under our catalogue entry no. 8.

——— no. 14445F. Part of the *Payment* scene: the three figures center and right.

Of the seventeenth century.

——— no. 14456F. After the *Payment*.

Formerly FLORENCE, Casa Capponi, S. Frediano. After the *Payment*. Oil.

Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 34n3: "Vedevasi nella casa Capponi."

LONDON, British Museum no. 1895–9–15–540. After the *Calling*. Pen and bistre. Formerly attributed to Andrea; now catalogued as a copy. Fig. [68].

A good copy by a later sixteenth-century or seventeenth-century hand.

Sold LONDON, Christie's, Cholmondeley and Others sale, 14 July 1922, no. 70; to Bellesi. After both scenes. Oil, each 93 x 115.5. From the W. Fuller Maitland Collection; bought in at an earlier sale of Fuller Maitland pictures, 10 May 1879, nos. 102 and 103.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 176–177n5 by Nanaccio.

Mediocre copies of the sixteenth century.

——— Sotheby's, A. G. B. Russell sale, 9 May 1929, no. 22. *Recto*, the man right in the *Calling*. *Verso*, the same figure. Red chalk, 25 x 16.5.

By Naldini?

MHEER (Holland), J. H. J. Mellaert. After the *Payment*. Drawing.

Formerly MILAN, Galleria di Brera no. 861.[6] After the *Payment*. Watercolor.

Mantz 1876, 476 as Andrea's first *pensée* for the fresco. Knapp 1907, fig. 34.

PARIS, Louvre no. 1740/1. After the *Payment*.

——— no. 1741. After the *Payment*.

ROME, Palazzo Corsini, Gabinetto dei Disegni. After both scenes.

Guinness (1899, 13) assigns their authorship to Lucas van Leyden.[7]

——— Private Collection. After both scenes. Oil, each 95 x 117. From the d'Atri Collection, Paris.

Cecchi 1928/1929, 212–215 as original works by Bacchiacca, not knowing their identity as copies after Andrea's lost frescoes. Properly identified as copies by Gamba 1929, 292–295. Cecchi 1928/1929, 353 reaffirms that these copies are by Bacchiacca.

TORONTO, T. Heinrich. After the patron in the *Payment*.

Exhibited Montreal Museum, 1953, no. 35.

VIENNA, Albertina no. SR 175 (Cat. 1892) after the *Payment*. Black chalk, pen, white highlights, 40.3 x 54.2.

Wickhoff, Cat. 1892: not by Andrea.

Prints by H. Cock, dated 1553 and 1563, and by Cesare Roberti. Knapp 1907, fig. 33 and [1928] figs. 28–29; R. Bacci, *Firenze, Rassegna mensile* 2:52 (1933); Gamba 1929, 229.

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[1] Matthew 20: 1–16.

[2] Bocchi 1581, 234; [1677] 466–468.

[3] Or in 1724?, according to Andreucci 1857, 171; cf. Paatz [1955] I, 135 and 195n609.

[4] Described as ruined but legible by Reumont 1835, 114 and by Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 34n2 as having "sofferto assai, ma ciò nonostante qualche cosa si vede ancora." The circumstances of the demolition in Paatz [1955] I, 135, and the date on Alinari Photograph 44163, taken before the demolition.

The fragment of the *Payment* preserved and taken to the Ognissanti was apparently at an earlier date held in S. Marco; it bears an old label with the legend "Inv. di. S. Marco 199."

[5] Borenius also mentions a document of June 1513, but this is probably a mistaken rendering of the date of a document (for the *Birth of the Virgin?*) of January 1513 which Milanesi enters next in his list in Vasari [1880] V, 67.

[6] "Registro Cronologico" of the gallery. No. 197/417 in the Ms. inventory of the gallery. The drawing has been lost since 1938 (letter F. Wittgens, 4 May 1955).

[7] Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 34n3 referred apparently to these when he alleged that an original drawing of the *Payment* was in the collection of the Prince Corsini in Rome.

33 · (1516–)1517. BAPTISM OF THE MULTITUDE.

Florence, Chiostro dello Scalzo. Fig. [10].

Fresco (grisaille), 194 x 206.

More apparently restored than the antecedent or the immediately following paintings in the Scalzo series.

Payment for this fresco is documented in A.S.F. Comp. Sopp. 1198/28 c. 30, under date 15 March 1516 (st. c. 1517): "Et de avere, adì 15 di marzo, fior. sei larghi d'oro in oro, sono per manifattura del quadro del battezzare e popoli, chome si vede nel nostro chiostro di verso San Piero del Murone, fattoci a sua spesa d'achordo chon Francesco di Biagio d'Attanagio sarto .... £ 42"[1]

Vasari 1550, 746 in sequence immediately following the *Preaching*; so also 1568 [1880] V, 21–22. Knapp 1907, 53 observes the inspiration in this fresco from Michelangelo's *Cascina* Cartoon. Knapp identifies Pontormo as the author of the putto toward the right, and of the figures in the landscape right rear. Venturi 1925, 545 also observes relations of motive to the *Cascina* Cartoon, and notes further that the figure in profile at the left edge of the scene may be inspired by Michelangelo's *David*. Fraenckel 1935, 40 observes the evidence of study of Michelangelo's *Matthew* in the posture of the legs of the Baptist. She notes (214n44) that the motive of the figure left front is closer to one in Ghirlandaio's *Baptism of Christ* in S. M. Novella than to any antecedent in the *Cascina* Cartoon. She also observes derivations from Dürer (B. 32, 34, 36) among the small figures in the landscape and in the turbaned old man left. In 1933, 164 and 1935, 40 Fraenckel approves Knapp's notion of Pontormo's participation in the execution of the fresco, and goes well beyond Knapp in her estimate of Pontormo's role, allowing only the three most prominent figures in the foreground to Andrea. She not only gives the execution of the rest of the picture to Pontormo, but implies he is the designer of the parts Andrea did not paint. Her comparisons with Pontormo's certain works carry no conviction; the resemblances she sees in the *Baptism of the Multitude* are no more than the generic likenesses that exist between master and gifted pupil at an early stage in the latter's career. In 1933, 237 ff. (and 1935, 214n44) she attempts to justify her view of Pontormo's participation by citing what she believes to be a preparatory drawing by Pontormo (Uffizi no. 6697F; illustrated on her plate XVIII) for the figure right in the fresco; this drawing is by Pontormo, but it is dateable, from other studies on the sheet, c. 1529. Becherucci 1944, 13 summarily rejects the notion of any participation by Pontormo in the *Baptism of the Multitude*. Pope-Hennessy 1959, 7 makes the very probable suggestion that Jacopo Sansovino may have prepared models for the figure left front and for the Baptist of this fresco.

It is most probable that the *Baptism of the Multitude* was executed close to the time of its documented payment in the spring of 1517; nevertheless, allowance must be made for the possibility of a somewhat tardy payment. It may be an unnecessary caution to allow for some flexibility in the dating of the fresco, from later 1516 into 1517.

PREPARATORY STUDIES

FLORENCE, Uffizi no. 657E. For the figure undressing at left. Black chalk on grey-tinted paper, 29 x 15.1 (cut irregularly at the top). So identified by Ferri 1893, 133, and by all subsequent authorities: Berenson [1938] no. 100; Knapp 1907, 134; di Pietro 1911, no. 72; Venturi 1925, 547n1; Fraenckel 1935, 177. Fig. 38.

The element of Michelangelesque reminiscence that is in the painted figure is not apparent in the drawing, and would seem to have been imposed on it in the course of execution, according it with the Michelangelesque temper of the other major forms.

MELBOURNE, National Gallery of Victoria. *Recto*, study for the Baptist. Red chalk, 31.5 x 18.7. Repaired at top left and right and at the bottom right corner. From the Heseltine and Oppenheimer collections. Fig. [69]. *Verso* (see under our catalogue entry no. 41).

Berenson 1903, no. 137; [1938] no. 141A identifies the drawing as above; so also: Knapp 1907, 135; Cat. Heseltine 1913, no. 2; Borenius, Vasari Society ser. 2, 2:3 (1921); Popham 1930, no. 197.

COPY AFTER LOST PREPARATORY DRAWING

FLORENCE, Uffizi no. 284F. Model study for the figure to the left rear of the Baptist. Red chalk, 40.5 x 26.5. Fig. 39.

Ferri 1893, 135 identifies the sheet as by Andrea and as "for the Scalzo." Knapp 1907, 124 had connected the drawing with the *Clothing of the Leper* in the Benizzi series. Di Pietro 1911, 9 corrects Knapp's identification, and specifies that the sheet that this drawing copies was for the *Baptism of the Multitude*.

The motive is explicitly that of the figure left center in the *Baptism of the Multitude*, but in the fresco the direction of the pose has been shifted and the garment rearranged into a formalized drapery pattern. This copy, perhaps of the seventeenth century, reflects what was, probably, an early model study by Andrea for the motive. The verso of the sheet has scribbling in a hand of likely seventeenth-century date.

DERIVATION

FLORENCE, Uffizi deposit no. 7507 (Vecchia Posta 401). After the two central figures only, with additions. Canvas, 105 x 83.

Two angels added to the central figures copied from the *Baptism of the Multitude*, the left angel imitating one of Andrea's in his *Baptism of Christ* in the Scalzo; a new landscape also added. A *pasticcio* rather than a copy.

See also under our catalogue entry no. 8, Copies and Derivations, Florence, S. Salvi no. 8316.[2]

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[1] Published by Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 68.

[2] Turin, Biblioteca Reale no. 397 (Cat. 1959) is a copy in drawing after the leftmost portion of the fresco.

34 · c. 1517. MADONNA AND CHILD WITH THE INFANT ST. JOHN. Rome, Galleria Borghese no. 5, Cat. 1959, inv. 334. Fig. [72].

Panel, 154 x 101.

Minor losses only, in the face of the Virgin in particular; a slight crack runs from the top of the panel through the Virgin's face to the right corner of her mouth. The condition is generally satisfactory. There are evident pentimenti in the left leg of Christ, in his right foot and on the right side of his thigh; and in the right elbow of the Virgin.

The Madonna wears a dress of muted mauve hue, and over it a mantle and headdress of glowing powdery blue. The undersleeve on her lower right arm shows yellow-gold. The rock on which she sits has a violet cast. John sits on a light brown goatskin. The hair of all the figures tends to red, especially that of the St. John. The background is neutral grey-brown, which goes slate-colored behind the Baptist to the right.

The earliest certain reference to this painting is in an inventory of the Borghese Collection of 1790, with an attribution to Andrea.[1] The opinion held by Reumont 1835, 83 of the authenticity of this picture is not clear, but in his *Verz.* he dates it 1515. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 195 lumped this work together with the other Sarto attributions of their time in the Borghese, all of which they considered copies or imitations. Janitschek 1879, 48 thought the painting by Andrea. Morelli [1890] 160 considered the composition excellent, but the execution too hard and spiritless for Andrea himself. Venturi in Cat. Borghese 1893, 165 considered the painting an original and late work. Guinness 1899, 95, 101 also considered it authentic, but his dating differs significantly from Venturi's: "probably" 1516. Longhi 1927, 86 and 1928, 128–130, 208 strongly asserts the originality of the painting, and places it in 1514–1515. Longhi remarks its "Michelangelism," and characterizes it as the only work of Andrea that has a relation with the contemporary art of Pontormo and Rosso. Knapp [1928] 40 thinks the picture a copy of a lost original. Berenson [1932] 19 lists it as Andrea's in "great part," and dates it uncertainly in 1517. In [1936] 16 Berenson changes his date to a suggestion, also uncertain, of 1512. Fraenckel 1935, 104–105, 167 thinks the basic character of the work — not only in execution, but in invention — un-Sartesque, and regards it as the production of an imitator. Freedberg 1961, 469–470 gives a date in 1519–1520, which we now think too late.

We do not believe that Borghese 334 permits any serious doubt of its originality. Within Andrea's *oeuvre* of the time about which we think this picture must be dated, it makes a somewhat exceptional effect; but the picture is neither a copy nor the invention of an imitator. It contains numerous pentimenti, and the drawing with the brush is swift and brilliantly assured; there is no slightest trace of the copyist's hesitations or of laboring. The graphic sign is everywhere of superb quality and makes forms which are exactly those of Andrea's vocabulary toward 1517. No assistant's hand mars the quality, or the consistency, of the execution of Borghese 334. If the execution is Andrea's, then the invention, obviously, is also his.

Fraenckel's view that this painting is the achievement of an imitator or a *pasticheur* is not less unjustified than the opinion that considers it a copy. No imitator of the first half of the century was capable of miming Andrea's forms to this degree, or at this standard. We possess a copy, sufficiently brilliant, which is almost surely by the young Salviati, the painter best equipped and best disposed, in his earlier career, to make such an imitation as Fraenckel claims Borghese 334 to be. The copy is sufficient indication of the differences, in quality and kind, that separate the work of the master from that of the follower.

In any case, Fraenckel's view disregards the evidence of a drawing, Uffizi 304Fr. The originality of the sheet is disputed by most critics but it seems to us authentic. This sheet bears a design sketch for Borghese 334, and on its verso is a detail study for a motive in the *Story of Joseph* [2], Pitti 88, dated by us c. 1517. Even should one grant, as we are not disposed to do, that the verso of Uffizi 304F is a copy (as Fraenckel claims) it asks too much of coincidence that the recto should bear, not another record of Andrea's work, but a *pasticheur's* invention for a painting precisely in Andrea's style of about the time of Pitti 88. The drawing must be taken, as copy or original, as evidence of Andrea's invention of Borghese 334, and the picture taken, on exact face value, as evidence for his entire execution of his idea.

The Uffizi preparatory study for Borghese 334 is, as we observe, on the recto of a sheet which prepares a picture dateable c. 1517. The proportions and type of the Madonna, already distinct from those of Louvre no. 1515, more resemble those of the Madonna of the *Harpies*; and among the most compelling of the arguments for the autograph character of Borghese 334 is the great closeness, in form, in the technique of handling of the brush, and in the manipulation of the light, of the head of the Madonna in it to that of the St. Francis of the *Harpies*. It should also be noted that the right hand of the Madonna in the Borghese painting and the left hand of the Madonna of the *Harpies* are very like. Except for the sharpness of modelling and drawing in the Baptist of Borghese 334, he is comparable in type and expression to the Christ Child of the *Harpies*: the flattened highlight on the front of the nose is a peculiar technical similarity. In pose, the Baptist derives explicitly from Andrea's own precedent, in turn eventually Michelangelesque, in the putto right in the Scalzo *Baptism of the Multitude*, probably of early 1517. The Christ Child of Borghese 334 takes his origin in the Christ of Louvre no. 1515, but more exactly resembles the angel left in the *Harpies*. In color, the rather exceptional blue of the Madonna's robe has a counterpart, not in the *Harpies*, where color is much subdued, but in Andrea's London *Portrait of a Sculptor*, of 1517–1518.

With pictures that we associate with 1518 and slightly later resemblances are decidedly fewer. The likeness of the putti of Borghese 334, even in some part of their power of modelling and vigor of action (beyond that of the putti of the *Harpies*) to the children of the Louvre *Caritas* is obvious, and the motive of the putto, leg bent out behind him, that is in the foreground of the *Caritas* is the analogue of that in the Borghese painting's Christ Child. In the *Madonna* of the Wallace Collection, which we date c. 1519, the rocky ledge of the background of the Borghese picture reappears. Beyond this, however, we can adduce no significant associations with paintings of a later time than 1517.

One relation that must be investigated is not within Andrea's own production, but with Pontormo's altar for S. Michele Visdomini. That work is dated 1518; we have observed (see our text volume p. 50) that, given the peculiarities of the Florentine calendar, the possibility exists that Andrea might have seen Pontormo's painting before departing for France, and we have speculated that its influence may be apparent in the *Caritas*. In Freedberg 1961, 469–470 we assumed that Pontormo's altar must, with greater likelihood, have influenced the design and the mood of Borghese 334, but we now retract that notion. We are now sufficiently convinced of the precedence in time of the Borghese painting to Pontormo's altar to assert that the exchange of influence must have been the other way, from Andrea to Pontormo.

PREPARATORY STUDY

FLORENCE, Uffizi no. 304F. *Recto*, composition study for the picture. Red chalk, 31.2 x 23.1. Fig. [71].

Ferri 1893, 136 as Andrea, but identifying the figure of the Baptist separately as a study for the putto right in the *Baptism of the Multitude*. Guinness 1899, 95 associated the drawing with Borghese 334, and thought it original. Di Pietro 1911, 41 made the same identification but considered the sheet a copy. Fraenckel 1935, 188 thinks the drawing, like the painting, the work of an imitator. She discerns a mixture of Puligo-like and Sarto-like elements in the draughtsmanship; she suggests this may be a retouched pupil's drawing.

No element in the graphic vocabulary of this drawing is foreign to Andrea. What is exceptional is that this is a sole surviving example of its type of compositional drawing. It is not, apparently, such a first *pensiero* of design as exists e.g., for the Luco *Pietà*, for the *Naming of the Baptist*, or for the late altar in Berlin, but a record of a second stage in the development of a compositional idea. In the figure of the Christ Child the intention of the drawing has been developed further, into a specific figure study.[2] The exceedingly swift and summary drawing in the Madonna and the St. John is in fact in a graphic mode intermediate between the style of the genuine first *pensieri* and that of the figure studies; the Christ Child, a little less summary, but not less swift, is in the most brilliant language that Andrea can command for his studies of action in the human form.[3] This latter passage is a rare instance in Andrea's art: one in which he draws with a *brio*, and almost with the expressive energy, that Pontormo at this time begins to display.

There are differences in the composition of the drawing from that of the painting, which are interesting for the further relations they suggest to chronologically near works of Andrea. In general, the design in the drawing is less daring than in the painting: less spatially assertive, less complex in directions, and less suggestive of the scheme of an inverted V; its lighting is less abrupt and more atmospherically modulated, in a way that recalls, specifically, the French *Caritas*. The resemblance of the drawing to the *Caritas* goes farther than the matter of the lighting, and goes farther than what the painting lets us see: the resemblance of the pose of the Madonna in Uffizi 304F and of Caritas herself is very striking, almost as if the pose in the latter might have been made in imitation of a study for the work now in Rome. There are suggestive resemblances in the motives of Uffizi 304F to paintings we date earlier than the *Caritas;* conspicuously the upper body and the head of the Christ Child here are extremely like his counterpart in the Windsor derivation from Louvre no. 1515, and like the boy who sits on the steps right in the *Joseph* story, Pitti 88, for which picture, we recall, the verso of this drawing bears a study.[4]

COPIES AND DERIVATIONS

ANCONA, Pinacoteca no. 21 (Cat. 1960). Panel, 150 x 104.

In *Itinerario* Ancona 1935 as a copy or shop repetition of a late painting by Andrea; but Cat. Borghese 1959, 12, in the discussion of their own painting, cites this as a probably autographic replica. Cat. Ancona 1960 regards the opinion of the Roman catalogue as too optimistic, and prefers to label the present picture "Andrea del Sarto e scuola."

A version of distinct Mannerist accent, not earlier than the fourth decade of the sixteenth century.

Formerly BELVOIR CASTLE, Duke of Rutland, sold London, Christie's, 16 April 1926, no. 38, to Jacobsen. 140 x 108.

BERLIN, Museums deposit no. 1602 (now held in East Berlin). Panel, 57 x 44.

Formerly at Hildesheim.

FLORENCE, Palazzo Mirafiori.

KREUZLINGEN (Switzerland), Art Market. Panel, 1.43 x 1.04; copying the monogram also. Considerably abraded.

By a skilled painter of the midsixteenth century.

NAPLES, Collection Imparato Caracciolo. Panel, 147 x 101.

From the Collection Connestabile della Staffa, Perugia, and before that presumably in the Palazzo of Donna Anna, Naples. Cat. *Fontainebleau e la Maniera Italiana*, 1952, no. 55, pl. 53, is willing to entertain the idea that this is one of the "due quadri di Nostra Donna che [Andrea] fece d'una medisima maniera" for Ottaviano de' Medici (Vasari 1568 [1880] V, 37), and which Milanesi (*ibid.* n2) reports may be in Naples in the hands of the Princes d'Ottajano, descendants of the Medici. An expertise from C. Ricci asserts Andrea's authorship of the Caracciolo panel. Longhi, quoted Cat. 1952, no. 55, pl. 53, dates the picture c. 1530, and assigns it to the youthful Francesco Salviati.

NEW YORK, Art Market. Panel, 145 x 109. From the Palumbo Collection.

A certificate by L. Venturi asserts this is the original, and Borghese 334 the copy.

The color somewhat altered and muted from the Roman painting; otherwise more literally a copy than the Caracciolo version. However, this and the Caracciolo copies may be by the same hand.

——— Panel, 142 x 104. Reported to have come from the collection of the Grand Duke of Baden.

The best in quality among the versions of the design we list. The possibility of Salviati's authorship should be considered.

PARIS, Collection Schiff-Giorgini.

Formerly RICHMOND, Cook Collection no. 32. Panel, 143 x 104. From the Mme. de Meiller Collection; loaned by her to the Old Masters exhibition at Burlington House in 1875 (no. 168); thence to the Cook Collection. From the Cook Collection to the art market in Munich. Exhibited as an anonymous private loan in Stuttgart, *Meisterwerke aus badenwürttembergischem Privatbesitz*, 1958–1959, no. 174.

ROME, Cassa Depositi e Prestiti. Panel.

Of the sixteenth century, but of low quality. (Photograph GFN E 36892.)

SANCHEZ, ARCONA SUR (Mexico), G. Ornelas.[5]

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[1] No. 5 in Cat. 1959. But see also in the catalogue of Untraceable Attributed Paintings under Florence, S. Pier Maggiore.

[2] It may be that the Madonna has been studied from the model; it would appear that the head is that of a male, to which Andrea has hurriedly and insufficiently added part only of a female coiffure.

[3] A very like, but less brilliant figure study is Uffizi 323F, for the Madonna of the *Assunta*, Pitti 191.

[4] A drawing for a nude child, Boymans Museum, Van Beuningen Collection no. 285, red chalk, 37.5 x 25.5, was incorrectly attributed by Shaw 1929/1930, 23 to Andrea and described by him as a study for the Christ Child of Borghese no. 334. It is in fact a study by Pontormo for the infant Baptist of the Visdomini altar, and has studies for the predella *Pietà* (Dublin) of the altar on the verso. See Freedberg and Rearick 1961, 8.

[5] Paris, Louvre 1753, is a copy in drawing from the painting, including the monogram.

35 · c. 1517. STORY OF JOSEPH [2]. Florence, Pitti no. 88. Fig. [73].

Panel, 98 x 135. Monogrammed center rear, below the landing of the staircase.

Losses are few and insignificant; condition in general is good. Thinly painted, and apparently with a slight preparation only of gesso on the panel, since worm holes penetrated through it to the painted surface.

A grey and grey-green landscape; architecture tan with some accents of pale blue. Joseph is distinguished by a powdery blue cloak and black stockings in the earlier episodes of the picture, where he is accompanied by jailers one of whom wears a light red shirt and the other a neutral violet shirt and light red stockings. In the foreground group, center, the kneeling Joseph is clad in a paled mauve dress; he kneels before Pharoah, who is clad in light brown; to Pharoah's left rear a hooded figure in dark blue; and to Pharoah's right, the two jailers, of whom the foremost, in light red shirt and white stockings, holds Joseph's old powder blue coat. Left of this group, in the middle distance, figures in light red and paled mauve; right of the center group figures spotted in light red, muted blue, muted violet, brown.

Left middle distance, Pharoah dreams (Genesis 41: 1); behind, the dream of the kine (vs. 2–4), before, the dream of the corn (vs. 5–7); center rear, Joseph brought out of prison (v. 14); center right, Joseph (having changed his raiment, v. 14) interprets Pharoah's dream (vs. 17 ff.); foreground center, Pharoah arrays Joseph and puts a gold chain around his neck (v. 42). The nude male figure left may be a personification of the River Nile.

Companion to the *Story of Joseph* [1], Pitti 87 (our catalogue entry no. 29), q.v. for historical and bibliographical information for this painting also.

Fraenckel 1935, 234–236n87 specifies the numerous borrowings from Dürer and Lucas van Leyden in this panel. Lucas' *Ecce Homo* (B. 71) is of particular importance for the architectural setting, and also for Andrea's mode of staging the action, in this panel.[1] Fraenckel regards this panel, as she does its pendant, as a shop piece. Freedberg 1961, 497–498: c. 1517, with Puligo's assistance. We should now very much minimize, if not eliminate altogether, the presence of an assistant's hand in the execution of this picture. If Andrea has used help here, it is not extensively: there may be a second hand in the painting of the figures in the left middle plane and in the landscape that opens up behind them. Some part of the center foreground group may seem somewhat inert in painting of the drapery, and the faces may seem fogged, but it is most doubtful that Andrea should have entrusted this part of the picture to a helper. The rest of the handling, in the figures and the architecture both, is of particular vivacity and subtlety, and displays an optical sensibility more brilliant and complex than we have encountered heretofore in Andrea's work.[2]

It has been the critical habit to associate this painting and its pendant in a single moment of Andrea's chronology (though the specification of that moment varies widely; see under Pitti 87). The development of Andrea's powers of visual response that we note in Pitti 88 should of itself indicate that it is the product of a later stage than no. 87; in this respect alone it altogether surpasses its companion scene. Beyond this, the second panel is unified in its effect of lighting, and adept in the management of its complicated space, in a way different from the first. Staging is more complex and fluent; and the action of the figures is much more articulate than in no. 87: more convincingly mobile and, where it is appropriate, touched with grace. The figures in general display a different canon of proportion, slimmer and more fine; this style of anatomy does not appear before Andrea's works of 1517.

There are relations of specific detail to paintings done in 1517 (or even slightly later); among them in particular we may cite the exact community of types (eventually Dürer-derived) of Pharoah center and the old priest to the right of him with the Herod and the priest in the *Arrest of the Baptist*; the similarity of stance and action of the figure at the left of the center group with the figures at the right of the *Arrest*; the likeness of Joseph's profile to that of the Baptist in the same fresco; the kinship of the type of the attendant just beside Pharoah at his left with the St. Francis of the *Madonna of the Harpies*; the likeness of proportion and modelling of anatomy between the nude personification left and the St. Sebastian of the *Disputà*.

There are communities of type and of motive between Andrea's second Joseph panel for this series and Pontormo's third, *The Butler Freed and the Baker led to Execution* (Henfield, Lady Salmond) so close as to require that they have been explicitly intended. The head of Pharoah is quite interchangeable between both pictures; the motives of groups descending the stair of the prison and silhouetted in *contre-jour* against its wall are related obviously; the types, and even the action of the jailers are resembling; and the proportion as well as the posture of the figure at left of the center group in Andrea's picture is close to that of figures in Pontormo's painting. These likenesses among the *dramatis personae* are not confined to Pitti 88 and Pontormo's third panel; they appear also, but in less degree, between Pitti 87 and Pontormo's second picture for the *camera*, *Joseph Sold to Potiphar* (also Lady Salmond). In the earlier pictures (also successive illustrations, in this series, of the narrative) Joseph is conspicuously the same model.[3] These similarities are the result of more than simple imitation by one painter of the other; evidently there was some purpose, arrived at in concert between Andrea and Pontormo, to give a continuity of *dramatis personae* (and of kind of setting) particularly to Pitti 88 and Pontormo's third panel in the set.

In this concerted purpose one of the two painters should have been the principal giver, but no external evidence indicates clearly which one this was. The evidence of style[4] permits us to date Pontormo's second panel for Borgherini toward 1516, and his third c. 1517, but this tells us only that the two artists did their comparable pictures in the same years; it does not tell us that either Andrea's or Pontormo's pictures preceded, or served as model for, the other's.[5]

PREPARATORY STUDY

FLORENCE, Uffizi no. 304F. *Verso*, studies of two forearms; one holds a hat, cut off. For the arm of the figure just left of Pharoah in Pitti 88. Red chalk, 31.2 x 23.1. Fig. 40. *Recto* (see under our catalogue entry no. 34).

The identification by Fraenckel 1935, 188, but there as a copy only, possibly after a lost original drawing by Andrea. Not mentioned elsewhere in the literature.

Altogether comparable, for quality and kind, with Andrea's authentic studies of similar subjects, e.g., Uffizi 632Ev, for the arm of the *Madonna della Scala* (Prado) or Uffizi 293Fr for the (much later) *Assunta di Poppi*.[6]

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[1] The same print is a source for the more frankly Nordic architecture in the background of Pontormo's later panel for this series, *Joseph in Egypt* (London, National Gallery no. 1131).

[2] Prof. Creighton Gilbert has made an interesting speculation that the assistant whose hand we thought earlier was extensively to be seen in this picture may be Rosso, but we can find no evidence now that would support this idea.

[3] McKillop 1958, 8n21, suggests derivation (by Pontormo rather than Andrea) of this boy Joseph from Ghiberti's relief of the Joseph story on the *Porta del Paradiso.*

[4] Cf. Cox 1957, 43.

[5] It is no more than speculation when we suggest that, in Andrea's Pitti 87, the canon of proportion in the background figures is exceptional for him (and, less so, in certain figures of Pitti 88 also, as in the "Nile" and in the attendant left of the center group), and that the effects of lighting *contre-jour* are explored first by Pontormo rather than Andrea, in Pontormo's *Joseph sold to Potiphar,* and then more strikingly developed in the *Butler Freed.* The implication may be that Pontormo's two pictures were completed earlier than their respective counterparts by Andrea.

[6] Paris, Ecole des Beaux-Arts 363 (inv. 11969), black and red chalk, 19.2 x 26.8, is a copy in drawing from the painting. A note on the mount suggests the name of Federico Zuccaro, which seems most plausible.

No. 6511 in the Uffizi inventory of 1890 is there described wrongly as a copy after Andrea's Pitti 88. See Cat. *Bozzetti delle Gallerie di Firenze* (Florence, Palazzo Strozzi, 1952) no. 126, where it was exhibited as a work of Jean Leclerc.

36 · 1517. ARREST OF ST. JOHN BAPTIST. Florence, Chiostro dello Scalzo. Fig. [74].

Fresco (grisaille), 194 x 312.

The background in large part washed over, but the effect of the repainting less injurious than in the adjacent *Baptism of the Multitude.* A lavender cast comes through in worn places in the fresco. As elsewhere, there are accents of a gold tone, now faded to pale yellow-brown, in accessories.

The record of payment for this fresco is preserved in A.S.F. Comp. Sopp. 1198/28, c. 30: "E de avere, adì 19 di luglio 1517, £. quarantadue sono per manifattura del quadro de la presura, chome si vede nel nostro chiostro di verso San Piero del Murone, d'achordo chome di sopra. ....£ 42"[1]

Vasari 1550, 753–754, and 1568 [1880] V, 32 inserted this fresco into the series painted by Andrea on his resumption of work in the Scalzo after his French voyage.

Knapp 1907, 56–59 as a first full achievement of Andrea's powers of classical picture-composition. He points out the derivation from Dürer's *Healing of the Lame* (B. 18) of the figure left center and of the head of Herod. Venturi 1925, 547 has suggested a Michelangelesque derivation for the group at right, from drawings for the Flagellation theme painted by Sebastiano in S. Pietro in Montorio. Andrea could in fact have known the modello Michelangelo sent to Sebastiano for his painting in Rome; the modello was dispatched to Rome in August 1516, and Andrea at this period had some cause for association with Michelangelo.[2] Pope-Hennessy 1959, 7 relates Andrea's group to the figures in a relief now preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum, executed by Jacopo Sansovino for the façade erected on the Duomo on the occasion of Leo's visit of 1515: this relation to Sansovino's work is more immediately convincing, but does not necessarily exclude the other, to Michelangelo's *Flagellation* motive.[3]

PREPARATORY STUDY

FLORENCE, Uffizi no. 659E. For the soldier left, descending the stairs. Red chalk, 27 x 12.1; rubbed. Fig. 184.

Ferri 1893, 133 identified as above; so also Berenson [1938] no. 102; Knapp 1907, 124; di Pietro 1911, no. 74; Venturi 1925, 548; Fraenckel 1935, 177.[4]

[1] Transcribed by Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 68.

[2] See Frey, *Briefe,* no. 26.

[3] It has also been suggested that Pollaiuolo's embroidery of the same subject may be a source, in reverse, for the arrangement of Andrea's group at right, but we cannot ascertain from where this suggestion comes.

[4] This drawing has been copied by Naldini in a sheet of most remarkable fidelity to the form and spirit of Andrea's original, Paris, Ecole des Beaux-Arts no. 365 (Fig. 185). Only the more delicate quality of touch, and certain passages of drapery, brittle and faceted (as in the right sleeve of the figure) indicate that the hand is Naldini's, not Andrea's own.

There are also two free variations by Naldini, based on Andrea's drawing, in which the motive is taken in the reverse direction. These are Munich, Graphische Sammlung no. 2206, red chalk, 39.5 x 19 (Berenson [1938] no. 1764, fig. 853), and Uffizi no. 14415F, an exact replica of the former. Berenson says of the Munich-Uffizi drawings that they are copies of an original lost sketch by Andrea for the same figure as Uffizi 659E, but this is doubtful; the figure would have made small sense in the context of the composition were it turned in the direction of these drawings by Naldini.

For a copy in painting see under our catalogue entry no. 8, Copies and Derivations, Florence, S. Salvi no. 8307.

37 ·

1517. MADONNA OF THE HARPIES.

Florence, Uffizi no. 1577. Figs. [75–77].

Panel, 207.5 x 178. Signed on the frieze of the pedestal beneath the Madonna "AN̄D SĀR FL̄O FĀB" and inscribed on the face of the pedestal "AD SUMMŪ / REG[I]NA TRON / Ū DEFER / TUR IN AL / TUM / MDXVII." [1]

Four seams in the panel have cracked and been repaired. A strip of c. 1 cm (sight) has been added all around, but may be contemporary. There are numerous irregularities of plane on the surface of the painting, and abundant small retouchings. There is disfiguring repainting only in the lowest portion of the panel, roughly to the level of the saints' knees. Here large patches of loss in the draperies and in the feet have been untidily restored; however, the drawing in this lower area remains substantially as it was intended.

The color now obscured by darkened varnish. St. Francis in a greenish-grey habit; St. John Evangelist wears a persimmon-colored mantle over a greyish shirt. A *changeant* fold of drapery over his left shoulder goes from muted green to mauve. His book is black. The Madonna has a faintly blued grey scarf over dark brown hair; the drapery over her chest and upper arm a muted golden yellow; her dress a bleached cherry hue; her lower sleeve a bronzed yellow-gold; the cloak over her knee a matt blue. The wing of the angel left of the Madonna is red-orange tipped. The pedestal on which the Madonna stands a greyed tan; the remaining architecture in tones of lightish, olive-toned brown.

The contract for this picture is preserved in A.S.F., Notarile ante-cosimiano, A. 694 (ser Francesco Anselmi, 1514–1515), c. 234r–235r:[2]

"1515. Yhs

Item postea dictis anno indictione et die quatuordecima maii. Actum Florentie et in ecclesia monialium Sancti Francisci de Florentia ad et apud grates dictarum monialium, presentibus testibus etc. Zenobio Buonacolti ser Mini populi Sancti [*marginal notation*: locatio ad pingendum tabulam] Simonis de Florentia et Raphaelle Iohannis Francisci de Buonamicis.

Soror Gostanzia Iohannis de Meleto abatissa dicti monasterii et [*names of 19 nuns omitted*] omnes moniales professe in monasterio predicto Sancti Francisci, coadunate et congregate in loco earum soliti capituli ad et apud grates dicti monasterii ad sonum campanelle et de mandato dicte abatisse, asserentes se esse duas partes et ultra monialium dicti conventus et habentium vocem in dicto capitulo, omnes concorditer et viva voce per se et successores ipsarum in dicto monasterio, omni modo etc. [c. 234v] locaverunt etc. Andree Angeli Francisci pittori populi Sancti Marci de Florentia, presenti et conducenti, ad pingendum de eius propria manu unam tabulam latitudinis ad minus brachiorum trium et altitudinis adminus brachiorum trium cum dimidio, deductis ornamentis et non comprehensis in dicta mensura, adeo quod mensura predicta debeat esse solius dicte tabule sine ornamentis. In qua pingi convenerunt imaginem beatissime Marie semper Virginis cum filio suo in brachio et cum duobus angelis a lateribus capitis qui dictam imaginem Virginis Matris Marie coronant. Cuius Virginis Marie color azurrus debeat esse eius pretii et valute adminus florenorum quinque auri largorum in auro, et ab uno latere debeat esse imago beatissimi Iohannis Evangeliste et ab alio Sancti Bonaventure ad usum cardinalis, et cum ornamentis dictarum picturarum condecentibus et coloribus finissimis et ad omnem expensam dicti conductoris etiam lignaminis et cum lignaminibus sive al[*illegible*]s de medio, et pro pretio florenorum quadraginta auri largorum de auro in auro. De quo pretio dictus Andreas in presentia mei notarii et testium suprascriptorum habuit et recepit summam et quantitatem florenorum sex auri largorum de auro in auro in moneta argentea dictam quantitatem florenorum sex constituente, et de qua quantitate vocavit se bene pagatum. Et residuum solvi convenerunt hoc modo videlicet: florenos novem statim quod ipse Andrea produxerit ad dimidium operis, et florenos quindecim auri largorum in auro statim quod erit perfecta dicta tabula, et florenos decem dictus Andreas sponte dicto monasterio donavit amore Dei. Et sic convenerunt quod statim quod erit dicta tabula finita, quod debeat extimari per amicos comunes eligendos a partibus et tertium eo modo et prout eliguntur arbitri in compromissis secundum statuta Florentie, et illud quod minus fuisset extimata dicta tabula de ducatis quadraginta, illud minus consequi voluerunt per dictum Andream de dictis ducatis triginta, et illud quod pluris extimaretur donavit dicto monasterio. Et cum pacto quod debeat perfecisse dictam picturam hinc [c. 235r] ad unum annum proxime futurum, cum pacto quod si non perfecisset dictam picturam infra dictum tempus quod liceat dictis monialibus dictam tabulam alicui locare, et illud quod eidem esset solutum restituere ad earum beneplacitum. Que omnia etc. promiserunt etc. attendere etc. sub pena dupli dicti pretii, que pena etc. qua pena etc. pro quibus etc. obligans etc. renumptians etc. pro guarentigia etc. Rogantes etc."

Despite the indicated penalties, the picture was not delivered (as its inscribed date indicates) within a year from the signing of the contract in May 1515. The subject has been altered from that specified, in that the St. Bonaventura has become St. Francis, and the two angels do not crown the Virgin. It may be doubted that the amount of blue in the Virgin's garment is quite what the language of the document intended. The size of the panel is, however, within a few centimeters what the contract specifies.

Mentioned in the *Codex Magliabechiano*, 108. Vasari 1550, 744–745; and 1568 [1880] V, 20: for the nuns of S. Francesco in Via Pentolini (now the church of S. Francesco de' Macci), on order from the governor of the convent, a friend of Andrea's, "per un prezzo molto piccolo." Vasari speaks of a "fumo di nuvoli trasparenti sopra il casamento," of which there is no trace in the painting. Vasari 1568 [1881] VI, 488 informs us that Andrea's *St. John Evangelist* was painted after a clay modello by Jacopo Sansovino, made by him as an (unsuccessful) competition piece, against Baccio da Montelupo, for a niche on the Or San Michele.[3] Bocchi [1677] 344 cites the painting on the high altar of S. Francesco. There is no mention by Bocchi of Vasari's "fumo di nuvoli." Richa II (1754) 147–148 reports that the painting had been on the high altar, but was ceded in 1683 to the Grand Duke Ferdinand, who in return paid for the redecoration of the church.[4] Andrea's painting was substituted by a copy by Francesco Petrucci, which in Richa's time was in the Madonna chapel of the church. Andrea's original was transferred from the Palazzo Pitti to the Uffizi in 1795.[5]

Wölfflin [1952] 73n1 observes that the gesture of the Madonna's right hand is derived from the St. Peter of Raphael's Baldacchino altar. Knapp 1907, 62–63 points out the relation of the motive of the Madonna standing on the pedestal, as would a statue, to Filippino Lippi's painting in the Louvre, and of the general scheme of composition to Fra Bartolommeo's *Salvator Mundi* (Pitti; 1516; Fig. 195). Sinibaldi 1925*a*, 15 and Venturi 1925, 564 repeat the latter observation, as do Fraenckel 1935, 44 and Wagner 1951, 11. Fraenckel 216n48 recalls another instance of the Madonna standing on a pedestal, in Piero di Cosimo's *Immaculate Conception* (Uffizi). Fraenckel makes two very general analogies in the work of Filippino Lippi to Andrea's use of the harpy motive, and suggests that Andrea's harpies, in their place of subjection to the Madonna, may refer to an idea of antique paganism, and of sin, overcome. She states that there are harpies on the sacrificial altar of the *Paul at Lystra* of the Raphael Tapestry Cartoons; but these creatures are in fact lion-footed, and therefore sphinx motives, not harpies. However, the form of the pedestal of the Madonna is indeed suggestive of that of such a conception of an antique altar as is in the *Paul at Lystra*, and Fraenckel's notion of a theme of triumph over pagan religion, symbolized (more specifically than she states) in an antique altar form, may contain a part of the iconographic sense of Andrea's picture. Something of the idea of a submission of the harpies to the Madonna is in Vasari's characterization of them (1550, 745) as "adoring" the Madonna, and in Bocchi's idea [1677] 344 that they "facciano riverenza alla Madonna."

The character assigned to harpies by antique and Renaissance conceptions is very complex,[6] but among their less disagreeable aspects, and one that suited their "conversion" to a Christian role, was the function they had of transporting souls to the Beyond. The legend on the Virgin's pedestal is the first line of a hymn that celebrates her Assumption [7] and the harpies here may make reference to this idea of translation of the soul from the earthly to the heavenly sphere. Evidently, the patron who would have supplied the text of the (obscure) fourteenth-century hymn would have given Andrea the harpy motive also, and its justification.[8]

It should be observed of the *Madonna of* *the Harpies* that its dependence on Bartolommeo's *Salvator* is more than compositional; it is also thematic. Like the Christ in the *Salvator* altar the Madonna here is symbol and apparition, an *epiphaneia*, as well as a human presence; and as is implied also in Bartolommeo's use of the idea, the *epiphaneia* is presented to us in the posture, and with some of the intention of the appearance, of a classical antique statue. The source for Bartolommeo's conception is almost certainly in Raphael's Sistine Madonna, and Andrea has come nearer the sense of Raphael's idea than Fra Bartolommeo.[9]

PREPARATORY STUDIES

COLOGNE, Wallraf-Richartz Museum no. Z2009. *Recto*, a *garzone* striding to the right; the neck of the figure restudied to the upper right. Inscribed in a later hand "Andrea del Sarto." *Verso*, study for the skirted drapery of a figure, from the waist down, in a posture like that of the figure on the recto. Red chalk, 36.7 x 14.8. Figs. 41, 42.

Referred to by Budde in Cat. Düsseldorf 1930 (in her discussion of their study no. 17, q.v. below) as preparatory studies for the St. Francis of the *Harpies*; otherwise unpublished. The *garzone* would appear to be the same one who served as model for the study for the captain of the *Arrest of the Baptist*, Uffizi 659E, and the style of the two drawings is very like. It may be further observed that the temper in which the pose of the model has been cast is much like that of the soldier who stands front of John in that Scalzo fresco.

This sheet would seem to carry the first ideas for developing the pose of St. Francis, carried farther on Düsseldorf no. 17.

DÜSSELDORF, Staatlichen Akademie no. 17. Bearded male figure in monk's garb; for the St. Francis. Red chalk, 34.3 x 23.3. Fig. 43.

Purchased in the eighteenth century as a work by Agostino Carracci. Schaarschmidt 1900, 214 published the drawing with the attribution to Andrea and the identification above. Berenson [1938] no. 56, and Knapp 1907, 135 as Schaarschmidt. Fraenckel 1935, 169 is not wholly certain of Andrea's authorship.

FLORENCE, Uffizi no. 628E. For the left hand of the Madonna. Black chalk, 26.5 x 20.6. Fig. [79].

So identified by Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 20n2, and universally since then. Berenson [1938] no. 88. For complete bibliography see Marcucci 1954, no. 17.

PARIS, Institut Néerlandais, Lugt Collection no. J5572. Head of Lucrezia. Black chalk, 26.3 x 20.5 (cut). Damaged, in particular in the region of the eyes and in the lower right cheek; some restoration, and some later strengthening of the principal features. From the Delacre Collection. Fig. [78].

Exhibited *Le Dessin Italien dans les Collections Hollandais* (Paris-Rotterdam-Amsterdam, 1962) no. 93, where it is called a possible portrait of Lucrezia. No precise association is offered in the catalogue with any picture by Andrea, though the resemblance to such Madonnas as that formerly in the de Fries Collection is pointed out.

A study taken from Andrea's wife, and used for the head of the Madonna in the *Harpies* altar. The painted head is somewhat further idealized, but the resemblance is otherwise extremely close, even to the quality of expression. It should also be observed that the modelling in the drawing has been transcribed almost exactly into the painting. At the right of the sheet, and less visibly to the left, are faint lines that may be taken as indications for the headdress of the Madonna in the painting.

This sheet does not belong with any of the later images based on Lucrezia. She is evidently younger here even than in the *Faith* of the Scalzo, for which she served as exact model. Particularly, this sheet should not be related to the portrait in Berlin. We should note that Lucrezia's coiffure in the drawing shows the widow's peak, which recedes (or has been shaved back?) in the heads based on her countenance after c. 1520.

The relation of the drawing to the *Harpies* seems to leave no doubt as to its date. It accords adequately in its style with sheets of close date to the *Harpies* altar, or for it: cf., e.g., Uffizi 639E, for the lost *Pietà* for Puccini; Uffizi 669E, for the St. Peter Martyr of the *Disputà*; or Uffizi 628E, for the hand of this Madonna.

Two copies of this sheet exist, from the evidence of which it is clear that the original has been cut down. One copy is in the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery in Kansas City (no. 44–58, black chalk, 34.3 x 22.8). This copy is from the Heseltine and Oppenheimer collections, and was sold with the latter 13 July 1936, no. 174. Berenson [1938] no. 140A (not in 1903); [1961] no. 129C thought this original. The gallery has assigned it, incorrectly, to Pontormo. The second copy, less faithful and of later date, is now in the New York market, and is improperly described as by Andrea himself.

For two citations in the older literature of portraits in drawing of Lucrezia, see our catalogue entry no. 77, note 1.

——— Louvre no. 1678. *Recto*, for the head of St. Francis. Black chalk, fragment, pieced out to an oval 29.4 x 23. Heavily damaged and repaired. Rubbed; the contours partly redrawn; the outer parts of the drawing top left and bottom remade. *Verso*, for the right hand of St. Francis. Black chalk, 13 x 11.5, pieced out at upper right. From the Vasari and Mariette collections. Figs. 44, 45.

Reiset 1866, no. 33, Berenson [1938] no. 142, and Venturi 1925, 566n1 identify the recto only, as above. Fraenckel 1935, 198 identifies both sides, as above, but regards the drawing as a copy (from her language, presumably after the painting).

Despite the damaged condition of the recto its high quality remains evident. The verso, in good condition, is masterly. Both are late stages of the preparation for the painting.

——— no. 1679. Three studies of feet; at left, part of a hand. For the St. Francis. Black chalk, 28.2 x 22.1. Torn and repaired, pieced out at right. Inscribed center, in a sixteenth-century hand, "turpilio." [10] From the Vasari and Mariette collections. Fig. 46.

Reiset 1866, no. 36 as Andrea, but without association with the painting; so also Berenson [1938] no. 144 and Knapp 1907, 135. Fraenckel 1935, 199 makes the correct association of the drawing, but quite incorrectly regards it as a copy.

This drawing may have been retouched by Andrea c. 1525, when it would seem to have been reused in connection with the preparation of the *Last Supper* of S. Salvi; cf. under that painting, Preparatory Studies, Louvre no. 1714/4.

——— no. 1732. Half-length draped male figure, holding a book. Red chalk, 18 x 13.2. Rubbed and faded. Fig. 47.

Traditionally called Sarto. Fraenckel 1935, 189, in her remarks on Uffizi no. 325F (for the *S. Ambrogio* altar), considers this may be by the same hand; for her both are copies, this sheet after the John Evangelist of the *Harpies*. A manuscript note by Berenson on the verso of this sheet describes it as a copy after an original drawing for the "Sculptor" portrait in London. Shearman 1961, 229n1 is the first to justify the old attribution to Andrea. He points out exactly that the kinds of pentimenti present in the drawing make it impossible that it should be taken as a copy. He considers it, properly, an authentic study by Andrea for the Evangelist of the Uffizi painting, and indicates that like the study for the *S. Ambrogio* Baptist, Uffizi 325F, this is based upon a sculptured modello, that provided (Vasari [1881] VII, 488) by Sansovino.

——— no. 5946. Study of a child, his right arm extended. For the Christ Child of the *Harpies*. Red chalk, 10.5 x 11.1. Fig. 48.

Attributed by Reiset 1866, no. 28 to Correggio. Published as Andrea's, with the correct identification, by Pouncey 1953, 367–368. So also Bacou 1955, no. 34 and Berenson [1961] no. 158E.

COPY AFTER LOST PREPARATORY STUDY?

FLORENCE, Uffizi no. 333F. (Lower drapery of a figure striding right;) and at the lower right, a bearded head, three-quarters right. For the St. Francis of the *Harpies*. Red chalk, 25.6 x 20.1.

Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 20n2, as Andrea's, for the St. Francis; so also Ferri 1893, 137; Jacobsen 1898, 270; Schaarschmidt 1900, 215; Berenson 1903, no. 81 [1938] no. 118D. Knapp 1907, 134 intended the same judgment, but mistitled the drawing. Fraenckel 1935, 190 rejects the drawing out of hand, and asserts it only distantly resembles the St. Francis. The drawing is now catalogued in the Cabinet as a school work. Berenson [1961] no. 118D records the verbal opinion of this author, 1957, that this sheet copies a lost drawing by Andrea.

The drapery study copies Cologne no. Z2009v. The head lower right resembles that on Louvre 1678r, for the St. Francis, but may rather be a copy from an antecedent idea for this head, now lost, in which the features are conspicuously less idealized.

COPIES AND DERIVATIONS

FLORENCE, S. M. della Croce al Tempio. By Francesco Petrucci, from the late seventeenth century.

Paatz [1952] III, 313 apparently from the nearby church of S. Francesco de' Macci, and thus the copy supplied by the Grand Duke Ferdinand to replace the original when it was ceded to him. Seen by Richa II (1754) 148 in the Cappella della Madonna of S. Francesco. Biadi 1829, 86 reported the copy as if it were still in S. Francesco.

FLORENCE, Ospedale degli Innocenti, Gallery. By Francesco Curradi. Canvas, 220 x 150. Signed "An^{s} Sar^{s} in^{t} Fra^{s} Curr^{s} Pit." The picture, described in the old handlists of the gallery, is not now traceable.

VALENCIA, Museo de Pinturas, copy of the Madonna and Child only, three-quarters length.

Of seventeenth-century date (Photo MAS 62669C).[11]

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[1] *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, L (1907), *Lateinische Hymnendichter der Mittelalters*, ser. 2, by G. M. Dreves, 628, no. 415: "De Assumptione beatae Virginis," by Cardinal Jacopo Gaetani di Stephaneschi (d. 1343): "Ad summi regina thronum defertur in altum/Angelicis praelata choiris, cui fertur et ipse/ Filius occurrens, matrem super aethera ponit."

[2] Unpublished. Found by Mr. Edward Sanchez, whom the author thanks for communicating his discovery, kindly transcribed by Dott. Gino Corti.

[3] Vasari 1568 [1881] VII, 488 reports that the model was in his time in the possession of the heirs of Nanni Unghero. See further G. Lorenzetti, *Vita di Jacopo Tatti* (1913) 51, 85 ff., and Paatz [1952] IV, 529n98 on the subject of this modello.

[4] Guinness 1899, 82 reports the date of cession incorrectly, as 1704.

[5] Cat. Uffizi 1926, 29.

[6] See *Enciclopedia Italiana* (Milan, 1916–) s.v. "Arpie" with bibliography; A. Pauly–G. Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumwissenschaft* (1894), and Rosche, *Lexikon Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie*, s.v. "Harpyien"; also V. Cartari, *Imagini dei Dei degli antichi* (1556) 56.

[7] See n. 1, above.

[8] Among nearly contemporary uses in Christian context of the harpy motive we may cite the basis of the Paschal candlestick by Riccio in the Santo, Padua (1507), and the same artist's representation of the "tomb" of della Torre in his relief sculpture for della Torre's monument (Louvre).

[9] If, as is not to be excluded, Andrea was in Rome c. 1513 he may have known Raphael's painting directly, and this might help explain the related elements not only in conception of the theme, but in the character of formal idea, in the *Sistina* and the *Harpies*. Though the relations are none of them explicit, and all may be explained by reference to Andrea's own prior work and local background rather than by reference to the *Sistine Madonna*, they should be noted. They include the basically resembling scheme of composition, and the mode of relating forms within it; the presence of the two subsidiary angels; the resemblance in quality of expression between Raphael's Barbara and Andrea's St. Francis; the likenesses, none of them exact, in the postures of Mother and Child.

[10] This is the first instance we have encountered of this inscription, which occurs on a number of Andrea's authentic drawings. We can attach no meaning to the word. However, see Thieme-Becker s.v. "Turpilius," an ancient artist who worked in Verona; also Armenini, *De Veri Precetti* . . .[1586: the *ed. princeps* at Harvard College Library so dated], 31.

[11] A painting of a Madonna and Child with the Infant Baptist, inspired by the *Harpies* but so altered as to be no longer a "derivation," was sold London, Robinson and Fisher, Waddington sale, 8 December 1927.

A copy in drawing after the painting is Paris, Louvre 1761, after the St. John only.

38 · c. 1517. ST. JOHN IN THE WILDERNESS.

Corsham Court, Lord Methuen Collection no. 82. Fig. [80].

Panel, transferred at one time to canvas, now retransferred to panel, 45 x 34.9 (including added strips 4.5 at top, and 3.2 left and right). Monogrammed upper center.

The flesh parts damaged by losses and abrasion. An area of particularly severe damage, disfiguringly retouched, in the face and upper arm of the saint. The surface of the panel irregularly out of plane. Strips appear to have been added top and right. There is a conspicuous pentimento in the left leg of John.[1]

John sits on a red mantle, of orange cast in the high lights; his leopard(?)-skin grey with black spots. The rocks at rear grey over a light brown preparation. Touches of green in the earth, foreground. Greenish-blue ribands on the Cross and on the leopard-skin. The nude light-toned; light brown hair of reddish cast. Halo and monogram in gold.

No old evidence attaches to this picture. First published in the Sanford catalogue of 1891, no. 157; then in the catalogue of 1903, no. 152. Exhibited at Burlington House, *Old Masters*, 1904, no. 21. Knapp 1904, 178 noted the picture at the exhibition and described it as an authentic work of Andrea's last period. In 1907, 131, he repeated this opinion. Borenius (Cat. Methuen Collection 1939, no. 82) considers the picture to be an original work.

The anatomical style very much resembles that of the figures in the *Joseph Story*, Pitti 88; and a particular comparison may be made with the nude figure left in that work, even though the proportions of the allegorical figure have been made "antique." The type and shadowed painting of the Baptist recall the faces in the group near Pharoah, center; John's gesture is evidently a reuse of the motive made up for the figure in this group who holds a hat out to one side.[2] Comparisons may also be made, for the anatomy of John, with the Infant Christ of Louvre no. 1516 and with the St. Sebastian of the Pitti *Disputà*. The highly characterized chiaroscuro and the complex movement of contour seem near what we find in Andrea's works c. 1517–1518; but most specifically, the resemblances in style are to Pitti 88.

COPY

MONTEPULCIANO, Pinacoteca.

Exhibited in a series of small copies, probably of seventeenth-century origin, after famous sixteenth-century paintings.

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[1] The author has not seen this painting; judgment is on photographic evidence only, and made with appropriate reserve.

[2] For the foliage right, compare the foreground of the companion *Joseph* panel, Pitti 87.

39 · 1517–1518. PORTRAIT OF A SCULPTOR (?). London, National Gallery no. 690, Cat. 1929. Fig. [81].

Canvas, 71 x 55. Monogrammed at upper left.

The darks generally abraded, especially in the left side of the head and in the hat, on the back of the figure and in what is visible of the right arm. Numerous smaller losses, with discolored restoration, in the left sleeve. Other losses, somewhat disfiguring, in the forehead, across the bridge of the nose, and in the lower left cheek. General damage in the bottom area of the painting, its lower right-hand corner, and along the whole right edge. The sitter wears a blue-black hat and jerkin, a white shirt, and shows a blue-grey sleeve. He has brown eyes and hair. The "stone" he holds is yellow-grey; the chair is brown. Background is a neutral blue-black? tone.

Purchased for the National Gallery in Florence from the effects of Niccolò Puccini, 1862.[1]

Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 200: "a very fine work touched with excessive ease and breadth." Guinness 1899, 23, 68, 102, referring to a doubt raised (in Cat. London 1892, 690, and elsewhere) as to the traditional identification of the sitter as Andrea, reaffirms this identification. To support it, he makes comparisons with Uffizi Autoritratti 1486 and with Pitti 66 — traditionally, but incorrectly, rumored to be self-portraits — and with another wrongly alleged portrait of Andrea in the *Annunciation to Zachary* in the Scalzo; none of these images is of Andrea. Guinness dates the London portrait 1518. Gottschewski-Gronau in Vasari [1916] VI, 76n30, suggest this may be identifiable as the lost portrait of Bandinelli because the sitter holds a block (of stone?), as a sculptor might; they make no comparisons with other items of the Bandinelli iconography. Knapp 1907, 80, 131 dates the London painting c. 1518–1519, and denies it is a self-portrait. He describes it as a portrait of a sculptor. Di Pietro 1911, 30, 31, 105 dates the painting just prior to Andrea's trip to France. Alazard 1924, 127–128: a portrait of a sculptor, not impossibly the same person as that represented in Pitti 66; c. 1520. Venturi 1925, 572 gives the same title, "Portrait of a Sculptor," and places it in time near to the *Madonna of the Harpies*. Rusconi 1930, 2 denies this is a self-portrait. Fraenckel 1935, 90, 156, 334n85 c. 1528–1530. Wagner 1951, 32–33 as a portrait of Jacopo Sansovino, making an incorrect comparison with the certain portrait of that artist in Andrea's fresco of 1511 in the Annunziata, and with an alleged portrait of him in the *Annunciation to Zachary* in the Scalzo; on the basis of the resemblances he pretends to see especially with the last, Wagner would date the picture c. 1523. In 1959, 435 Wagner gives the date c. 1524. Comandé 1952, 70: 1517. Freedberg 1961, 462–463.

The face here represented does not, of course, bear comparison with the features that Andrea wears in the only absolutely certain portraits of him; see our discussion of his iconography under Uffizi Autoritratti 1684 (our catalogue entry no. 30), and also under Florence, Pitti 191, *Assumption of the Virgin* (our catalogue entry no. 52). The identification as Sansovino is most tempting, given the connection we know between the painter and the sculptor, and the likelihood that the sitter here might be identified, from the block he holds, as of Jacopo's profession. However, this countenance does not accord with the earlier portrait of Sansovino that Vasari identifies for us so explicitly ([1880] V, 16) in the *Adoration of the Magi* of the Annunziata; the different noses cannot possibly be reconciled. Nor can we match the face of the London portrait to the later evidence we have of Sansovino's appearance, e.g., the frontispiece in the 1568 edition of Vasari (III, 822).[2] We are left, unfortunately, without an identity for this interesting subject. We have an uncertain clue, in the block, of his presumable profession, but lacking comparative material we cannot speculate with profit as to who this close contemporary of Andrea's might be.[3]

The time of origin of the portrait would seem very close to that of the *Madonna of Harpies;* see our text volume p. 46, for general associations of style we make with that work. Further, and more specifically, compare the drawing and the modelling of the head in the portrait, which would seem intermediate between that of the two saints in the altarpiece; compare the brilliant accenting of the hand here with that of the St. John. The indication of form in terms of light seems, but not by much, less complicating than in the *Disputà.*

PREPARATORY STUDIES

FLORENCE, Uffizi no. 661E. *Recto,* rough sketch of a torso with bent arm; a hand. *Verso,* rough sketch of a seated figure, arm across the torso, head turned right. Red chalk, 18.7 x 11.6. Figs. 49, 50.

Ferri 1893, 133 as Andrea's, without association. Berenson 1903, no. 103 as an unassociated but authentic sheet of Andrea's middle years. Di Pietro 1911, 30–31, 105, nos. 75–76 identifies the recto and verso of this drawing, and also Uffizi 301F recto and verso, as preparatory studies for the London portrait, and correctly establishes their sequence as follows: 661 verso, 661 recto, 301 recto, 301 verso. Venturi 1925, 553n1 without association. Fraenckel 1935, 177 is not quite convinced of the authorship of this sheet or that of 301F, nor is she convinced of the association with the painting. Berenson [1938] no. 103 still does not make the association proposed by di Pietro, but [1961] no. 103 he is prepared to admit that di Pietro may be right. Comandé 1952, 11–14 repeats di Pietro's description of the sequence of the four preparatory studies, as does Wagner 1951, 78n120. Marcucci 1954, no. 21 as di Pietro, but with a dating c. 1525, because she thinks the style of the drawing shows Pontormo's influence. For further bibliography see Marcucci 1954, no. 21.

——— no. 301F. *Recto,* sketch of a torso, arm bent across the body, head three-quarters right. *Verso,* upper torso, somewhat from the rear, the head turning back, near-profile left, toward the spectator. Red chalk on tinted paper, 13.1 x 12.5. Figs. 51, 52.

Once attributed in the Cabinet to Pontormo; restored to Andrea by Berenson 1903, no. 68; [1938] no. 110J. Associated by di Pietro 1911, 30, 100, nos. 15–16 with the London portrait and placed in sequence with 661E as described above. Fraenckel 1935, 170 as for 661E. Marcucci 1954, no. 20 as for 661E. Berenson [1961] no. 110J notes di Pietro's identification. For further bibliography see Marcucci 1954, no. 20.

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[1] Cat. London 1929, no. 690.

[2] Sansovino may appear in another early fresco of Andrea's, as the second spectator to the right of the altar in the *Healing by St. Philip's Relics* of 1510 (see Fig. [16]). If this is in fact he, it would be necessary to revise the usual opinion that places Sansovino's return from Rome in 1511. It would also be conceivable that Sansovino might have been an approximate model for the St. John of the *Madonna of the Harpies,* for which he had provided the modello.

[3] His age, about 30, much like Andrea's. I have checked the iconography of other Florentine sculptors than Jacopo Sansovino who were born c. 1490, but without result.

40 · (1517–) early 1518. DISPUTATION ON THE TRINITY.[1] Florence, Pitti no. 172. Figs. [82, 83].

Panel, 232 x 193. Signed on the step "AND. SAR. FLO. FAB."

All the boards of which the panel is composed now show their seams. Five vertical cracks, and cracks along two narrow strips top and bottom, all these cracks retouched. There are numerous minor losses, but no major disfiguring repaint. The principal damage to the picture would seem to have been caused initially by its alleged submersion in the Arno flood of 1557, see the report of Bocchi [1677], below.

There are conspicuous pentimenti in the left arm of the St. Sebastian.

St. Sebastian in paled green drapery; the Magdalen opposite wears a bleached salmon-colored dress with a yellow-gold sleeve, a white scarf, and a vermilion mantle over her right arm. St. Augustine in deep brown over white, St. Lawrence in rose, St. Peter Martyr in dark blue-grey over white, St. Francis in greyed tan. The Trinity is vermilion and brown. Background dark olive-green.

Mentioned in the *Codex Magliabechiano*, 109. Vasari 1550, 749–750 in sequence just preceding Andrea's trip to France. Vasari indicates that the picture was originally painted for the church of S. Gallo, but was in his time in S. Jacopo tra Fossi. The Magdalen, says Vasari, is a portrait of Andrea's wife.[2] Vasari gives the same information in 1568 [1880] V, 27–28. The painting had been transferred from S. Gallo to S. Jacopo during the destructions of the Siege, c. 1530, as were Andrea's *Noli Me Tangere* and his *Annunciation* of an earlier time. An elaborate description in Bocchi [1677] 295 ff.; p. 300 Bocchi reports that the picture was submerged for some hours during the flood of 1557, but that it remained a stupendous work despite the fact that it had "perduto molto splendore di sua bellezza," and was "in alcun luogo maculata . . . "

An entry in A.S.F. Inv. Med. 525, Inventario del R. Palazzo de' Pitti, 1637, on c. 416 *tergo*, under date 2 March 1637, reports the presence of the picture (no longer in S. Jacopo but) in the palace: "Un Quadro in tavola entrovi dipinto grandi al naturale un S. Agostino, un' S. Lorenzo, S. Pier Martire, S. Franc^{o}, S. Bastiano, e S. Maria Madd^{na} di mano d'Andrea del Sarto con adornam^{to} di legno intagliato, . . . alto Br 4½ largo Br 3½."[3] Cinelli [1677] 305 reports the removal of the painting to the Camera del Granduca and the substitution in S. Jacopo of a copy; Baldinucci [1769] IV, 188 and Richa I (1754) 271 report the picture in the Pitti; the latter states that when in S. Jacopo the painting was on the second altar right. Biadi 1829, 45: in the Stanza di Saturno of the Pitti.

Reumont 1835, *Verz.* dates the *Disputà* in 1517. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 178–179 say that it is contemporary with the *Harpies*, and suggest that Andrea has been influenced in his conception by recent works of Fra Bartolommeo, or by some statues of Michelangelo. Wölfflin [1952] 174 speaks of an involuntary reminiscence in the composition of the *Quattro Santi Coronati* by Nanni di Banco on the Or San Michele. Guinness 1899, 22 dates the picture in the early part of 1518. The same dating is given by Venturi 1891, 45; in 1925, 574–575 he discusses the *Disputà* in sequence shortly after the *Madonna of the Harpies* and remarks on the (fortuitous) analogy of Andrea's composition to Correggio's *Four Saints* (New York, Metropolitan Museum). Knapp 1907, 68 refers to the influence of Fra Bartolommeo's *Salvator* altar; p. 130 he dates the painting 1517. Sinibaldi 1925*a*, 17 gives the date c. 1517. Fraenckel 1935, 45, 217, 142 notes the development of this picture from bases given in Fra Bartolommeo's style, and dates the work 1517–1518. Fraenckel makes the supposition, quite erroneous, that the Trinity figures in the upper portion of the panel may have been painted by Il Rosso. Wagner 1951, 68 takes the picture as a work of 1517.

Developed in subtlety of articulation of the drawing and the chiaroscuro, and in fineness of proportion, beyond the *Harpies*. Vasari's account permits us to situate the *Disputà* still, however, before Andrea's trip to France; and this location would appear to be confirmed by our observation, in the works that we assume succeed this trip, of a different accent in Andrea's style from that embodied in the *Disputà* (see our text volume p. 51 ff).

PREPARATORY STUDY

FLORENCE, Uffizi no. 669E. Male head facing left, for the St. Peter Martyr. Black chalk, 36.5 x 24.2. Fig. [84].

Ferri 1893, 134 for one of the Apostles of S. Salvi; so also Jacobsen 1898, 276. Berenson 1903, no. 108 without identification (but he makes the identification in [1938]). Knapp 1907, 125–134 for the St. Peter Martyr of the *Disputà*; so also di Pietro 1911, no. 80 and all subsequent authorities, except that Fraenckel 1935, 192 quite incorrectly thinks the drawing may be a copy rather than Andrea's original. Marcucci 1954, no. 18 gives full bibliography. Marcucci makes the observation that the drawing seems to depend in type on Michelangelo's *David*, and she observes also that it resembles Michelangelo's study for the head of Adam in the *Creation of Adam* in the Sistine.[4]

COPIES AND DERIVATIONS

DALKEITH PALACE, Duke of Buccleuch. Canvas.

Waagen 1857, 436–437 "an excellent school copy." Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI 202 describe this copy as life-size, and say it is inscribed with Andrea's signature as on the original; perhaps by Allori.

FLORENCE, S. Lucia dei Magnoli.

The copy substituted in S. Jacopo tra Fossi for the original when that was removed to the Pitti Palace. Richa I (1754) 272 states the copy is by Ottaviano Vannini. Moreni 1792, II, 37 gives the author instead as Pietro Dandini. Biadi 1829, 45 and Reumont 1835, 100n1 describe the copy as if it were still in place in S. Jacopo, and give Vannini as the author. So also Fantozzi 1842, 230. The copy apparently came into the possession of the museums when S. Jacopo was disaffected in the mid-nineteenth century, and supposedly was given to S. Lucia dei Magnoli in exchange for their altarpiece by Domenico Veneziano.[5]

Sold LONDON, Christie's, Erskine sale, 28 June 1935, no. 134. The four standing saints, but in bust-length only. 79 x 188.[6]

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[1] Sts. Sebastian, Augustine, Lawrence, Peter Martyr, Francis, and Mary Magdalen in clockwise order, the Trinity above.

[2] There follows, p. 75, an account of Andrea's servitude, as Vasari sees it, to Lucrezia; deleted from the second edition.

[3] Unpublished.

[4] Marcucci 1954, no. 18 further observes the connection of type between this drawing and the *Portrait of an Architect*, attributed to Andrea, at Muncie, Indiana; but she draws no conclusion from this. For our conclusion, see under that picture in our list of Attributed Paintings.

Uffizi 626Er, head of a boy facing left, in lost profile, red chalk, 19.6 x 14.2, has been identified by di Pietro 1911, no. 53 as a study for the Magdalen in the *Disputà*. For our identification, see under Florence, Pitti no. 307, *Madonna with Six Saints* (our catalogue entry no. 70).

Reumont 1835, 102n1 alleged that a study for the head of the Magdalen (paper pasted on wood) was in the collection of the painter D. Bicoli in Florence. Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 28n2 stated that a drawing for the God the Father, in red chalk, was in the Uffizi, but the drawing he meant cannot be identified.

[5] Paatz [1955] II, 609, 615n25, 617n46.

[6] Lanzi [1824] I, 216 reported a reduced copy in the collection of the Albani family in Rome.

The following are copies in drawing after the painting: Chatsworth, Devonshire Collection no. 8; Paris, Louvre 1772 (after the three figures at the right only).

41 · (1517–)1518. HOLY FAMILY WITH ELIZABETH AND THE INFANT ST. JOHN.

Paris, Louvre no. 1516. Fig. [85].

Canvas (transferred from panel), oval, 108 x 88. Inscribed upper left "Andrea · Del / Sarto · Flore / ntino · Facieb / at" and monogrammed.

The canvas shows the clear indication of an original tondo shape, of which the diameter was c. 84 cm. Engraved by Jacques Callot (Fig. [86]) in the original tondo shape (Lieure 73; dated 1613). The seam on the present canvas that marks the original tondo passes exactly over the heads of Elizabeth, the Virgin, and Joseph, cutting off the head of Joseph at the rear; it passes through the right edge of the fold of drapery at the bottom of the Madonna's dress, beneath the foot of Christ, through the toes of St. John, and across the outer edge of Elizabeth's left wrist. Beyond this seam there is "new" painting out to the form of an oval, and paint of even newer date in a strip 1 to 2 cm all round. The operation by which the painting was altered from a tondo to an oval form was performed before the transfer, and the first oval, on panel, was enlarged on the canvas to which the painting was transferred.

The picture must have been considerably damaged to provoke its transfer, and it may be presumed that the transfer (which probably occurred in 1789)[1] was unsuccessful. The surface gives the appearance of almost the worst damages that can result from a bad transfer. The best part of the original surface has come away, and what remains is poxed pervasively by small losses that go quite to the ground; what has been left on the canvas is a paled and unsubstantial image. However, there are no gross areas of loss, and no specific large areas of restoration. The damage, and the repairs, are drastic but general. Despite the gravity of damage, the picture remains a consistent, though a diminished, aesthetic structure, adequately indicative of Andrea's original intention of form and expression for it. In the passages that are least hurt (e.g., the hair of John, the head of the Christ Child, parts of the hands of Elizabeth and the Virgin) the quality of drawing and handling of the brush is very fine, and altogether displays Andrea's personality and touch.

The Virgin wears a paled blue scarf and headdress, *changeant* to mauve, a light blue skirt with dark green *revers* and a dress of bleached rose. Elizabeth is in a dark yellow-gold dress with a cream-colored scarf and headdress. Joseph, grey-haired, wears a light blue scarf over a dark blue-violet shirt. The background shades from a yellow-green brown in its lower part to a neutral very dark brown above.

The picture has an alleged provenience from the collection of Cardinal Richelieu in the Palais Cardinal. It is recorded in LeBrun's catalogue of the collection of Louis XIV (1683, no. 7); and it is listed among the paintings at Fontainebleau in the Bailly inventory of 1709, but as a Bassano. It is again described as a Bassano, and at Fontainebleau, in 1731, by the Abbé Guilbert. According to Lepicié 1766, 36 the picture was in the Appartement de la Reine when at Fontainebleau. Mariette, *Notes manuscrits* (cited J. Lieure, *Jacques Callot*, I [1924] no. 73) in his remarks on the print by Callot of 1613, states that the original of the picture is at Fontainebleau. It was transferred to Paris between 1731 and 1737, when it appears in the Louvre catalogue. A pencil note in the old Bailly inventory says: "je l'ai rapporté de Fontainebleau; il est de André del Sarte et non del Bassan." The Lepicié inventory of 1752 and the Durameau inventory of 1784 repeat the attribution to Andrea, and describe the painting as on panel. On account of this description of the support, Villot (Cat. 1869, no. 439) speculates that this description may be a confusion with Louvre no. 1515; however, a manuscript notice in the Archives Nationales speaks of a restoration by Martin in 1789, and it is likely that this restoration included the transfer of the picture to canvas.[2]

Reumont 1835, 108 described this painting as a work of 1518 (and presumably from the time of the French trip), but inexplicably characterized it as more careful in technique than Louvre no. 1515. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 199 stated the picture was so completely repainted that its original condition could not be judged. They remark that the composition was reminiscent of Fra Bartolommeo. Guinness 1899, 72 quotes Crowe and Cavalcaselle's observation of condition, and dates the painting 1518. Not in Knapp 1907 or in Berenson 1896. Berenson [1932] 19 lists the picture as a shop work; in [1936] 15 he lists it instead as a ruined or restored original. Not in Venturi 1925 or Fraenckel 1935.

Condition makes a precise determination of dating for this picture difficult, but the weight of such evidence as we can read indicates it belongs in a time close to that of the *Disputà*. Evidently, Louvre no. 1516 is a *reprise* of its earlier companion in the same museum, no. 1515, but in the terms of form, and of sentiment, that had evolved since then. Even the arrangement in general of the similar matter in the newer painting conforms to the mode, more classical in balance and less agitated in rhythmic temper, that Andrea had developed since Louvre no. 1515. The proportions of the figures and their physiognomic style are those which begin to appear only in 1517, and which are fully explicit in the *Disputà*. The infant types and anatomies suggest those of the *Harpies*, and the body of the Christ Child much suggests the vein in which Andrea has drawn and modelled the St. Sebastian of the *Disputà*. The drapery seems, in its damaged state, flatter and duller than it was meant to be, but there is in it a way of patterning of its folds, almost reticent for Andrea, that reflects the drapery of parts of the *Harpies*, and still more of the *Disputà* (e.g., the St. Peter Martyr or the St. Francis). One passage in the drapery of the Madonna of no. 1516, the long, indented fold along the floor, is from the same set of mind as made the similar motive in the drapery of the Magdalen of the

Disputà, but not imitative of it. The right hand of Elizabeth, also, is very close to that of the Magdalen. The sfumato countenances (the sfumato exaggerated by the damage), with their soft-faceted modelling, are very close to those of the *Disputà*. In particular, there is likeness between the shadowed head of the Elizabeth and that of St. Augustine on the left of the *Disputà*, and between the profile of Joseph and that of the Magdalen, and of the St. Sebastian also. With Wallace Collection no. 9, of somewhat later date than the *Disputà*, there are resemblances in the children: cf. the type of the Christ Child especially, while the St. John in no. 1516 suggests both his counterpart and the angel just above in the London picture. The softer drapery style of no. 1516 also has some resemblance to that of the Wallace painting. However, the system of proportion, and the compositional style of the London picture are different, in the way of the works that postdate the trip to France. There is a resemblance to the vocabulary of the *Caritas* of 1518, but it is not so close as the resemblance to the *Disputà*.

The fact that the closest associations of Louvre no. 1516 are with the *Disputà* would seem to indicate that it is a product of a moment close to it in time. The picture cannot have been done in France; Callot's engraving, dated 1613, must have been made while Callot was in Florence. The best and earliest of the several extant copies in painting are by Italian hands.

PREPARATORY STUDY

MELBOURNE, National Gallery of Victoria. Studies of a right and left hand, on the verso of Berenson [1938] no. 141A. Red chalk, 31.5 x 18.7 Fig. 53. *Recto* (see our catalogue entry no. 33).

Berenson 1903, no. 37, without identification. Vasari Society ser. 2, 2:4 (1921) also without an association. Berenson [1938] no. 141A: "very similar in type to the hands in the Pitti *Disputà*." Popham (note on the reproduction in the files of the British Museum): for the hands of the figure at extreme right in the *Dance of Salome*, Scalzo.

Almost certainly for the hands of Elizabeth in Louvre no. 1516.

COPIES AND DERIVATIONS (1)

These reproduce more or less the whole picture, in either tondo or rectangular format.

Sold BERLIN, Lepke Gallery, 12–13 May 1931, no. 30. Since untraced.

Formerly? BORDEAUX. Cat. Louvre 1869, no. 439, reports that a painting of the same composition as Louvre no. 1516 was found "il y a peu d'années," at Bordeaux, and that though restored, it seemed original.

Untraceable.

CARSHALTON (Surrey), Rev. Courbould.

Formerly at London, Bridgewater House no. 22.

A weak copy; in tondo form.

Formerly DUBLIN, Earl of Portarlington. Panel; originally a tondo but altered to a square. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 204 by a "modern."

LENINGRAD, Hermitage no. 26 (Cat. 1899; as a copy). Canvas (transferred from panel), 94 x 93, rectangle. Purchased in 1852 from Chevalier by Nicholas I for the gallery.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 199 as a more recent copy than that in the Stroganoff Collection, q.v. Morelli, cited by Habich 1893, 239, "echt."

——— Academy of Fine Arts. Ceded to the academy from the Hermitage in 1854. Cf. Cat. Hermitage 1899, 119; Guinness 1899, 98. Engraved by Sanders.

Formerly LENINGRAD, Count Stroganoff. Panel, tondo, diam. 92.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 199 as older than the Hermitage painting; but Guinness 1899, 97 as derived from the Hermitage copy. Engraved by Skotnikoff.

MINNEAPOLIS, Walker Art Gallery. Canvas, 89 x 62. Acquired by the gallery in 1913.

NEW YORK, St. Patrick's Cathedral. Panel, tondo, 104 x 101.5. From the Spada Collection, Bologna; J. Aldred, Lettington, L.I.; sold New York, Parke-Bernet, 6–7 December 1940, no. 12, to Major Bowes, and donated by him to the cathedral.

A certificate from R. Longhi, dated May 1928, implies (but does not explicitly state) the originality of this painting, and asserts that it is superior to the version in the Louvre.

Smoothed and dulled by comparison with even the ruined painting by Andrea in the Louvre, and with distortions from Andrea's specifically personal vocabulary of forms like those we encounter in the version in Leningrad, which this very much resembles. By a good sixteenth-century hand, but of what precise date cannot be determined.

RICHMOND, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts. Canvas, 98 x 90.

By a non-Italian hand.

SWITZERLAND, Unidentified Private Collection. Panel, rectangular form.

According to the dealer in New York through whose hands this painting passed into the Swiss collection, this picture was stolen from the Louvre by General Blücher, and was from that time in the Hohenzollern Collection in the Schloss, Berlin, through the nineteenth century.

DERIVATIONS (II)

This type of derivation takes the Madonna and Child from Louvre no. 1516, and usually also adapts the St. John, but omits the other figures; a background of landscape is frequent. A model from Andrea's shop might be presumed for this derivation.

BOSTON, Museum of Fine Arts no. 25.103. Canvas, 124 x 94.

Probably copied after the painting in Vienna, no. 208, q.v. below.

FLORENCE, Uffizi, deposit (Vecchia Posta, no. 6015, inv. 1890). Canvas, 110 x 86.

This painting shows a vocabulary of forms closer to Andrea's than any other of the extant derivations of this type.

——— no. 6587 (inv. 1890).

A freer rehandling of the same composition as no. 6105, above, but hardly resembling Andrea in its manner of painting. Of the seventeenth century.

Formerly? HARTSDALE (New York), M. L. Clarke.

Probably of the early seventeenth century.

LONDON, Miss Mackay.

VIENNA, Kunsthistorisches Museum inv. no. 208. Panel, 114 x 88.5.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 196 either by Pontormo or Rosso, imitating Franciabigio rather than Andrea del Sarto. Venturi 1925, 441, as Franciabigio, but with the wrong location (by him given as in the Collection Liechtenstein). Berenson [1932] 19 lists the picture as in part by Andrea, but 211 lists it as a Franciabigio, without qualification. [1936] 17 and 181 give the same conflicting listings. Freedberg, 1961, 441, as Franciabigio, c. 1519. Imitative of Andrea's manner as well as his figure motives. The background is after Franciabigio's *Madonna del Pozzo.* I no longer believe, however, that Franciabigio is the author of the Vienna painting).[3]

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[1] See the history of the painting, below.

[2] Cat. Louvre 1869, no. 439; Cat. 1888, no. 381; Cat. 1913, p. 139, no. 1516.

[3] Cat. Louvre 1913, 139 confuses into the list of copies after Louvre no. 1516 at least three copies that are instead after Louvre no. 1515.

42 · 1518. CHARITY. Paris, Louvre no. 1514. Figs. [88–90].

Canvas (transferred from panel), 185 x 137. Signed on the *cartella* lower left "ANDREAS SARTUS FLORENTINUS ME PINXIT / MDXVIII."

The entire surface badly worn; the darks and middle values have suffered especially. In some places (e.g., the hands of the putto center left, the Virgin's left hand) the drawing has been almost obliterated. Pervasive spotty losses, and some larger losses (the neck of the putto lower left, the torso of the putto right especially). Some reglazing, especially of the darks in the modelling of the nudes. The color is considerably diminished, but this may be at least as much by dirty varnish as by damage; the varnish is now discolored and crackled in the darks.

The picture was transferred in 1750 when, according to Lepicié 1766, 36, the panel was wholly "vermoulue," and about to fall into powder. This transfer was accomplished by Picault, under the surveillance of Charles Coypel, for the sum of 2400 livres. The old support, and the transferred picture, were exhibited at the Luxembourg, 14 October 1750, on the occasion of the opening of the gallery there. The painting was subsequently restored, by Colins, and in 1789 by Martin. The canvas was relined in 1842.[1] According to Mantz 1877, 46–47 it was cleaned, or rather over-cleaned, at that time "avec un zèle qui, si nos souvenirs de jeunesse ne nous trompent pas, fut jugé excessif." [2]

The Charity wears a faded rose shirt, with a scarf and headdress over it of orange-gold, blue-edged. Her skirt is a light blue, and to her right she has cast away her mantle, of a darker blue. The putto upper left has a blue-white loincloth. The landscape generally olive-brown. Accents of bleached pink, blue, violet in the distant figures left rear. A touch of red-orange fire to the lower right; foreground, a cut pomegranate.

Vasari 1550, 752 speaks of "una Carità per il Re," painted during Andrea's French sojourn; so also 1568 [1880] V, 30. About 1625 this picture was recorded at Fontainebleau in the manuscript inventory by Piresc, and it is listed by Père Dan in his *Trésor des Merveilles de Fontainebleau* (1642) 136, as follows: "André del Sarte: La Charité, lequel il fit en ce chateau, le roi François I^{er} y estant . . ." In the catalogue by LeBrun of pictures at Versailles, 1683, and in the Catalogue Paillet, 1695; in the catalogue of 1696 it is "au Magasin." Moved in 1696 to Meudon, and then in 1737 to the Louvre (Cat. 1737). To the Luxembourg when it was transferred, in 1750; listed in Catalogue Luxembourg, 1762. Returned to the Louvre 1785.[3]

Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 180 observe an inclination in the *Caritas* toward the model of Michelangelo; they are reminded of the Medici Madonna. Done with "Andrea's most consummate art." Gautier 1882, 77: "Tout ce beau groupe rayonne d'une majesté tranquille." Knapp 1907, 76 speculates that Andrea may have known a model or a drawing by Michelangelo for a theme like that in the Medici Madonna, or (a chronological impossibility) that the Medici Madonna may itself have already been sketched out. He is certain of some form of Michelangelesque reference. He also speculates that there may be Northern influence in the color scheme of the picture, which he asserts is paler than in Andrea's preceding Florentine productions. Landau 1908, 469 doubts this last assertion, but it is repeated by Escher 1922, 244; Fraenckel 1935, 47–48 shares Landau's view. Fraenckel is certain that Andrea saw Leonardo's paintings in Francis' collection, and that the *St. Anne* and the lost *Leda* especially influenced Andrea's thinking in the *Caritas*; Fraenckel asserts an influence in composition also from Fra Bartolommeo's unfinished *St. Anne* altar in S. Marco. Fraenckel 218, n51 notes the analogy of motive in the putto right to Michelangelo's later Medici Madonna. Freedberg 1961, 463–468.[4]

PREPARATORY STUDIES

PARIS, Louvre no. 1717. Head of an infant, facing to the right; for the putto left in the *Caritas*. Red chalk, touches of white, 25.3 x 19; pieced out at top. Inscribed by a later hand "Andrea del Sarto Flor." From Mariette, Sir T. Lawrence, and King William II of Holland. Fig. [87].

Reiset 1866, no. 52 for the *Caritas*, and so universally by all subsequent authorities. Berenson [1938] no. 157. For complete bibliography see Bacou 1955, no. 35.

COPIES AND DERIVATIONS

ANGERS, Museum no. 331 (Cat. 1881). Canvas, 172 x 125. Gift of the First Republic, 1799–1800.

NANTES, Musée des Beaux-Arts, no. 152 (Cat. 1913). Canvas, 190 x 147.5. From the painter François Cacault in 1810, and probably by him. In the Cat. 1903 as original. In the inventory of the Collection Cacault, 1808, it had been assigned to Giulio Romano. This attribution corrected in Cat. 1858, 103.

Formerly TUNBRIDGE WELLS, Hon. P. Ashburnham.

Perhaps the copy noted 1709 in the collection of Louis XIV (cf. Cat. Louvre 1913, no. 1514). Subsequently the property of W. Y. Ottley; sold London 1811 to Phillips (Redford 1888, II, 251).

Waagen 1854, II, 251 had erroneously identified this painting as the *Caritas* painted for Ottaviano de' Medici (for which see Washington, National Gallery, Kress Collection). Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 202 remarked that the execution is much below that of Andrea. Crowe and Cavalcaselle's citation of this painting is reported by Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 51n4. Redford 1888, II, 251 records the sale of the picture under date 21 May 1860 at Christie's, purchased by Willson.

Formerly? WYE (Kent), Erle-Drax Collection.

Canvas, 75 x 85. With the *cartella* and the signature as in the Louvre picture, but with a date that reads 1526(?).

Redford 1888, II, 251 reports the sale of this picture from Northwick to Drax; it was said to have been formerly in the Joseph Buonaparte Collection. It is probably this picture that was sold London, Asscher and Walker, 1936.

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[1] Cat. Louvre 1869, no. 437; Cat. 1913, no. 1514.

[2] However, it was apparently not again transferred in 1842, as Mantz 1877, 46–47 and Villot Cat. 1869, no. 439, and also Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 30n2 and Fraenckel 1935, 160, state.

[3] Cat. Louvre 1913, no. 1514.

[4] The group of figures in the landscape left rear has a pronounced Venetian cast; its three center figures especially suggest a likeness to the Titian (Giorgione) *Pastorale* (then in Mantua). There is no way of ascertaining from what source, perhaps among the king's pictures then at Fontainebleau, Andrea might have derived this group; the accounts of the contents of Francis' collection are very incomplete.

The still-life motives in the *Caritas* make obvious symbolic references.

43 · c. 1519. MADONNA AND CHILD WITH THE INFANT ST. JOHN.

London, Wallace Collection no. 9. Fig. [91].

Panel, 107 x 81. Signed upper left "Andrea del Sar / to Florentino / faciebat" and monogrammed. On the rear of the panel the seal in red wax of King William of Holland, and a mutilated, almost wholly illegible older seal.[1]

The actual paint surface is in excellent condition: there are only minor losses and a few slight abrasions. The appearance given as of significant damage is false, and due to discolored and crystallized old varnish. Pentimenti in the left hand of the Madonna, the front of the body of the Christ Child, and in the rear of his left leg.

The Madonna wears a light red shirt; on her left forearm an undersleeve shows bronzed green. Her headdress muted violet. Her skirt blue, with paled violet *revers* top right and bottom left; a gold edge at the bottom of her garment. The St. John in dulled orange-brown; his hair reddish-blond. The older child in a muted light green; the younger child in dark blue. The background rock olive-green. The angel in the sky upper right orange-gold.

Waagen 1854, II, 155 assigns the picture a provenience from the Aldobrandini Collection, Rome, and states it was carried to England during the French Occupation. It was, still according to Waagen, then in the Champernowne Collection and in the Bonnemaison Collection, Paris, from which it was sold to Nieuwenhuys for King William II of Holland. The sale is recorded of a *Holy Family with Angels* from the Champernowne Collection, in 1820, in London, to one Piazetta, but the provenience of the Champernowne picture is then given as from the Masi Palace, Genoa (Redford 1888, I, 118, and II, 251). The precisely ascertainable history of the picture therefore may go back only to the middle of the nineteenth century, when it was acquired by Lord Hertford, through Mawson, at the sale of King William of Holland's pictures, Amsterdam, 12 August 1850, no. 181. It was there titled "La Vierge de Pade," from the presence in the background landscape of a saint, supposedly Anthony of Padua, who listens to angelic music.[2]

Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 200 considered Wallace 9 one of Andrea's good productions, though injured; Guinness 1899, 69 repeats that opinion. Phillips 1892, 160 considers this an original work of high quality. Knapp 1907, 71 compares it for style with the *Disputà*, and gives it a date c. 1517–1518. Fraenckel 1935, 86, 157, 232–233 regards it as a painting begun by Andrea c. 1528–1530, but left unfinished by him and completed by a pupil.[3] Fraenckel sees suggestions of Correggiesque influence in the picture, in the infants particularly. Berenson [1932] 18 as Andrea's, without qualification. Wagner 1959, 435 follows Fraenckel in his dating, c. 1528–1530. Freedberg 1961, 470–471.

The resemblance of Wallace 9 to the group of works that follow on Andrea's creation of the *Harpies* is sufficiently obvious. There is almost no respect of form or of color in which this picture does not seem specific kin to the *Disputà*, the *Holy Family* Louvre no. 1516, and the Louvre *Caritas*. The type of the Madonna, e.g., belongs surely with that of Louvre 1516, as does the Christ Child, and the St. John seems to develop out of the Christ of the *Harpies*. The two older children bring to mind the St. Lawrence of the *Disputà*. In the way of handling drapery, softer and somewhat simpler than in the *Harpies*, and in the exceeding sfumato fineness of the painting in general, we seem to be in the close vicinity of the *Disputà*, or developed even beyond it; and there may be a suggestion here of the appearance that Louvre no. 1516 may once have offered. With the *Caritas* there is a long catalogue of connections, of which the most striking may be likeness of type between the Caritas herself and the older child of Wallace 9. In handling and mood we have observed (see our text volume, p. 51) that this painting seems to be a further probing, in a particular direction of extreme sensibility, of resources that Andrea had explored in the *Caritas*.

Despite the multiplication of close connections with works we assign to c. 1518, Wallace 9 would seem shortly to succeed those. This painting contains the first appearance of such a denser, more compact-seeming conception of figures that we see in the works we would assign to 1520 or shortly afterwards, such as the Vienna *Pietà* in particular; the composition is similarly denser, and makes a stronger, heavier impression through its figured substance. However, from those works of 1520 and later that survive in the original the extreme fineness of handling of Wallace 9 has disappeared. Wallace 9 tends toward the works of 1520 and afterwards in larger aspects of its form, but its handling is still associated with the antecedent group of Andrea's paintings.

PREPARATORY STUDIES

LONDON, British Museum no. 1896–8–10–1. *Recto*, two studies of the upper body of a youth, his right arm raised; on the right the head of the model restudied, looking over his shoulder toward us. *Verso*, six studies of a boy in various poses, three others lightly sketched. Red chalk, 25.5 x 37. Figs. [93], 54.

Berenson [1938] no. 131 identified the whole sheet as containing studies for the children of various *Holy Families* of Andrea's earlier middle years; he singled out the two more finished studies on the recto as belonging with Wallace 9. Knapp 1907, 117 wrongly described the recto as a study for the *Assunta*, Pitti 191. Di Pietro 1911, 88 identified the studies for the Wallace painting, but also asserted, wrongly, that there was also a study for the Christ Child of the *Harpies* on the sheet. Fraenckel 1935, 179 identified only the two figure studies of the recto, following Berenson; she puts the drawing, like the painting, late. Shearman 1959, 130n35 repeats Berenson's identification.

The whole sheet, verso as well as the two obviously associable studies on the recto, is part of the process of invention of the St. John of the Wallace *Madonna*. The search for the idea and pose of the Baptist begins on the verso, apparently in order left to right top and left to right bottom; in this order the pose increasingly approaches that finally used. In the left study of the recto the turning motive that Andrea has started to explore has come into full profile; it is redressed back into a *contrapposto* in the final, center, study. It should be noticed that, in the course of his exploration, Andrea passes (in the study verso, lower center) through what would seem a reminiscence of the left upper putto of the *Caritas*. The repertory of postures here evolved was much in Andrea's mind about this time and slightly later; he would seem to have developed them for the children of the (lost) *Madonna with St. John* (cf. our catalogue entry no. 46) and the (lost) *Madonna de Fries*. The style of drawing seems to approach that in the studies of the early 1520's, for Pitti 191.

PARIS, Louvre no. 1686. *Recto*, head of a woman, for the Madonna of Wallace 9. Red chalk, 24.4 x 19.8. Inscribed in a later hand, lower right, "Andrea del Sarto." Fig. [92]. *Verso* (see under Authentic Unassociated Drawings).

Reiset 1866, no. 42 as Andrea, but not associated with any painting. Berenson [1938] no. 150 and I, 293 for the Catherine of the late altar formerly in Berlin. Knapp 1907, 124 for the head of the Wallace *Madonna*. *Venturi* 1925, 548, quite erratically, for the *Caritas* of the Scalzo. Rouchès 1939, no. 11, as Berenson. Fraenckel 1935, 200 compares the head with that of the Wallace Madonna, but regards the drawing as the work of an imitator. Berenson [1961] no. 150 accepts the association of this sheet with the Wallace Madonna.

COPIES AND DERIVATIONS

AREZZO, Pinacoteca.

Sold BERLIN, Achenbach sale, 23 February 1938, no. 85. Panel, 117 x 87.

——— Lepke, 30 May 1911.

CHATSWORTH, Devonshire Collections no. 20A. Canvas, 95 x 73. In the Devonshire Collections before 1761.

Only one child shown at the left; and without the St. Anthony. Of the seventeenth century.

DIJON, Museum. 39 x 52.

The upper parts only of the figures, with an altered landscape background.

EXETER, Lt. Col. H. M. L. Hutchinson.

Cf. under Longford Castle, below.

FLORENCE, Galleria Corsini no. 106. (gallery number, not in Cats. 1880 or 1886). Panel.

Attributed in the gallery to Morandini, but it would appear to be a copy of the seventeenth century.

——— Uffizi, deposit. From Poggio Imperiale.

——— S. Salvi, nos. 2159, 6062, 8311 (three copies).

——— Private Collection. Ruined.

——— Art Market.

LE HAVRE, Musée Municipal. Canvas, 117 x 86.

The background altered. Of the seventeenth century.

LENZBURG, Unidentified Collection. Panel, 110 x 84.

Formerly? LONGFORD CASTLE, Lord Radnor. Panel.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 202: a variant, of feeble quality, perhaps by Puligo.

Perhaps the same as the copy now in Exeter, Collection H. M. L. Hutchinson.

MADRID, Prado nos. 333; 338 (panel, 106 x 79); 339 (panel, 108 x 81 [4]) [three copies].

Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 198 assign no. 333 to Puligo. Only 338 is exhibited (Cat. Prado, 1949).

MUNICH, Alte Pinakothek no. 509 (deposit).

Described by Reumont 1835, 79–80 as an original work; it had been entered in Cat. Munich 1825 as such. Förster, in his Vasari edition (1843, III, 409, n47), was, probably unintentionally, responsible for a confusion in respect to this copy, which he also seems to have thought an original, identifying it as the painting which Vasari described as having been done for Alessandro Corsini. Mistaking his meaning, the later nineteenth-century Munich catalogues attached Förster's identification of the Corsini picture not to this copy but to their variant after Louvre no. 1515.

Sold MUNICH, Helbing, Goesche sale, 29 March 1897, no. 898. Panel, 86 x 72.

NAPLES, Galleria Nazionale no. 739. Panel, 115 x 87.

Wrongly assigned in Cat. 1958 to Puligo, but by an anonymous copyist of the sixteenth century.

——— S. Giacomo degli Spagnuoli. Canvas, mounted on panel.

Celano, *Notizie . . . della città di Napoli*, 1692, ed. Chiarini [1859] IV, 379 mentioned that this picture was considered a copy of another that existed at an earlier time in the church of S. Giacomo. Burckhardt 1855, 885, was apparently responsible for the elevation of the copy to the status of an original; he described it as "ein schönes und echtes Bild." Janitschek 1879, 48 also gives the picture as original. Guinness 1899, 94–95 gives it as Andrea's "beautiful original," while he describes Wallace 9 as a "replica." Cat. Borghese 1953, in discussion of their copy no. 6, lists this also as a copy.

A copy of probable seventeenth-century origin, and very likely (as the notice given by Celano implies) at second hand. It considerably resembles the copy in the Galleria Borghese.

Sold NEW YORK, American Art Association, 21–22 March 1922, no. 114. Panel, 87.5 x 65. Alleged provenience from Marchese Marignoli Collection.

PHILADELPHIA, Julius Sachs.

ROME, Galleria Borghese no. 6 (Cat. 1953; inv. 331). Panel, 94 x 77.

According to Cat. Borghese 1953 perhaps from the collection of Olimpia Aldobrandini; such a picture is given in the inventories of 1626 and 1682 to Pontormo. The first certain listing is in the inventory of 1693, as Andrea; the inventory of 1694, however, carries this picture as a copy. Berenson [1936] 409 proposed Puligo as its author. Longhi 1928, 208 suggested Brescianino, which may be the correct attribution.

Perhaps a copy substituted for the original, once supposedly in the Aldobrandini Collection.

SIENA, Opera del Duomo.

TOLEDO, Cathedral, Sacristy, canvas. With addition of a St. Joseph in the landscape right rear, and an altered background of architecture to the left.

VICO D'ELSA, Church.

Of the eighteenth century? The landscape destroyed. (Photo Soprintendenza 112371.)

UNIDENTIFIED PLACE. *Arte Figurativa* I (1953) 28–29, ill. p. 28, reproduces a very inferior copy of Wallace 9 as an original by Andrea, citing a study by one E. Eich, *Gesangliche Eingebung beim anblick einer Madonnenbilder* . . . (Zürich, n.d.).[5]

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[1] The seal invites comparison with the *stemma* of the Aldobrandini, and as much of it as remains admits such comparison; but this is not enough to conclude the seal is that family's.

[2] The two juvenile figures left, doubtfully identified as angels, are more likely intended for human children. Since St. Anthony is sometimes represented holding the Christ Child, he may be taken as protector of children; these figures would thus stand, in a sense, as attributes of the saint in the landscape.

[3] Fraenckel (*ibid.*) quite wrongly considers the background feature of the picture as a curtain, not a rock form.

[4] In Cat. 1920 the dimensions given wrongly, as 107 x 80.

[5] A painting described in the inventory of c. 1680 of the Palazzo del Giardino, Parma, may have been a further copy of Wallace no. 9. See the description given by the inventory in Campori 1870, 225.

A painting in the Schleissheim Gallery is incorrectly listed by Phillips 1901, 102 as a copy of Wallace 9. See in our Catalogue of Attributed Paintings.

Paris, Louvre no. 1745 is a copy in drawing from the painting.

44 · c. 1520. PIETÀ. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum no. 651, Cat. 1960. Fig. [94].

Panel, 99 x 120. Signed "AND. SAR. FLO. FAB."

Pervasive small damages, and more serious abrasions on the left side of the Virgin's face and on her forehead, on the forehead of the angel to the right and in the drapery beneath his left cheek and on his shoulder; otherwise very sound. Cleaned 1953, and the cleaning has revealed numerous pentimenti: in the forehead of the Christ, his left knee, his feet, in the eyes and chin of the angel right. The handling bold, quick, and brilliant, of extraordinary luminosity.

The body of Christ a pale ivory color, between grey and yellow, with the extremities in a near-transparent bluish tone. The hair and a beard are reddish-brown. He wears a loincloth of bleached pink, nearly white, and lies on a white sheet with pale violet shadows. The Virgin wears a strong white coif, a strong blue mantle and a darker blue-black dress. The angel left has a light blue-violet scarf over an apple-green dress; his wing is light blue with a stripe of orange. The angel right wears a scarf *changeant* mauve to blue over a golden-orange drapery with gold edging on the sleeve. His wing is light blue, with an edge of orange. He holds a dark rose-madder cloth in his right hand, and in this the sponge of the Crucifixion. The background is light olive.

First mentioned in the catalogue of the Duke of Buckingham Collection, 1638: "by Andrea del Sarto. A piece containing the corpse of Our Saviour, held up by two angels, and our Lady weeping . . ."[1] Sold with the Buckingham pictures in Antwerp, 1648; purchased by Emperor Ferdinand III and sent by him to Prague. In the Prague inventory of 1718, no. 14; transferred to Vienna 1723.[2]

Reumont 1835, 117, 118n1 assigns the picture to 1519, and observes that Vasari [1880] V, 34 mentioned a painting of the same subject in the Annunziata.[3] Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 179–180 remarked that the work was genuine, though without elegance, and dated it 1518. Guinness 1899, 67 considers that it was painted 1518, for the king of France. Schaeffer 1904, 46 also believes that the picture may have been done in France. He remarks on the "eingreifende Mischung von physischen Weh und seelischen Adel," more affecting than in the later Pitti *Pietà*. Knapp 1907, 76, 132 dates the picture 1519, but incorrectly identifies it with the "quadretto" referred to by Vasari in the Annunziata; Knapp hints the picture may have begun in France, and finds in it the influence of Northern feeling and Northern iconography, though he does not specify a source for the latter. Venturi 1925, 534 finds a resemblance between the angels of this picture and those of the S. Gallo *Annunciation*, and implies a date c. 1513; he then anachronistically cites Fra Bartolommeo's *Pietà* (Pitti), of 1516–1517, as a precedent for Andrea. Fraenckel 1935, 161, 224n66 prefers a dating c. 1525; she says there is no precise Germanic model, but compares Dürer's *Veronica* (B. 25). Comandé 1952, 50 puts the picture in 1519, and states, without evidence, that it was executed in France. Oberhammer 1960, pl. 20 locates the picture just after the trip to France, and says it may be the (lost) painting for the Annunziata. Cat. Vienna 1960 gives a date c. 1520. Freedberg 1961, 471–474 c. 1521.

The Vienna *Pietà* shows a repertory of types, and a style of drapery, that most pronouncedly resemble those in the works we locate in the close vicinity of 1520. There are evident connections, still, between the angels here and the adolescents of the Wallace *Madonna*: the angel on the left and the youth to the left rear of the Wallace picture are much alike. Similarly, there is a strong resemblance in the types, and in the handling, of the angel to the right and the nearer adolescent of Wallace 9. The background of both pictures employs the same motive, of Andrea's relatively recent invention. However, the type of the Madonna shows the somewhat heavier, less fine-structured form that we see in the best copy of the *Madonna Pinti*, and the same more heavy cast of face that is in the *Dance of Salome*, of 1521, and in the Poggio fresco. The drapery style, like that of the other pictures we assign to the moment that succeeds the Wallace painting, is bolder and more broadly angular, and less fine and complex in the rhythms that are sought by Andrea to articulate it.

The way in which the figures are presented to us, in a direct confrontation, and the immediacy and power of effect the content makes, are in accord with the mentality that appears in Andrea's art about this time; and the simple, rather rectilinear structure of the composition is like that which Andrea employs in the *Pinti Madonna*, and still more explicitly in the *Dance of Salome*.

COPIES

Sold LONDON, formerly Mr. H. Farrer. Canvas. Sold 1866 to Boord; sold 1876 to Agnew.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 180n5, 201. Redford 1888, I, 276.

——— Christie's, Viscount Scarsdale of Kedleston, 18 July 1930, no. 113, to Newton. Canvas, 100 x 129.5.

Seen by Waagen in the collection of H. A. J. Munro of Novar and described by Waagen 1854, II, 132 as "a careful and excellent repetition . . ."; the picture previously had been in the possession of Mrs. Butler Johnstone. Sold by: Munro 1878 to Rutter; Earl of Dudley 1892 to Agnew; J. Ruston 1898; Sir W. Farrer 1912 to Clements.[4]

Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 180n5, 201.

Sold STUTTGART, Fleischauer Gallery, d'Abel Collection, 14–20 April 1920, no. 46. Panel, 98 x 130.

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[1] Cited Cat. 1882, no. 411.

[2] Cat. 1960, no. 651.

[3] For our suggestion as to the appearance of this painting for the Annunziata, see the Catalogue of Lost Works, "in un quadretto a olio, un'altra Pietà." Bottari in Vasari [1759] II, 231n2 suggests the Vienna picture may be this *Pietà*.

[4] Redford 1888, I, 276; Graves 1921, III, 140–141; Scarsdale sales catalogue.

45 · c. 1520. MADONNA WITH ST. JOHN. Lost.

COPIES

ASCOTT, Wing (Bucks), National Trust, from the collection of Mrs. A. Rothschild. The *Madonna de Fries*. Canvas, 101.5 x 75. Fig. [95].

From the evidence of other copies, and of that in Florence, S. Salvi, in particular, it would appear that the Ascott copy may not retain the whole dimension of the lost original, and may show less "margin" around the figures to the top, right and bottom.

At least as early as the beginning of the nineteenth century this painting was in the possession of the de Fries family in Vienna (from which it takes the name by which it is commonly known in the literature); it was engraved by Morghen, as an Andrea del Sarto, from this collection. Purchased by the dealer Ataria, the painting then came into the collection of the Earl of Northbrook, and thence to Leopold de Rothschild. Reumont 1835, 84 regarded this picture as an original work, and dated it (*Verz.*) 1515. Guinness 1899, 69 also thought it original, and placed it 1517–1518. Knapp 1907, 118, 131 considered it a late and authentic work of Andrea, c. 1530; Knapp comments on the apparent influence of Michelangelo. Berenson [1932] 18 lists the picture as Andrea's. Fraenckel 1935, 193 refers to the picture as the work of a Sarto follower.

Despite the favorable opinions of the older critics, the *Madonna de Fries* is not more than an excellent copy of Andrea's lost original. It everywhere betrays a slight, but evident, schematizing of Andrea's repertory of forms. This schematizing is visible at once in the mode of handling light and in the modelling, and no less in the description of detail — in the hair, the faces, and in the drapery of the Madonna. The background, which in the similar feature of Wallace 9 and in the Vienna *Pietà* is so carefully articulated, is by contrast almost crude.

The time of origin of Andrea's original may be fixed by the many points of contact the de Fries copy shows with the works of c. 1520. The source of Andrea's ideas for the motives, and types also, of the children here is (as is the case with the next picture we shall catalogue also) in Wallace 9, and in the attitude of the Christ there is a further reference to, and development of, the athletic postures of the children in the Louvre *Caritas*. At the same time, the type of the St. John more specifically resembles the infants of the *Pinti Madonna*, and the Madonna here has the heavier look, both of feature and of body, that first appear decisively in that frescoed work. The aspiration to a monumentally impressive form, expressed in a Michelangelesque canon, had appeared earlier, in the *Caritas*, and is explicit in the *Pinti Madonna*, with which the Virgin of the de Fries painting, in this respect, belongs.[1]

BAARN (Holland), Mrs. Boas-Kogel.

Attributed in a certificate (?) by Schmidt-Degener to Andrea; but this is a harder and later copy than that in Ascott.

BRAUNSCHWEIG, Gallery no. 423.

Cited by Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 198. Not in the modern catalogues of the collection.

DUBLIN, Justice J. A. Murnaghan.

FLORENCE, Pitti, deposit, unnumbered. Canvas, apparently cut at left; badly damaged.

——— S. Salvi no. 5897. Panel, 110 x 80.[2]

Much inferior in execution to the Ascott copy, but perhaps more faithful to the original in some particulars. The area around the figures is more extensive, and the landscape is deeper and more elaborate; the impression of monumentality is more than in the *Madonna de Fries*.

——— Collection Galli.

——— Collection Rossati.

LENINGRAD, Hermitage. Uncatalogued.

Cited Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 198.

Formerly RICHMOND, Cook Collection no. 37. Panel, 99.5 x 75.1. Said to have come from the Fesch Collection.

With a more extensive landscape than is in the Ascott copy.

Sold VIENNA, Dorotheum, 13–15 September 1956. Panel, 112 x 82.

Sold as a work of Franciabigio. See *Kunst ins Volk* 7 (1956) 157.

WELLS, L. I. Scott.

DERIVATION

Formerly NEW YORK, Art Market. 51 x 30.5.

A late pastiche, in which the Madonna and Child of the de Fries design has been combined with a St. Joseph and a background architecture borrowed from Andrea's later painting, Pitti 62.

COPY AFTER LOST PREPARATORY STUDY

FLORENCE, Uffizi no. 6432F. A draped left arm and shoulder. Black chalk, 19.5 x 11; badly rubbed. Fig. 55.

An old inscription on the verso assigns this drawing to Fra Bartolommeo. Berenson [1938] 124 as Andrea's own, and with the suggestion (not in 1903) that it may be connected with the *Madonna of the Harpies*. Di Pietro 1911, 96 had refused Berenson's assessment of this sheet as an original, and described it as a copy, by Naldini, from the de Fries design. Di Pietro's judgment of the character of a copy in this sheet is correct; and so would seem to be his attribution to Naldini. This observation may be specified to indicate that the source of the copy may have been a drawing by Andrea, now lost, rather than a painted version of the theme, but given Naldini's occasional apparently deliberate intention to deceive, this cannot be affirmed with certainty.[3]

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[1] The Michelangelesque aspect of the Virgin and the pose of the Christ Child suggests an affinity with the *Medici Madonna*, but this can no more be assessed to influence from any presumed early design of Michelangelo's for the *Medici Madonna* than can the same affinity in the *Caritas*; like the *Caritas*, the de Fries *Madonna* antedates any sure evidence we have of Michelangelo's ideas for his statue. See Tolnay 1951, 247.

[2] The Madonna in a pale rose dress, bleached out over the shoulder; her left sleeve pale yellow-gold. The Christ Child wears a blue-white loincloth. The St. John has a vermilion jacket. A white cloth lower right. The cliff to the right rear, brown.

[3] It should be observed that, besides the generic connection of motive and type in the Christ Child of the de Fries design with the children of Wallace no. 9, there is a more precise connection of his pose with that sketched out from the model for the St. John of that picture on the preparatory study London, British Museum 1896–8–10–1.

46 · c. 1520. MADONNA AND CHILD WITH ST. JOHN. Lost.

It is only uncertainly proposed that this design existed in the form of an original painting, now lost to us, from Andrea's own hand. Unlike the other cases in which we know certainly that an actual painting by Andrea served his imitators as a source, in this case the several copies, or derivations, from his hypothetical model do not so precisely reflect his personal vocabulary. It is possible that this set of pictures may be based on no more than a design of Andrea's — though neither does such a drawing survive; or it may even be that the original painting from which this set depends was not Andrea's invention at all, but that of a contemporary imitator, whom we cannot identify. These possibilities, and the latter in particular, must be taken into account. However, in the best version of this design, that at the Cà d'Oro, Venice (Fig. [96]), both the repertory of motives and the vocabulary of forms suggest not just a generic connection with Andrea's art, but an association with his sure works of a relatively narrow span of time, toward 1520. The closest connections are, in the earlier direction, with the Louvre *Caritas*, and in the later direction with the (lost) *Madonna di Porta Pinti*; and almost as intimately, the picture we are discussing is related to Wallace 9 and the *Madonna de Fries*. The posture of the Madonna is almost *calqué* after that of *Caritas*, and the St. John has a near counterpart in the *Pinti*. The types and postures of the children are those which appear in all the pictures of Andrea that date from this close time: the relation of the St. John to his type and pose in Louvre no. 1516, in Wallace 9, and in the de Fries *Madonna* is obvious. The type of the Madonna and the handling of her drapery, both somewhat broader, heavier, and — in sum — less fine than in the pictures which, by our account, precede 1520, suggest the change in Andrea's vocabulary that occurs about that year; in these respects this Madonna compares, more than with the *Caritas* or Wallace 9, with the *Madonna Pinti*, the de Fries *Madonna*, or the Virgin of the Vienna *Pietà*. All these characteristics, in this combination, are possible to a pupil or a follower who may have been associated with Andrea in just this moment, but one circumstance in particular seems to argue against this: the closest model for the pose of the Madonna, the *Caritas*, was not available to an imitator in Italy.

There is one element in the Cà d'Oro version that is foreign-seeming for this time — the motive of the *baldacchino*, not used by Andrea since about 1513. It may be that the *baldacchino* did not exist in Andrea's presumed original. In an alternate version of the design, of which the best example is in Budapest, the background of the picture is a rocky cliff, of just the kind that is found in Wallace 9 and in the de Fries *Madonna*.

(PRESUMED) COPIES

I. With the *baldacchino*

DORTMUND, Cremer Collection no. 491. Panel, 83 x 68.

LEGHORN, Unidentified Collection.

Reproduced in *Bellezze d'Italia*, anno III, vol. 5, 70.

S. MARTINO (Portoferraio, Elba), Museo Demidoff.

In color scheme like the Cà d'Oro version, of middle greens and light reds, but of a flatter, cruder style. Closest in appearance to the Cà d'Oro version, but not derived from it, since the right hand of the Virgin here (as in the Budapest variant) makes an open gesture.

VENICE, Cà d'Oro. Panel, 84 x 68.[1] Fig. [96].

From the Prince de Talleyrand, Duc de Dino, and S. Donato collections. Sold Florence, S. Donato sale, 3–4 March 1870, no. 182, and engraved in the catalogue by Bracquemond. Bought by Giorgio Franchetti and left with his collection to the Cà d'Oro.

The style suggests the author of this copy may be Jacone.

II. With landscape background

Sold BERLIN, Graupe and van Diemen, 26–29 April 1935, no. 25, "from a Russian museum." Canvas, 87 x 68.

A certificate by Voss describes this work, incorrectly, as by Franciabigio.

BUDAPEST, Museum of Fine Arts no. 76 (Cat. 1916). Canvas, 85 x 67. Severely damaged.

From the Collection Esterhazy. In the catalogue of the museum 1844 as by Andrea. Cat. 1916 cites the following opinions: Frimmel, Andrea(?); Frizzoni, a shop piece; Fabriczy, Gamba, copy after Andrea. A. Venturi, *L'Arte 3* (1900) 239, published the painting as an original, and was followed by Knapp 1907, 61, 132 who assigned it to c. 1516.

——— Dr. Szeber Collection.

Resembling the Cà d'Oro piece in style.

DERIVATIONS

CORSHAM COURT, Lord Methuen Collection no. 68 (Cat. 1939).

From the Sanford Collection. Attributed in the Corsham catalogue to Pontormo, with no remote justification.

Based on the Cà d'Oro type, but with alterations in the postures of the children and in the head of the Madonna. Probably of the midsixteenth century. (Photograph Courtauld Institute B58/691.)

FLORENCE, Pitti, deposit no. 1736, from Poggio Imperiale (there numbered 46).

The postures rather freely revised, and an architectural niche substituted in the background. By a *Madonniere* of the third decade. (Photo Sop. Flo. 94615.)

NEW YORK, Mrs. Powell Collection. Panel, 89 x 68.5. Apparently much repainted. From the H. O. Watson, Lambert, G. Dery Collections; sold American Art Association 19–20 April 1923 to Mrs. Powell.

The postures freely revised; the background an open landscape. What is visible of the original painting suggests this is by a Sarto follower, of some merit, of the third decade.

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[1] The Madonna in middle green and light red; the *baldacchino* green; the background middle brown. A yellow-grey parapet.

47 · c. 1521. MADONNA DI PORTA PINTI. Lost. Cf. Fig. [97].

The fresco mentioned in the *Codex Magliabechiano*, 108. Vasari 1550, 754: "Fece in su'l canto che si voltava per ire al convento de' frati Iesuati fuora della porta a Pinti, un tabernacolo, il quale restò per lo assedio di Fiorenza l'anno MDXXX, in piedi: et non fu rovinato come l'altre cose per la bellezza sua: ne'l quale è una Nostra Donna a sedere, con un putto in collo, et un San' Giovanni fanciullo che ride, fatto con un'arte grandissima: et lavorato in fresco perfettissimamente; stimato molto per la vivezza, et per la bellezza sua. Et la testa della Nostra Donna è il ritratto della sua moglie di

naturale." The same description is given in the second edition [1880] V, 32–33. In both first and second editions the mention of the fresco falls in sequence after the set of Scalzo frescoes that ends the history of St. John (the last, the *Presentation of the Head*, paid for 30 May 1523) and before the altar of the *Assunta* for Bartolommeo Panciatichi. Bocchi [1677] 481–482 repeats Vasari's story of the preservation of the fresco from destruction in the Siege, and he speaks of vain projects of the Grand Duke Cosimo to remove and transfer it to some protected place. Bottari in Borghini [1807] I, xx-xxi laments that the fresco has been destroyed by neglect, and II, 221n1 says that it is "quasi andato male del tutto con danno gravissimo." Moreni VI, 1795, 47 ff. reports "inoggi è si malamente ridotta, che appena si riconosce ciò, che rappresenta." Reumont 1835, 123 had stated there was no trace left of the fresco. Vasari, ed. Le Monnier [1852] VIII, 274n1: "La pittura di questo tabernacolo è perita." Despite this, Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 33n1 reports "Esiste ancora questa pittura, sebbene in cattivo stato"; and Guinness 1899, 32 (evidently basing his report on this one by Milanesi) says the fresco existed as late as 1880, but had since been quite destroyed. The destruction of the tabernacle, and whatever trace of the painting may have remained in it, surely took place before the actual date of publication of Milanesi's volume V, though not necessarily at the time of his writing the above-cited note; the entire quarter was cleared out in the later 1870's.

Dating of the lost fresco has been based mainly on the literary evidence afforded by Vasari and on the many copies; some indication of date may also be deduced from Andrea's surviving preparatory studies for the fresco. In Vasari's sequence, as we have observed, the picture is described in a place that suggests a date c. 1523. Reumont 1835, 123 gave a date of 1520, but without supporting evidence, and this is also the dating of Guinness 1899, 89 and Knapp 1907, 132. Berenson [1938] I, 283 assigned the picture to the same year as the Poggio fresco, 1521. Fraenckel 1935, 168 preferred a more advanced date, c. 1525. More recently, Ragghianti 1949, 113–124, in the context of a discussion of the *Paramento* of Cardinal Silvio Passerini in Cortona (see our catalogue entry no. 63), proposed a radically earlier date, before 1515. His view was accepted by Wagner 1959, 434 ("circa 1514") and by Shearman 1959, 242n2 ("1515 at latest"). Dr. Shearman has since informed me that he would now reject Ragghianti's proposition, and date the Pinti fresco in the neighborhood of 1520. Ragghianti's argument is the result of a confusion in the interpretation both of the evidence of secondary sources and the evidence afforded by the object, the Cortona *Paramento*, which was the primary subject of his discussion.[1]

What we can deduce of the style of the lost fresco of the Porta Pinti from its surviving copies (e.g., Fig. [97]) quite prohibits that it be associated with a date that precedes 1515, as Ragghianti, on wholly invalid grounds, would wish. Vasari's chronology, usually reliable in its general indications, requires us first to look well forward of the middle of the first decade, and at least into the beginning of the second, for the time of origin of the fresco. From our assessment of the evidence, we conclude that the *Madonna Pinti* must have been painted close to, or in, 1521. In our discussions of the paintings we assign to c. 1520 we have already indicated some of the many and repeated similarities between them and the *Madonna Pinti*, in type, motive, drapery form, and whole character of style. These similarities may be summarily described. They are in the heavier, broader type of face of the Madonna; in the types of the infants (cf. the Christ Child of the *Pinti* with the angel left in the Vienna *Pietà*, and with the St. John of both the Cà d'Oro and the de Fries designs); in the motive of posture of the St. John; in the new, broader, bolder patterning of drapery; in the proportion, of Michelangelesque kind, of the Madonna's body (cf. the de Fries Madonna); in the simplicity of design; and in the direct confrontation with us of the figures (cf. in the *Pietà* and in the Cà d'Oro painting). Two of our terms of comparison with works we date c. 1520 are with copies, of quality inferior to the best versions of the Pinti fresco that survive to us. However, from 1521, the year with which, more exactly, we associate the lost fresco, two other major fresco paintings by Andrea's hand exist. With Andrea's *Tribute* at Poggio a Cajano the likenesses of form and mood to the *Madonna Pinti* are so pronounced as to make it irrelevant that there is no common denominator of subject between them. The Pinti fresco is conceived in the same temper as the *Tribute*; handsomely assertive, bold and movemented. With the specific vocabulary of the large fresco, that in the *Pinti* shows two particularly striking similarities: in the Madonna's dress, the oval sweep of wide folds of drapery compares with the garment of the large figure to the left at Poggio; and the head of the St. John is conceived in the same vein, and with a similar intention of effect of form, of light, and mood, as the head of the man who leans toward us in the center of the left hand group at Poggio. It should be observed further that the finished preparatory drawings which survive for both these heads (Melbourne and Paris) are extremely like in style. In the *Dance of Salome* (paid for 20 January 1522) the figure of Salome herself (surely, like the Madonna of the fresco, inspired by Lucrezia) offers a strong resemblance in breadth of form and cast of features, and in drapery style, with the Madonna of the lost fresco.

A likely *terminus ante* for the Pinti fresco can be found within the contemporary production of Jacopo Pontormo, whose work of these few years offers the critical advantage of being almost always closely dateable, even only on internal grounds of style. A *Holy Family with St. John* in Leningrad, by Jacopo, surely inspired by Andrea's Pinti fresco, may be dated (with its preparatory drawing, Uffizi 6729F) by analogy with Jacopo's Poggio decoration, in 1521–1522. A *Madonna and Child with St. John* (Florence, Galleria Corsini 141) is no less identifiably derived from the *Madonna Pinti* (and is, indeed, a kind of willful, caricatural commentary on it), and this picture, by analogy with Jacopo's first work at the Certosa, may be dated 1522, or even more likely into 1523.[2]

The copies in painting and in drawing of the Pinti fresco, and the original preparatory design for the whole fresco by Andrea all agree in the evidence they afford of the appearance of the figures, but not of the background that these figures had. Andrea's preparatory designs and one group among the old copies show a background of architecture, with a wall closing the space to the left, then receding abruptly in perspective (as if this might be the corner of a tower), while toward the right a lower wall permits us to look beyond the Madonna and St. John into the sky.[3] A second group of copies shows an open, hilly landscape to the rear. There is no doubt that the fresco had the architectural background that is shown in the first group of copies, and in Andrea's preparatory design. However, the general uniformity of the landscapes that appear in the second group of copies may indicate that there was some good precedent for all of them; perhaps in a panel picture produced in Andrea's shop in repetition of the fresco, or from its cartoon.[4]

PREPARATORY STUDIES

FLORENCE, Uffizi no. 305F. For the drapery of the Madonna of the Porta Pinti: to the left, for the mantle as it folds across her lap, and to the center and right for the stuff over her shoulder; the latter closer to the final form. Black chalk, 19.8 x 33.4. Fig. 56.

Berenson [1938] no. 112 as an authentic drawing, but not associated. Knapp 1907, 132 describes the sheet as a study for the drapery of the Abraham in the Dresden *Sacrifice.* Di Pietro 1911, no. 18 and Fraenckel 1935, 171 identify it as a study for the *Madonna Pinti.* Berenson [1961] no. 112 notes di Pietro's identification.

——— no. 6455F. Study for the lower drapery of the Madonna. Black chalk, 22.8 x 24.9; rubbed. Fig. 57.

Berenson [1938] no. 129 as an authentic drawing, but not associated. Knapp 1907, 134 and di Pietro 1911, no. 92 associate it with the *Madonna Pinti.* Only Fraenckel 1935, 194 would deny the drawing to Andrea, regarding it as a *ricordo* after a lost original study. Marcucci 1954, no. 19 as Knapp and di Pietro. Berenson [1961] no. 129 notes the identification as made by di Pietro.

Like Uffizi 305F, with which it exactly accords in style, the manner of drawing on this sheet is a little thinner than is usual to Andrea, but nonetheless seems autograph.

LONDON, British Museum no. 1912–12–14–1. Composition study for the whole fresco. Red chalk, 28.6 x 18.9. Partly cut, certainly at left. An inscription upper left, faded and partly cut, "mano di [A]ndrea." The chalk fatter, and of a somewhat more purple tinge than usual. Fig. [98].

Berenson [1938] no. 138 identified this drawing as Andrea's "first draft" for the fresco. For Knapp, 1907, 135, however, it was a very doubtful sheet, and di Pietro 1911, 41n did not think it was authentic. Haseltine Cat. 1913, no. 3, and Colvin, Vasari Society ser. 1, 9:5 (1913–1914) publish it as Andrea's original. Fraenckel 1935, 197 would have it a *ricordo* of the fresco, or a copy of a lost original of Andrea's, and thinks the style like Poccetti's.

There is no doubt of the accuracy of Berenson's judgment of the originality of this drawing, though it is in a manner more particular than that used by Andrea for a "first draft." The idea has here, in effect, been almost wholly fixed; the next stages in its development may be preserved for us in copies by Naldini (see below, Cambridge, Mass., and Rotterdam).

The presence of Andrea's own hand in the London drawing is assured by the freedom, force, and flexibility of the draughtsmanship in it; the whole tenor, and the quality, of the handling of the chalk is precisely that in Andrea's other quick sketches of this kind. Naldini's exercises on Andrea's models for this picture reveal, precisely, how unlike the manner of the most gifted imitator is. Compare to this study by Andrea, for the temper of hand, British Museum 1910–2–12–37v, of relatively close date; and comparisons of detail may be found (for the anatomies of the children) in British Museum 1912–12–14–2, for the *Madonna del Sacco*, and (for the elongated and schematic head of the Madonna) in Berlin 5032, for the late altar once in that museum.

MELBOURNE, National Gallery of Victoria. Finished study for the head of the St. John. Black chalk, 26.5 x 21.5. From the Lenkrink, Earl of Warwick, Haseltine, and Oppenheimer collections. Fig. [99].

Guinness 1899, 32 as Andrea's, for the St. John of the *Madonna Pinti*. So also Berenson 1903, no. 139, [1938] no. 141B. Knapp 1907, 135 as authentic, but without association. Di Pietro 1911, 41n is not convinced that the drawing is original. Cat. Haseltine 1913, no. 4, and Borenius, Vasari Society ser. 2, 2:5 (1921) repeat Berenson's identification. Cat. Oppenheimer 1936, no. 44. Popham 1930, no. 200 states there is a copy after this drawing in Copenhagen. Fraenckel 1935, 197 would have the Melbourne sheet a copy after a lost drawing by Andrea, or even after the painting.

COPIES AFTER LOST PREPARATORY STUDIES

CAMBRIDGE, Mass., Mrs. Janet Cox Rearick. From a composition study by Andrea. Red chalk, 14 x 9.5; cut down.

From a study a stage closer to the final design than that in the British Museum.

FLORENCE, Uffizi no. 6464F. Female head. Black chalk on tan paper, 21.6 x 15.1. Fig. 58.

Copy, by a later sixteenth-century hand, after a fairly finished study by Andrea for the head of the Madonna.

ROTTERDAM, Boymans-Van Beuningen Museum, Koenigs Collection. From a composition study by Andrea. Red chalk, 19.5 x 12. Formerly in the Reinhardt Collection, New York.

Berenson [1938] 1761E corrects the improper attribution in the Koenigs Collection, to Andrea, and assigns the sheet correctly to Naldini.

Probably taken from the same model by Andrea as the drawing in Cambridge, above, but interpreted in a freer, rougher vein, in the temper of a *ricordo*.[5]

COPIES

BIRMINGHAM, Barber Institute of Fine Art. Panel, 55.3 x 39. Architectural background. From the Coesvelt, Viscount Weymouth, etc., collections; sold by Weymouth from Norton Hall through Sotheby, 4 October 1944, no. 17, to Colnaghi.

BROOKLINE, Mass., Dr. Frank Shattuck. Panel, 170 x 94. Architectural background.

A good copy of the later sixteenth century.

COHASSET (Boston), Mass., W. V. Kellen. Panel, 100 x 79.5. Landscape background. Partial copy, three-quarter length.

CORSHAM COURT, Lord Methuen Collection. Three-quarter length. From the Sanford Collection.

Copy at second hand from Sanford Collection no. 68, Cat. 1838.

DUBLIN, Justice Murnaghan. Three-quarter length, in oval form.

FLORENCE, Galleria Corsini no. 121 (Cat. 1886). Panel, 190 x 130. Architectural background. Attributed to Jacopo Chimenti da Empoli.

Bottari, ed. Vasari [1759] II, 230n1 gives this copy to "Christofano" da Empoli. Reumont 1835, 124n1 to Jacopo da Empoli. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 194 consider this a copy of the copy in S. Salvi, q.v. Guinness 1899, 89.

Baldinucci [1770] VIII, 9 remarks of Empoli

". . . più volte copiò la tanto famosa . . . Tabernacolo ch'è fuori della Porta a Pinti."

FLORENCE Pitti, deposit no. 6053. Panel. The St. John only, half-length.

——— S. Salvi no. 612. Panel, 189 x 119. Landscape background.

Attributed to Jacopo da Empoli.

Milanesi 1880, V, 33n1 to Empoli; so also Guinness 1899, 89. Paatz [1955] II, 577, 593n326 surmises that this may be the copy once in the chapel of the Stimmata in S. Lorenzo, and which is cited by Migliore 1684, 186, and Richa V (1757) 94.[6]

——— Collection Salvadori. Background of architecture; small scale.

Formerly LEIGH COURT, Miles Collection. Panel, 109 x 73.5. Landscape background; half-length, without the St. John. Borenius, ed. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 203n1 reports the picture sold 28 June 1884, no. 64, to Mr. Dyer; subsequently sold Lesser sale, 10 February 1912, no. 50, to Cohen. More recently reported to have been in the Farrer Collection (Sir W. J. Farrer?).

Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 203 by Salviati or Squazzella.

Formerly LONDON, Stafford House, Duke of Sutherland Collection no. 18 (Cat. 1825, vol. I). Panel, 145 x 122. Landscape background; three-quarter length.

Engraved by Schiavonetti from the collection of the Marquess of Stafford; before that in the collection of Thomas Brand, Lord Dacre.

Reumont 1835, 124n1. Waagen 1854, II, 63 will make no judgment of the picture's originality. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 200 by Salviati, Nanaccio, or another disciple. Guinness 1899, 71 repeats Crowe and Cavalcaselle's opinion. Borenius ed. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 203n2 remarks that the painting was not included in the Stafford sale of 1913. Fry 1924, 265 notes that it had been sold earlier, at Christie's, in 1908 (8 February 1908, no. 89).

MONTEPULCIANO, Museo Civico. 90 x 60, circa. Landscape background; half-length.

Formerly NEW YORK, W. R. Hearst Collection, sold Hammer Galleries, 1941, no. 1148–5. Panel, 195 x 125. Landscape background. Fig. [97].

Brought from Italy c. 1800 by Mr. Patrick Horne to Paxton House, where it remained until 1923, when it was purchased by E. Hockcliffe. Published from his collection by Fry 1924, 265 as an original work by Andrea. The present location of this important picture is not known.

This is not by any means an autograph work by Andrea, but it is superior in quality to any of the other copies. Certainly, it most nearly accurately reflects, in the figures, the appearance of Andrea's original: a symptom of this accuracy is in the closeness with which the head of the St. John in the painting resembles Andrea's highly finished study for the head of St. John (Melbourne). The quality of surface of the painting suggests a time of origin during the Sarto revival, and the possibility of an attribution to the principal one among the later imitators, Santi di Tito.

NEW YORK, Hunter College. Panel, 92 x 68. Neutral background; three-quarters length. From the Hayos Collection, Vienna, sold 4–7 March 1936, no. 568; and from the Baer Collection, New York.

PARIS, Unidentified Collection. Partial copy, of the Madonna and Child only. Resembling the version in S. Salvi.

ROME, Art Market (1961). Panel, 111 x 98. Architectural background; three-quarters length.

Attributed to Pontormo, with no shadow of justification.

——— Collection Miolé?. Neutral background; three-quarter length.

VOLTERRA, Unidentified Collection. Architectural background; the Madonna and Child only, three-quarters length. Falsely monogrammed at left.

DERIVATIONS

Sold COLOGNE, Lempertz, Broscher sale, 31 October–3 November 1905, no. 89. Panel, 69 x 50.

An adaptation, in reverse, of the Madonna and Child of the *Pinti* design.

Sold LONDON, Christie's, 1 August 1952, no. 31.

A free copy, with the Madonna and Child placed in a niche, and the St. John at the foot of a throne on which the Virgin sits. (Photo Cooper 182146.)

VIENNA, Collection "G."

A pastiche, compounded from the *Pinti Madonna* and the *Scala Madonna* in the Prado. Published by Suida 1934–1936, 184–185 as a work by Sarto.[7]

[1] It had been reported in the literature (Podreider 1928, 176) that the *piviale* of this *paramento* (but, it should be observed, no other part) was worn by Leo X on the occasion of a mass celebrated by him in Cortona in 1515. Leo was indeed in Cortona from 17 November 1515, with a considerable suite, and was a guest in the Palazzo Passerini for three days. On 18 November 1515 he celebrated mass in the church of S. Francesco, and wore the *piviale* at that time. Podreider wrongly gives the date as 26 May 1515. No contemporary document attests this first wearing, but it is reported in later documents and *memorie*. (This information on Leo's stay contributed by Canon Giovanni Basanieri of the Mueso Diocesano of Cortona in response to a request addressed to him, on our joint behalf, by Dr. Shearman. Canon Basanieri also undertook documentary research on the problem of the Passerini *paramento*, the results of which are given here and in our later discussion of that object. The author is deeply obliged to Canon Basanieri, and to Dr. Shearman for his kindness in sending the information on.)

In 1515, however, the *paliotto* would not yet seem to have been part of the *paramento;* it would appear to have been made later for the altar of the Cathedral. A *terminus post* for the *paliotto* may be given by the presence on it of the arms of Cardinal Silvio Passerini as Cardinal, and his creation dates from 1 July 1517. On the *paliotto* is the tondo of embroidery that explicitly derives in design from the *Madonna Pinti.* Assuming, with no evidence, that the *paliotto* was in existence, and used, at the time of Leo's mass of 1515, Ragghianti had taken the *Pinti* motive on it as a *terminus ante* for the lost fresco; a quite incorrect conclusion.

[2] It should be observed that the date 1522 usually given for the beginning of Pontormo's work at the Certosa is based on the document (cf. Clapp 1916, 278; A.S.F. Conv. 51/40, c. 65), of February 1522, which in *stile commune* is February 1523.

Another contemporary painting, a *Madonna and Child with Two Bishop Saints* (Florence, S. Salvi), probably by Sogliani, also depends on the *Pinti Madonna* for its central motive (and on Andrea's lost altar for the Company of the Neve for the saints); but this work is not exactly dateable.

[3] The construction suggests a reference to the city wall and the tower-gate of the Porta Pinti near the tabernacle in which the fresco stood.

[4] The motives of posture and gesture in the *Pinti Madonna* have a strong effect of individuality as Andrea uses them; nevertheless, they suggest many associations and, as well, at least the possibility of direct reference by Andrea to an outside source. The crossing of the Virgin's arm across her body to hold the Child appears, though less boldly, in (to cite only the most obvious and important places) Raphael's *Granduca Madonna*, his *Madonna Tempi*, and his *Madonna di Foligno*; also in the Michelangelo lunette, in the Sistine, of *Zorababel*; and there is a sketch by Michelangelo for a Madonna, on one of the early sheets related to the Cappella Medici (British Museum 1859–5–14–818r) which uses the same motive. This sheet, however, is dated in the Michelangelo literature 1522–1524 (cf. Tolnay 1951, 247, pl. 296). It should be observed that Berenson [1938] I, 284 had suggested the derivation of Andrea's whole idea from a Michelangelo drawing.

The gesture of the St. John, and also the standing posture of the Christ, are very much like those given by Jacopo Sansovino to the Christ Child of his *Madonna* in S. Agostino, Rome (1521), and the character of posture of the Madonna also suggests similarity to Sansovino's statue. Given the close relation between Sansovino and Andrea, it may be that (even after Jacopo had left for Rome) Andrea may have been supplied with one of the sculptor's *modelli.* There is, in the best copies of the *Pinti Madonna*, a hitherto unaccustomed effect of plastic, even statuary, form that may be explained by the availability to Andrea of a three-dimensional modello. This is not a necessary explanation, and it receives no support from the character of Andrea's own sketch in drawing for the whole design, of a vivacity that seems in no way to be inhibited by a hypothetical confrontation with another's model.

[5] Evidently, on account of its panel support, not the same painting referred to in A.S.F. Guardaroba 91 (various notes on pictures "in galleria"), c. 104, under date 15 September 1579: "Da Jacopo di Chimenti da Empoli Pittore un quadro in tela duna Vergine ch[e] la cavata da quella di fuori della Porta a Pinti dimano d'Andrea del Sarto detto daltezza di b^{a} 3½ et larga b^{a} 2. Alinvent^{o} 126." The inventory here referred to is A.S.F. Guardaroba 79, where the picture has been entered under the same date. It was sent to Rome 20 September 1579.

The color in the S. Salvi panel: the Madonna in a scarf and headdress *changeant* from green to violet; a bleached-rose dress with a pale lilac sleeve, turning yellow-gold in the lights; a middle blue mantle. John wears a vermilion drapery. The background yellow-green. The color of the Corsini copy is nearly identical, including the tonality of the different background.

[6] Incorrectly located by Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 33n1 at Bridgewater House.

[7] The following drawings are copies taken from the painting, either from the fresco or from one of the surviving copies: Copenhagen, Tu 15.1; Florence, Uffizi 14447F; Paris, Louvre 1758; Vienna, Albertina SR 178.

48 · 1521. TRIBUTE TO CAESAR. Poggio a Cajano, Villa ex-Reale. Fig. [101].

Fresco, width 582.6 (to the inside edges of the painted frame). The section at right, roughly one-third of the area of the present picture field, by Alessandro Allori (see Fig. 10). A seam, very apparent through most of its length, divides the part painted by Andrea from that added by Allori. The seam runs from the right upper portion of the arch above, around the front edge of the cornucopia held by the statue right, behind the back of Caesar, and below his throne turns left around the front of the boy holding a turkey on the bottom step. Just below this figure, and extending through the whole breadth of the fresco to the left, a strip of ground about 25 cm high has been added by Allori to the fresco's lower edge. Andrea's portion of the fresco was of course originally bounded by a straight edge on the right, marked by the vertical line of the present seam, which shows in part of its length the original painted enframement of the fresco, matching the painted profiles on its margins to the left and top.[1] Allori has partly repainted this right edge of the original frame, or extended his forms over it, and his figure of the child with a turkey in the lower section is conspicuously an intrusion into the original area of Andrea's work. The shape and dimension of the fresco as it was before Allori's additions and alterations is indicated in a large sketch by him (Florence, Uffizi no. 10 Orn. (Fig. 63), pen and wash, 44.7 x 74.6) which gives a plan, not wholly executed in this form, for Allori's completion of the decoration of the entire room. In this drawing Andrea's fresco (as well as those by Franciabigio and Pontormo from the first campaign of work) are recorded, in rough form, as Allori found them.[2]

Inscribed by Allori as follows: "ANNO D̄N̄I M·D·XXI ANDREAS / SARTIVS PINGEBAT / ET A·D· MDLXXXII · ALEXANDER ALLORIVS SEQVEBATVR."[3]

The condition of Andrea's portion of the fresco is good. There are no major areas of damage, and the color, though faded in some areas, is in general well preserved.[4]

The foremost figure at left wears a yellow-orange, somewhat golden, dress with pale violet trousers and tan stockings; his collar is pale blue and his sleeves white. He carries a brown cage with pale green parrots in it and a blue and rose parrot seated on it. The figures in the group to the immediate rear beyond him wear, left to right: light green and white; blue-violet; bleached red-orange; a lilac cloak over a light red-violet dress, browned gold trousers, and red-violet hat. The figures leaning over the balustrade in the center rear are in blue-violet parti-colored with light green and white, and in yellow-gold. The figure to their right, back to us, in light blue-grey with a light red sleeve. The figures kneeling before Caesar are, to the left, in a yellow-orange cloak over a pale violet dress and pale yellow socks; to the right, in very pale rose. The standing man above in light emerald-green; the figure half-concealed behind him in muted violet with a yellow-orange sleeve. Caesar wears a smoky light blue mantle over a bleached-red dress; he has yellow-gold stockings. The architecture is in general of a yellowed tan to the rear, and whiter in the foreground. The circular building somewhat to the rear has walls of faintly lilac tint; figures clad in orange-gold, with accents of deep red and blue, stand on the balcony. The center landscape mostly pale blue; the sky an admixture of paled blue, lilac, and silver tones.

Vasari 1550, 755–756 and 1568 [1880] V, 35 in the life of Andrea; V, 195–196, in the life of Franciabigio; and [1881] VI, 264–265 in the life of Pontormo informs us of the circumstances of the commission and execution of the decoration of the grand salon at the Medici villa at Poggio. The decoration was undertaken on the order of Pope Leo, whose governor in Florence, Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, gave the responsibility for choice of the artist and supervision of the conduct of the work to Ottaviano de' Medici. The project was given in charge of Franciabigio, with orders to share the work in thirds with Andrea and with Jacopo Pontormo; and the program was supplied by Paolo Giovio.

The overt subject of Andrea's fresco, like that of Franciabigio's *Triumph of Caesar?* on the wall diagonally opposite, is an episode of Roman political history, but it alludes to the biography of Lorenzo de' Medici, who here in the person of Caesar receives the tribute of subject towns. Mantz 1877, 270 [5] has suggested that there may be a reference to a specific gift made to Lorenzo de' Medici in his lifetime, when a gift of animals, including a giraffe, was sent to the Magnifico in 1487 by the Sultan of Egypt. Milanesi in Vasari, [1880] V, 35n2 also cites this possibility. Fraenckel 1935, 218n52 observes that this gift is documented by Poliziano and mentioned by Paolo Giovio. That the frescoes of the original project were intended to have such analogical reference to the life of Lorenzo was explicitly understood by Allori, who on his plan (Uffizi no. 10 Orn.) for the completion of the decoration specifies in writing not only the Roman subjects of his two new frescoes but their analogies in Lorenzo's career.[6]

The date given for Andrea's fresco in Allori's inscription, 1521, is almost surely exact; however it must be remembered that it was added sixty-one years after the fact. Vasari's account does not specify the time at which the commission for the Poggio decoration was given, or when the paintings of the first campaign of decoration actually were done. Vasari provides a sound *terminus ante* when he informs us that the work was interrupted by the death of Leo (1 December 1521), and considering the amount done by Andrea by this date, it seems very reasonable to suppose his fresco was in fact executed wholly within 1521; there is no question in the literature of the appropriateness of this date.[7]

Fraenckel 1935, 50–51, 218 suggests the influence of Venetian style on Andrea's conception of form and color in the *Tribute*, and advances the suggestion that it may be the result of experience of Venetian pictures acquired in the trip to France. There would seem to be no reason to advance any Venetian connection. Fraenckel also feels there is an influence in composition and in color from Pontormo, from the latter's *Joseph* story in the London National Gallery in particular; but this is not convincing. The way in which Andrea interprets such motives in his fresco and in the London panel as might be taken to be similar is quite opposite to Pontormo's anti-classicism as he shows it conspicuously in the London work. Fraenckel also notes parallels in formal device to ideas of Raphael in the Sistine Tapestries, but denies that these result from any contact. Wagner 1959, 434, however, summarily states that various elements in the *Tribute* derive from the tapestry designs.[8]

PREPARATORY STUDIES

BERLIN-DAHLEM, Kupferstichkabinett no. 12924, *Recto*, the upper part of the figure of a young man in a broad-sleeved garment; to the right a head, in profile to the right, of a bearded old man, suggesting derivation from an antique bust of Homer. Red chalk. Inscribed, upper left, "turpilio." *Verso*, a heavy-featured man of middle age, in near profile to the left, in red chalk (also apparently derived from an antique portrait bust); a small sketch of the head of a "pensieroso," black chalk. 23.5 x 27.8. Cut through the center and repaired. Figs. [106, 107].

Fröhlich-Bum 1929, 148–149 correctly identified the draped youth on the recto as a study for the man who stands to Caesar's right in the *Tribute*. Apparently not realizing that the right portion of the fresco was Allori's, she described the black chalk sketch on the verso as a preparation by Andrea for the *pensieroso* there.[9] Fröhlich did not observe the associations of the two remaining sketches on this sheet with this same fresco.[10] Fraenckel 1935, 169 was uncertain of Andrea's autograph in both the "Homer" head and the larger head on the verso, but she nevertheless related the former to the old man who kneels before Caesar, and compared the larger head on the verso with that of Caesar himself. There is no reason for Fraenckel's hesitation about Andrea's authorship of either study, and her observation of the relation of the head on the verso to that of Caesar is correct. There must, however, have been an intervening study, now lost, which referred less directly to the antique than the present drawing does. The "Homer" sketch may well, as Fraenckel surmises, have been in preparation for the profile head of the old man kneeling, and in this case Louvre 1690r (q.v. below) would have served such a function of specifying the type, and translating the antique back toward reality, as did the study we presume existed, a stage later than that of the verso of the present sheet, for the Caesar. The Homer type from which the drawing on this sheet derives was followed by Andrea, much more literally than in the head of the kneeling man, in the head of the figure who stands just to his left.

Fraenckel 1935, 169 properly associated the black chalk "pensieroso" with the Scalzo *Presentation of the Head*. Berenson [1938] no. 55B (but not in

1903) noted Fröhlich-Bum's identifications, but would not commit himself specifically to any. He thought the drawing autograph, and generally in Andrea's style c. 1520. Berenson [1961] notes that this author (verbal communication, 1957) has associated the "pensieroso" on the verso with the Scalzo *Presentation*.

DARMSTADT, Landesmuseum no. AE 1373. The muzzle of a dog, lightly sketched, the whole dog in smaller scale, a monkey standing seen from the rear, a costumed monkey seated in profile to the left. Red chalk, 17.9 x 26.2. Inscribed with the name of Agostino Carracci by a later hand. Published with the attribution to Agostino in *Stift und Feder* (1929) 86.[11] Fig. [109].

A fine example of Andrea's draughtsmanship; for the dog center and the monkey right on the steps of the *Tribute*. Cf. Louvre 1687.

FLORENCE, Uffizi no. 648E. *Recto*, head of a lightly bearded youth, from the model. *Verso*, two studies of a raised arm. Red chalk, 22.7 x 13.9; the upper corners cut and repaired. Figs. [105], 59.

The recto variously identified: Ferri 1893, 132 for the head of a St. John Baptist; and 1916, no. 23 for the head of the third Apostle from the left in the *Assunta*, Pitti 225. Berenson [1938] no. 96 perhaps for the St. Mark in the (destroyed) Berlin altar; Knapp 1907, 134 and di Pietro 1911, no. 68 for the head of the third Apostle from the right in Pitti 225; Fraenckel 1935, 176 apparently a copy after a late drawing by Andrea for this same head; Becherucci 1955, pl. 31 as a study, unspecified, for the *Assunta* Pitti 191.

The verso had been mentioned only by di Pietro 1911, no. 69 and associated with the left arm of the first Apostle on the right in Pitti 225, though this is in the inverse sense.

Shearman 1959, 130n35 has arrived at the correct association of the drawing, with the *Tribute;* the same identification, in a verbal communication of this author to Berenson, 1957, is reported in Berenson [1961] no. 96. Shearman points out that the verso is a study for the raised arm of the figure carrying a burden in the center of the left group of the *Tribute*, and observes that the head on the recto agrees well with the head of the same figure. It may be remarked, in further support of this identification, that the difference between the head in the drawing and that painted into the fresco is not more pronounced than the difference between the model study Louvre 1684 and its translation into paint. The style of the present sheet and Louvre 1684 is exactly in accord; and the style of the verso is identical with that in the study of the same subject on Oxford, Ashmolean 693. Shearman observes, very properly, that it is not improbable that the recto of 648E may have been reused later for both the *Assuntas*, nos. 191 and 225.

LONDON, British Museum, Fawkener no. 5210–33. Model study of a male figure, basically nude but with breeches lightly drawn over the lower form; to the left, the head and shoulders of the same figure, with a hat. Red chalk, 28.5 x 17.5, pieced out top, bottom, and right side. Fig. [102].

Berenson [1938] no. 134 for the youth leaning over the parapet toward the rear of the *Tribute*. Knapp 1907, 135 and Fraenckel 1935, 180 as Berenson.

MAIDENHEAD, Sir Thomas Merton. Four studies of the head of a camel. Red chalk, 24.1 x 20.3. Fig. 60.

Scharf, in Cat. Merton, 1950, pl. XXI associated this sheet with the camels in the distant procession of the *Adoration of the Kings* of 1511 in the Annunziata; Berenson [1961] no. 141A1 notes Scharf's association.

We find the style of drawing more flexible and cursive than that in the drawings of so early a date as the Annunziata fresco, and conversely find the style of this sheet much like that of such exactly identifiable studies for the menagerie at Poggio as Darmstadt 182 and Louvre 1687. We also find the heads of the camels in the early fresco very different from those in the present sheet; unlike these, the frescoed camels' heads of 1511 are very distant from the life. We prefer to believe that this sheet was done in preparation for the *Tribute*, but that its subject was discarded from the already too-abundant animal population of the painting.

OXFORD, Ashmolean no. 693 (Cat. 1956). *Recto*, the clothed torso of a figure carrying a burden over his left shoulder; to the right the same figure, nude, carrying an urn. *Verso*, a slight sketch of a dirk or sword attached by a lashing to a fold of drapery. Red chalk (pieced out to) 23.7 x 14.5. From the Lucas Collection. Fig. [103], verso not illustrated.

Parker in Cat. Ashmolean 1956 states that the motive on the recto is from the antique, and compares a fountain in the Giardino Cesi, Rome[12] and two figures in the Munich Glyptothek. A drawing of the motive by Michelangelo is in the Louvre, no. 688r. Parker considers that there is an "affinity" between this sheet by Andrea and the drawings for the Scalzo *Visitation* and for the *Tribute*, but makes no precise association. Parker does not discuss the verso.

The study on the recto is for the figure in the center of the left group of the *Tribute*. Like Louvre 1690 (for the Caesar), it is in a manner somewhat more fluid and fatty than is usual for Andrea. The slight sketch on the verso may well be an exploratory thought for the weapon worn by the figure in the center of the fresco.

PARIS, Louvre no. 1684. *Recto*, a large and a smaller study from the head of a lightly bearded and bushy-haired young man. *Verso*, two further studies, one of part of the face only, from the same model. Red chalk, 33.5 x 25.5; cut down. Inscribed by a much later hand with Andrea's name. Figs. [104], 61.

Reiset 1866, no. 40 as Andrea. Berenson [1938] no. 148 identifies both recto and verso as studies for the head of the man leaning forward in the left group of the *Tribute*. Repeatedly published with Berenson's correct identification; for complete bibliography see Bacou 1955, no. 36. Only Venturi 1925, 611 and Fraenckel 1935, 181 would differ with Berenson, and improperly consider (Fraenckel not quite certainly) that the sheet prepares the fifth Apostle from the right in the *Last Supper*. Fraenckel is dubious about the quality of the larger head on the recto: a curious reaction to this superb sample of Andrea's drawing style.

The sequence of studies is: verso, whole head, partial sketch; recto, large head, small sketch.

——— no. 1687. *Recto* and *verso*, various studies for the dog who descends the steps in the *Tribute*, center. Red chalk, 19 x 25.3. On the verso: "turpilio." Inscribed as no. 1684, by the same hand. Figs. [110, 111].

Identified as above by Reiset 1866, no. 43. Mantz 1877, 270n2 makes the same identification, as do all subsequent critics. Berenson [1938] no. 150A (but not in 1903). For further bibliography see Bacou 1955, no. 37.

Cf. Darmstadt AE 1373.

——— no. 1690. *Recto*, head of a bald old man in profile to the right, from the model. The eye repaired and the contour partly redrawn. Red chalk. *Verso*, upper legs and part of the draped torso of a seated figure, two studies of a booted foot. Black chalk. 19.5 x 14.7. From the Jabach Collection. Figs. [108], 62.

Reiset 1866, no. 46 identified the recto as for St. Zachary in the Scalzo *Visitation*. As Reiset observed, the model is the same who served Andrea for Louvre 1680v, which is in fact for the St. Zachary. Berenson [1938] no. 152, and I, 282 denied Reiset's association, and correctly identified the recto as for the head of the old man kneeling before Caesar in the *Tribute* fresco. Berenson apparently did not know the verso in 1903 or in [1938]. Knapp 1907, 135 identified both recto and verso for the *Tribute*, but seemed to think the verso a study for a kneeling figure. Fraenckel 1935, 200 considered the recto a copy after Uffizi 289F, a study for the *Last Supper*, and thought the verso also a "Nachzeichnung," but correctly indicated that the drawing was related to the seated Caesar of the *Tribute*. The verso is in fact for (not after) Caesar, and is in the same style as Ashmolean 693. Berenson [1961] no. 152 cites the verbal identification of this author, 1957, for the verso.

COPY AFTER LOST PREPARATORY STUDY

PARIS, Louvre no. 1673. After a modello for a discarded version of the composition of the *Tribute*. Brush drawing with grey and brown wash, white high lights, 43.2 x 33.3 Fig. [100].

Perhaps the drawing, or a copy after the drawing, which Vasari 1568 [1880] V, 35 stated he owned, highly finished and in chiaroscuro. Bottari in Vasari [1759] II, 232n1 reports (presumably on Mariette's information) that the drawing of which Vasari speaks had gone to the French Royal Collections, but was "alquanto malmenato."

A valuable evidence, even as a copy, of Andrea's style in the making of modelli. See the further remarks on modelli under our catalogue entry no. 50.

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[1] Fraenckel 1935, 116 notes that the painted cornice above the fresco is so articulated as to mark the original outer ends, and also the center axis, of Andrea's composition.

[2] According to this first plan, Allori intended no such alteration as he later in fact made to Andrea's fresco. The lower righthand corner (where the boy with the turkey now sits) showed only a side wall for

the flight of steps. Allori would, by his first plan, have framed Andrea's painting with a column to the right of its original painted profile, and made a separate complement to it in a narrow bay beyond. One of the motives tentatively traced into this complementary bay, that of a river god, was actually used by Allori in his addition to the fresco of the *Triumph of Caesar* (or *Cicero?*) by Franciabigio.

The presence of an original painted cornice above Andrea's fresco implies the articulation of the wall by some supporting painted architectural feature, though not necessarily the columns that appear in Allori's drawing, and which are painted into the *salone* now. The presumption would be that, since the whole project was in charge of Franciabigio, he would have determined the plan, including the dimensions and the architectural accessories, of the original decorative scheme.

[3] The second date wrongly reported by Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 36n2 and by Knapp 1907, 131 as 1580.

[4] Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 182n1 speak of slight abrasion, and say the sky is much discolored. Fraenckel 1935, 148 suggests that the dwarf in the foreground may have been rehandled by Allori, but there is no visible evidence of this.

[5] Citing Abbé Richard, *Description historique de l'Italie* (1769) III, 111.

[6] It is not at all certain, however, that Allori was in possession of more than the general sense of Giovio's program. It should be observed that his lunette is not the same in subject as that designed by Pontormo for this space in 1533–1534 (cf. Uffizi no. 13861), nor are his allegorical personifications on the lower end walls what Jacopo had in mind for these spaces (as his early design for one of them, British Museum 1860–6–16–106–107, shows).

[7] It is no more than a cautionary note when we observe that the evidence afforded by the much more extensive material, of preparatory drawings especially, that survives of Pontormo's work for Poggio shows he began his planning of design in 1520 almost surely (and perhaps even within 1519). There is no ground of style that would exclude that Andrea may also have designed his fresco in 1520, or executed it in that year.

[8] Apparently, Wagner has forgotten that he chose to date Andrea's presumed trip to Rome at latest in 1514, before the Cartoons were invented.

[9] Who is imitated by Allori, obviously, from the Scalzo *Presentation of the Head*, for which this sketch on the sheet is in fact a study. The figure pointing on Allori's platform left above is also imitated from the Scalzo, from the *Dance of Salome*, in reverse.

[10] Relating them instead to the *Last Supper* (the "Homer" head; incorrectly) and to the main figure right in the *Dance of Salome* (correctly, but as Fröhlich-Bum did not realize, only as an instance of reuse rather than explicit preparation).

[11] Not otherwise in the literature.

[12] Tolnay, *Michelangelo*, I (1943) fig. 90.

49 · 1521(–1522). DANCE OF SALOME. Florence, Chiostro dello Scalzo. Figs. [112, 113].

Fresco (grisaille), 194 x 308. The lowest part of the fresco much remade.

Payment for this fresco is documented in A.S.F. Comp. Sopp. 1198/28, c. 30: "E de avere, adì 20 di genaio 1521, fior. otto larghi d'oro in oro, cioè £ 56, sono per manifatura e dipintura del quadro del Chovito (*sic*) nel nostro chiostro, chome si vede in verso San Piero del Murone, d'achordo £ 56." [1]

Vasari 1550, 748; 1568 [1880] V, 32 in the series of Scalzo frescoes done after Andrea resumed work in the cloister, interrupted by his trip to France. Guinness 1899, 92 notes the derivation of the pose of the servingman right from a print by Lucas van Leyden (B. 23). Knapp 1907, 86–87 remarks especially on the increase of density in the figures and of depth in space. Sinibaldi 1925*a*, 19 sees the influence of Raphael in the background architecture and in the multiplicity of sources of light in the fresco, and finds these evidence for the certainty of a (shortly previous) Roman trip. Venturi 1925, 548 notes a character of light like that in the Venetians. Fraenckel 1935, 52, 219n53 observes that the style is like that of the Poggio *Tribute*, and different from the succeeding pictures in the Scalzo. Fraenckel considers that the composition is a free variant on that of Ghirlandaio in S. M. Novella, and notices connections with other Quattrocento sources: for the figure of the servingman right, Masaccio's Tax Collector in the *Tribute Money*, and for the Salome, Ghiberti's Judith in the frame of the *Porta del Paradiso*. Fraenckel repeats and specifies the dependence of the figure of the servant right on the print B. 23 by Lucas. She points out further some likenesses to the print by Dürer of the *Presentation of the Head* (B. 126). Fraenckel proposes, on no good grounds, that the fresco may have been executed in part by assistants.

PREPARATORY STUDIES

BERLIN-DAHLEM, Kupferstichkabinett no. 12924v. Fig. [107].

See under our catalogue entry no. 48, Preparatory Studies. The head on this sheet from which the type of the Caesar was drawn would seem to have served also as the basis for the head of the man at right in the *Dance of Salome*. Fröhlich-Bum 1929, 148 had made only this latter association for the verso.

FLORENCE, Uffizi no. 282F. *Recto*, a draped male figure, standing, looking to the right and pointing forward; a slight sketch of a female head. *Verso*, a lutenist, roughly sketched, and what seems to be a scale measurement twice drawn across the paper. Red chalk on pink-tinted paper, 24 x 17. Figs. 64, 65.

Ferri 1893, 135 identified the figure on the recto as a study for the figure left in the *Dance of Salome*; so also Berenson 1903, no. 61, [1938] no. 110B and Knapp 1907, 133, who also cite the verso as authentic. Knapp does not associate the verso, but Berenson [1938] admits that it may be connected, as di Pietro 1911, nos. 4 and 5 suggested, with the *Dance of Salome*, as a first thought for one of the musicians. Fraenckel 1935, 187 would have the recto a copy after the painting. She finds it indicative of the character of a copy that the definition of the figure stops where, at its right, it is obscured in the fresco by the figure of Salome. Fraenckel thinks the verso an original drawing, but by another artist than Andrea, near Sogliani. Shearman 1959, 129n21 regards the recto as a study in which the figure is "posed for the fresco." He observes the reuse of the drapery motives on the recto in both the *Assuntas*, Pitti 191 and 225.

Neither the recto nor the verso can be denied to Andrea, though the quality of the whole sheet is not of Andrea's best. Particularly confessional of Andrea's hand is the small sketched head on the recto, for which cf. Andrea's other instances of unpremeditated jottings, as on Uffizi 661E and 301F, for the London *Portrait of a Sculptor*.

PARIS, Louvre no. 1681. Standing draped male, facing left, the head only summarily indicated. Black chalk (pieced out to) 28 x 16.9; somewhat rubbed. From the Mariette Collection. Fig. [114].

Reiset 1866, no. 38 for the man standing to the right in the *Dance of Salome*. So also Guinness 1899, 92, Berenson [1938] no. 146 and all succeeding critics except for Fraenckel 1935, 194 who thinks it a copy from the painting, by pupils, and used by them in the predella of the later Vallombrosa altar (Uffizi). The motive was in fact so imitated, but not this drawing, which may, however, later have been reused.

COPIES AFTER LOST PREPARATORY STUDIES

FLORENCE, Uffizi no. 311F. *Recto*, from a study in the nude, and in a more energetic posture, for the servingman right in the *Dance of Salome*. Red chalk, 40 x 25. Fig. 66.

Ferri 1893, 136 with a correct association, but with an incorrect attribution to Andrea. Berenson 1903, no. 1754; [1938] no. 1759A, and I, 279 as a copy by Naldini; so now identified in the Cabinet.

——— no. 6524F. *Recto*, a second copy, also by Naldini, of the same lost sheet by Andrea. Red chalk, 40.1 x 24.6.

Formerly ascribed to Pontormo. A weaker, but more deliberate and exact copy than no. 311F.[2]

50 · (1521–)1522. ADORATION OF THE KINGS.
Lost? (or an unexecuted project?)

We cannot trace any painted copy of this composition, and cannot be wholly certain that it existed as a work in paint; it is not to be excluded that this may have been an unexecuted project of Andrea's. However, the evidence indicates that Andrea carried the preparation of this design to the point of a modello, finely finished: this seems to indicate the intention of a painting. We suggest below a reason why (to the best of our knowledge) there are no painted copies of the (presumed) picture.

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[1] So transcribed by Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 70.

[2] The versos of both drawings have most characteristic original sketches by Naldini. Both papers have the same watermark. Naldini is also the author of two free copies in drawing after the painting: sold Lucerne, Gilhofer and Ranschburg, 28 June 1934, no. 263 (after the whole fresco); Paris, Ecole des Beaux-Arts no. 359 (after the figures to the right).

It may be speculated whether drawings by Naldini such as these may have been intended to pass as original works by Sarto.

The evidence we have of this composition, and of Andrea's responsibility for it, consists of a preparatory study by him for two of its figures (Darmstadt; Figs. 67, 68) and a modello (Fig. [115]) which, classed in the Uffizi as a copy, is instead, in our estimation, Andrea's own. There is also a copy after this modello by Naldini (Louvre; Fig. 69) and a second copy, rather free, of much later date. From the drawing we consider the original modello, the time of origin of this design seems clear. In it, the pose of the Madonna is that, almost exactly, of the *Madonna Pinti*, and the preparatory drawings that serve for her drapery in the fresco must have been reused here. The posture of the Child is based on that of the Infant in the de Fries *Madonna.* In the old king who kneels to the Madonna's left there is the close recollection of the man who kneels to Caesar in the *Tribute*, and again the preparatory study for his head (Louvre 1690) as well as the (lost) drawing that served for his drapery must have been reused for this design. The standing figure of the younger king at left suggests the attitude of the figure at extreme left of the *Dance of Salome*, and the character of posture of the third king, and that of the attendant to the farthest right, recall those of the servant right in the same fresco. The creation of the *Madonna Pinti* and the experience of the Poggio *Tribute* were evidently still fresh in Andrea's mind when he made the modello for the *Adoration of the Kings*; and the mentality in general of this design, with its intention of monumentality and the clear geometry of open form, belongs also to this time.

There is also an explicit reference to Pontormo's lunette of 1521 at Poggio: the soldier at right rear, in sprawling posture as he climbs over the wall, is derived from the nude youth left in the *Vertumnus and Pomona.*[1]

For the dates assigned by other critics to this composition, see under Preparatory Studies, Uffizi 634E, below.

I should like to suggest, tentatively, that this design may have been that of a lost painting, called by Vasari 1568 [1880] V, 34 (but not in ed. 1550) a *Nativity*, which was in the room in the convent of the Annunziata "dove già stava il generale Angelo Aretino." Vasari's citation of this picture occurs in a passage where the sequence of events affords no sure help in dating, but it should at least be noticed that his mention is in the close context of his description of the work at Poggio. It may be because the lost picture was in a "private" room in the Annunziata, rather than in a place of public access, that it was not much known (apparently not even to Vasari at the time of the first edition) and not copied.

PREPARATORY STUDIES

DARMSTADT, Landesmuseum no. AE 1462. *Recto*, a young man standing in profile to the right, carrying a folded mantle over his right arm. Red chalk, squared with lead point; horizontal lines above and below, in wash, added by a later hand. Evidences of pouncing. *Verso*, rough sketch for the pose and drapery of the young king at left in the modello (cut off at neck and ankles); partly obliterated by chalk rubbed over most of it (to take a counterproof of the recto). Red chalk, 20 x 9.3. From the Crozat Collection. Figs. 67, 68.

The recto published *Stift und Feder* (1929) no. 36 as Andrea's, but without association; so also Berenson [1938] no. 55G (but not in 1903). Berenson remarks that the figure on the recto is close to the man right in the Scalzo *Annunciation to Zachary.* Fraenckel 1935, 185 has noted that the figure in the drawing was used in reverse in the design for the present *Adoration of the Kings*, but she does not think the Darmstadt sheet authentic. She compares it with Uffizi 228F and with Morgan Library no. I, 30, which she also rejects (but which are no less than the Darmstadt drawing by Andrea). Berenson [1961] no. 55G records the association communicated to him by this author.[2]

The verso unpublished.

FLORENCE, Uffizi no. 634E. Modello for the composition. Black chalk, brush and brown wash, white high lights; in a tonality like that of the contemporary Scalzo grisailles. Traces of squaring. A framing line in wash. Probably by a later hand. 32.3 x 26.4. Fig. [115].

Classed in the Cabinet as a copy. Ferri 1893, 132 as an original by Andrea. Berenson [1938] discusses this sheet under no. 1766 (Paris, Louvre no. 1688), and says of it that it may be an exact repetition of Andrea's original. He does not explicitly assign Uffizi 634E to Naldini, as he does the Louvre sheet. Vol. 1, 274–275, he says both drawings are copies of a not unimportant work conceived by Andrea c. 1522. Venturi 1925, 581n1 sees the Uffizi sheet as a fine original, which he associates in time with Poggio.[3]

This drawing is a particularly important document for Andrea's art, of a species for which, beyond this, only minimal evidence exists: this is, in my view, an autograph modello. Only one other autograph modello has survived, Louvre 1670 (for a *Pentecost*), of slightly later date, and only one sure copy from a lost modello of a moment earlier, for the Poggio *Tribute* (Louvre 1673). In all of these the elements of the technique are much alike: pen or sharply pointed black chalk, and more extensively the brush, with wash and white high lights, are used in combination to produce a finely finished drawing in chiaroscuro, conveying the precise effects of form and light intended in the painted work. In both the autograph modelli the touch is sure, but also very delicate, and on this small scale makes remarkably subtle, yet unlabored, indications of detail. The delicacy of the drawing is miniaturelike, but the draughtsman's hand, at once strong and fine, suggests much more than it defines. The major relations among forms are set down with a clarity, and with a sureness of articulation, that objectify a thinking of design not on this scale, but in the scale of a full-sized work of art. These relations are expressed, in both the autographs, with the certitude they have in their inventor's mind, and not as they would be read and reformed, less clearly, by a copyist.

Because the technique of the autograph modelli, and their intention also, is unlike Andrea's drawings of any prior preparatory stage, they have inspired more critical doubt than confidence. It might be as well to read them almost without reference to the accustomed style of Andrea in his chalk designs. Like the paintings, the modelli are created chiefly with the brush, and they are no less phenomenally responsive manipulations of chiaroscuro than the paintings are. In the modello for the *Adoration*, the light and dark make a pattern of great plastic boldness in the figures, indicating not only solid form, but interval, with extreme legibility. In the background a more muted light, of lesser range, defines the architecture with surpassing niceness and no less clarity. The modello for the *Pentecost*, of a later moment, is in a somewhat different vein. It is less bold in the assertion of the form but — befitting its subject, the descent of an Illumination — still more responsive to the subtlety and vibrance of the light.

What both modelli show, in large and in the smallest facets of their style, is beyond the competence of the most gifted copyist, and must be taken as evidence of the presence in them of Andrea's mind as well as hand. Andrea's accomplished imitator, Naldini, has left us a document to indicate the limit to which his competence would carry him in just this problem, of a copy from Andrea's *Adoration* (either from this same modello or a just prior entire compositional sketch; Louvre 1688; Fig. 69). The gap between the copy and original is too obvious to require comment.[4]

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[1] It is a symptom of the difference of Andrea's from Pontormo's mind that, where this motive in Pontormo is essentially a device of ornament, Andrea translates it back into the terms of a precisely motivated action.

[2] It is not impossible that Oxford, Ashmolean 693 verso, a study for a dirk or sword attached to a bit of drapery, which we have tentatively associated with the Poggio drawings, may instead be some part of the preparation of this figure, who, as he appears in the copies of the whole design, wears a sword.

[3] Ragghianti 1949, 118 does not express an opinion on this drawing but, in consequence of his mistaken dating of the Porta Pinti motive, would very incorrectly place the *Adoration of the Kings* between 1510 and 1515.

[4] Louvre 1688: red chalk, 29.4 x 24.4. Reiset 1866, no. 44 under Andrea's name, but with the observation that a painted sketch of the same composition exists in the Palazzo Guadagni, Florence, and that this drawing and the painting both could with likelihood be assigned to Pontormo. The painting mentioned by Reiset cannot be traced. Berenson [1938] no. 1766 catalogues the drawing, correctly, as Naldini. Berenson observes also that Uffizi 677S is a freer copy of Andrea's composition. 677S is, at least, of the seventeenth century.

51 · 1522–1523. MADONNA DELLA SCALA.
Madrid, Prado no. 334. Fig. [116].

Panel, 177 x 135. Monogrammed on the step, center.

Two strips at left and right edges of the panel, each about two cm wide, have cracked away and have been grossly repaired. There is heavy repaint in the drapery at the leftmost lower corner of the painting. A crack through the left foot of the saint at left has been repaired. Except for these marked damages, the surface of the painting is generally in sound state, showing only minor losses and small areas of abrasion.

The male figure seated left in a lilac shirt bleached almost to white; a mantle cast behind him and over his left foot is pale yellow-gold; his sandals the same color. He holds a faded brownish sack. The Madonna wears a middle blue mantle over a light red dress. The angel right in middle green; his left sleeve rolled up to show a lining of yellow-gold; his wing a neutral reddish-orange. In the left distance Elizabeth in a pale green dress and pale yellow scarf leads the young St. John, in grey. The landscape a greyed blue-green; the foreground architecture grey. The tones of flesh, particularly of the Infant Christ, blue-shadowed.

Vasari 1550, 757 describes this picture as follows: "Fece un quadro a Lorenzo Iacopi ancora, molto di grandezza maggiore che l'usato; dentrovi una Nostra Donna a sedere, con il putto in braccio: et così due altre figure che l'accompagnano, le quali seggono in su'n certe scalee . . ." The citation occurs just previous to Vasari's mention of the plague of 1523. The same information, in almost the identical context, is given in 1568 [1880] V, 37–38. Bottari ed. Vasari [1759] II, 233n3 informs us that the picture was sold in 1605 by a widow of the Jacopi family to the Duke of Mantua, for 10 scudi. Then sold, with other works from the Mantua collections, to Charles I; resold with his pictures in 1649. It appears in the catalogue of Charles' sale as a "Virgin and Child, St. John and angel. w.l. figures, nearly l.s.", on panel, 70 x 51 inches.[1] Purchased by Alonso de Cardenas, ambassador of Philip IV, for the Spanish Royal Collections, for £230.[2] Vasari's citation of this altar for Lorenzo Jacopi is repeated by Biadi 1829, 151, 152n1 and Reumont 1835, 87n, but neither identifies the citation with the painting in Madrid. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 198 misinterpret the relatively hard plasticity of the picture (characteristic for its moment) as an effect of bad condition, and rather incomprehensibly remark that something in the drawing and color "tells Pontormo was still in Sarto's atelier," thus implying, incorrectly, a quite early date. Guinness 1899, 98 takes Vasari's sequence of citation literally, and says the work was "perhaps painted 1522." Knapp 1907, 100–102, 132 prefers a dating in 1524–1525, and considers that the Madonna shows the influence of Michelangelo, as from the Sibyls of the Sistine, and that her gesture may be related to that of the *Aurora* of the Medici Chapel (though he proposes that an alternate source may be the antique *Thusnelda* of the Loggia dei Lanzi). Venturi 1925, 589 implies a similar dating, and thinks the painting "macchinosa." Fraenckel 1935, 65, 158, 222n62 agrees with Knapp's date. She would have the composition influenced by Raphael's *Madonna of the Fish*, and the attitude of the Madonna by Raphael's *Foligno* altar.[3] Fraenckel compares the figure of the St. Joseph at left to a print by Giulio Campagnola (Kristeller 10). There is, in our opinion, no valid relation in Andrea's picture to this engraving or to any after Raphael, nor to any original by Raphael. Fraenckel adduces, in support of her general thesis of Venetian influence on Sarto, a series of alleged, but unconvincing, resemblances to works by Palma Vecchio. Wagner 1959, 434–435 dates the picture c. 1525.

The mood and the whole conception of form in the painting is very much related, on one hand, to Andrea's work at Poggio, to the lost Pinti fresco of close date, and to the *Dance of Salome;* and on the other hand to the Scalzo frescoes for which we have documents in 1523. The style is in a special vein of Andrea's, which lasts only through these brief years: at once most powerfully monumental and, for him, almost sculpturally plastic, with less concession than before or afterwards to complex painterly effects. The concept of proportion of the human body is also that of this same brief phase, more heavily substantial than in earlier or later years.

A long series of precise associations with Andrea's works of this time, of which we may cite only the most evident, justifies this general observation of the picture's style. The drapery in it is, very closely, like that of the broadest passages at Poggio, in the *Madonna Pinti*, and in the Scalzo works of 1523. The type of the Madonna is, almost literally, that of the Salome in the *Dance of Salome*, to the degree that suggests the same drawing may have served for both. The posture and type of the Christ Child resemble the Child of the *Pinti*, and more exactly the motive of his gesture is that of the Child in the modello for an *Adoration of the Kings*, Uffizi 634E. The Joseph is evolved, in drapery motive and in his *profil perdu*, from the old king kneeling in the same modello (who in turn derives from an antecedent in the Poggio *Tribute*).

As the preparatory drawings show, there must have been the closet chronological connection in the process of design of this altar and the earlier of Andrea's large *Assuntas*, Pitti 191, and there are consequent relations of motive and of types in these two works. In view of this near-contemporaneity in design, the arguments that associate the inception of Pitti 191 with a dating c. 1522–1523 apply by extension to the *Madonna Scala;* see under our discussion of Pitti 191, our catalogue entry no. 52.

PREPARATORY STUDIES

FLORENCE, Uffizi no. 632E. *Recto*, head of a child, three-quarters right, repeated in part in a light sketch to the lower right. *Verso*, study of a right hand and an upper arm, holding a piece of drapery. Red chalk, 24.8 x 18.4. Figs. 70, 71.

Ferri 1893, 132 as Andrea, but without association. Berenson [1938] no. 91 identified the recto for the head of the Child in the Prado altar, and was followed by Knapp 1907, 134. Neither hazarded an identification for the verso, which was made by di Pietro 1911, nos. 60, 61: for the hand of the Virgin in this picture. Fraenckel 1935, 175 gives both identifications.

——— no. 291F. A standing infant, arms extended to the right, the lower torso restudied to the right. Red chalk, 25 x 16.4 (pieced out on the right). Fig. 72.

Ferri 1893, 135 as Andrea, but without association. Berenson 1903, no. 64; [1938] no. 110E and I, 292 for the Child of the Prado altar. So also Knapp 1907, 133; di Pietro 1911, no. 8; Ferri 1916, no. 8; Popham 1930, no. 205; Fraenckel 1935, 170.

The pose developed from a first notation on British Museum 1910–2–12–37r.

The mentality of this moment is interestingly demonstrated by the alteration of the technique of drawing from the left study (the first study on the sheet, despite the initial impression) to the right one: there is a change from Andrea's accustomed "optical" mode to the notation of a "sculptural" effect.

——— no. 318F. *Recto,* a seated male nude, facing left; a left arm. *Verso,* the lower drapery of a seated form, the rest of the figure lightly sketched. Red chalk, 26.4 x 19.8. Figs. 73, 74.

Ferri 1893, 137 by Andrea, but not associated. Berenson 1903, no. 114 identifies the recto for the angel of the Madrid altar. Knapp 1907, 133 inverts his descriptions of the recto and the verso, but correctly associates both, indicating that the study of drapery is for the St. Joseph of this painting. So also di Pietro 1911, nos. 29 and 30 and Fraenckel 1935, 172. Berenson [1938] no. 114 records Knapp's identification of the verso.

——— no. 324F. *Recto*, several studies of arms and hands; legs in a crouching attitude. Torso and legs in red chalk, the rest in black. *Verso*, upper portion of a draped figure, leaning left; upper portion of a nude male figure, the left arm held across the body, red chalk. 25.7 x 20.2. Figs. 75, 76.

Berenson 1903, no. 117 identifies the torso, legs, and left arm of the recto for the angel of the Prado altar, but cannot associate the hands. Knapp 1907, 133 identified the verso for the Madonna and the angel of this picture. Di Pietro 1911, no. 37 identified the hands on the recto for the St. Joseph, and repeats the associations previously given by Berenson and Knapp for the rest. Fraenckel 1935, 173 gives di Pietro's data, and Berenson [1938] no. 117 notes Knapp's identification of the verso.

The pose taken by the nude model on the verso, preparing the Madonna, indicates how much in Andrea's mind the *Madonna Pinti* still was at the time of his invention of the *Madonna della Scala.*

——— no. 645F. *Recto*, drapery of a kneeling figure. Black chalk, 16.7 x 16.1. Fig. 77. *Verso* (see Authentic Unassociated Drawings).

Knapp 1907, 134 doubtfully associates this sheet with the Madonna of the Prado painting. The association confirmed by di Pietro 1911 no. 9, as well as by Fraenckel 1935, 178. Berenson [1938] no. 128A (not in 1903) repeats the identification from Knapp, and as Knapp had hesitantly made it.

LONDON, British Museum no. 1910–2–12–37r. Fig. [118]. On this sheet, among various studies for the putti of the *Assunta*, Pitti 191 (q.v.), are two light sketches in red chalk (one extremely light and rough) which search the motive of pose of the Christ Child of the Scala altar; prior to the studies on the same sheet for Pitti 191, and prior to the developed study for the Christ Child of the Prado painting on Uffizi 291F. The presence on this British Museum sheet of the motive sketches for the *Madonna Scala* was first observed by Shearman 1959, 129.

PARIS, Louvre no. 1685. *Recto*, male head, in profile to the right, gazing upward; red chalk. Inscribed "turpilio." Fig. [117]. *Verso*, a right hand; black chalk. Pasted down, but the verso visible through the front. 19.5 x 15.5. Not illustrated.

Frequently identified only as a study for the head of the Joseph in the *Madonna della Scala*, but in fact made initially for the head of the full-length Apostle left in the *Assunta*, Pitti 191, and reused for the Prado altar. Becherucci 1955, pl. 32 was the first to recognize the double use to which the sheet was put; Shearman 1959, 129 pointed out its priority of purpose for Pitti 191. Shearman properly finds in this double use a cogent argument for the contemporaneity of invention of the Scala altar and Pitti 191. For further critical history of this sheet see its listing under Preparatory Studies for the *Assunta*, Pitti 191.

The hand on the verso (not so far identified) is a slight sketch for the right hand of the Madonna of the Madrid altar; further evidence of the degree of involvement in inventive process between the *Madonna della Scala* and the first *Assunta* in the Pitti. Note the similar interchange, but in the reverse order of precedence, in the use of the drawing just previously listed, British Museum 1910–2–12–37r.

ROME, Galleria Nazionale delle Stampe no. 130494. Two studies of the drapery of a kneeling figure; a nude figure in the same attitude. Counterproof, red chalk, 18.6 x 26.8. Fig. 78.

Published by Ricci 1907, 133 as an original study by Andrea for the Madonna of the Prado altar. Di Pietro 1911, 57 accepts Ricci's opinion. Fraenckel 1935, 184 admits the association of motive, but is unsure of Andrea's hand. Berenson [1938] no. 159E and I, 292n (but not in 1903) accepts both Ricci's estimate and the association he proposes.

This sheet, fuzzy in its *trait* (in part, also, reinforced), and in reverse direction from the painting, is now properly identified in the Corsini Cabinet as a counterproof of a lost drawing by Andrea for the *Madonna della Scala*.

COPIES AND DERIVATIONS (I)

Sold BRUSSELS, Fievez sale, 27–28 April 1934, no. 340. Panel, 170 x 130.

From Dudley House, where it was described by Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 198 as an injured school copy, with the monogram; sold 1892 to the Westminster Collection, and sold from it in London 4 July 1924, no. 109.

Of late sixteenth-century Florentine origin.

Formerly? BURGHAUSEN, Gallery. Canvas, 156 x 116.

The same picture as that sold Cologne, Heberle Gallery, 3–4 June 1893, no. 98.

Of the seventeenth century?

Formerly? DÜSSELDORF, Electoral Gallery. Canvas, 162 x 124.

Mentioned by d'Argenville [1762] I, 145, but in a confused reference that seems to make two paintings of this one. In Cat. Düsseldorf 1778, no. 125 as an original. Perhaps the same as the painting listed below, formerly? Munich.

INCE (near Liverpool). Canvas. Cited by Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 198 as a copy.

Formerly? MUNICH, Pinakothek no. 13 (Cat. 1825). Panel.

Described as an original by Reumont 1835, 80–81. Not in Cat. Munich 1839 or later.

SARASOTA, Ringling Museum no. 27 (Cat. 1949). Panel, 183 x 132. Monogrammed. An alleged provenience from the Cappella Ferroni in SS. Annunziata. From the Buchanan Collection 1841; and from the Holford Collection, Dorchester House, sold London, Christie's, 15 July 1927, no. 98.

Waagen 1854, II, 195 as an old and valuable copy, perhaps by Empoli. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 198, 203 as a school copy. Guinness 1899, 98 as a copy. Cat. Holford Collection, 1927, I, no. 45 as a "later version" of the painting in Madrid. Cat. Sarasota 1949, no. 27 as a copy.

DERIVATIONS (II)

The following derivations belong, in general, to a common type, in which the Madonna and Child only are adapted from the Madrid altar, and another figure (usually that of a young St. John) is added to the right (in place of the angel of the Madrid picture). The multiplicity of derivations of this type suggests the likelihood of a source of some authority, perhaps a picture from Andrea's shop, invented by him or by a pupil on the basis of the designs for the *Madonna della Scala.*

CLEVELAND, H. Balke.

NEW YORK, C. Lowenich. Panel, 93 x 70.

Sold PARIS, Hôtel Drouot, L. S. Collection, 27 May 1911, no. 63. Panel, 91 x 70. Perhaps identical with the painting listed immediately above.

An old note on the rear of the panel states that it was painted by Andrea del Sarto for Donato di Tomasso Gaudagni in 1524. Acquired by the vendor in the Drouot sale from Colnaghi. Of very mediocre quality.

The date on the old note on the rear of the panel agrees with that we could well suppose would fit an adaptation made in Andrea's shop from the recent *Madonna della Scala.* In so far as this information refers to the presumed lost source from which this copy was derived, and not to this inferior painting itself, it may have some value as historical evidence for the circumstance of origin of the former.

RALEIGH, North Carolina Museum of Art no. 198 (Cat. 1956). Panel, 62 x 58.5. Inscribed on the rear "DI ANDRA DELSARTO." From Volpi, Florence; Edward Simon, Berlin; A. Sommerguth, Berlin. Cat. Simon Collection, 1929, no. 8. Berenson 1905, 17; [1932] 17 as an original work by Sarto. Fig. 9.

Of high quality, but smoother in finish and rounder in form than Andrea's own work; this conception has been altered (even in relation to the other examples of this compositional type) to give it a more literal and more genre flavor. A work of the Sarto revival, and with great likelihood by Santi di Tito.

ROME, Galleria Doria no. 439 (Cat. 1942). Panel, 113 x 98.

Morelli [1897] 123 assigns this to a German painter. Cat. Doria 1942 lists it as a work of Andrea's school.

Probably of the seventeenth century, and, as Morelli suggested, by a Northern hand.

Formerly ROME, Alessandro Curti-Lepri.

Engraved by Morghen from this collection, where the picture was believed to be a work described by Vasari as executed for Andrea Sertini, q.v. under Lost Works. Morghen's engraving cited by della Valle in Vasari [1795] VI, 145n (and his citation repeated by Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 18n4; but this author has not been able to locate an example of the print). The description given by della Valle corresponds to this type of derivation from the Scala altar, with a S. Giovanni in place of the angel to the right.

TURIN, Galleria Sabauda no. 127 (Cat. 1899). Panel, 80 x 62.

From the Falletti Collection, Barolo; and see Biadi 1832, 14 for a provenience which takes this picture back to the Capponi and del Rosso families of Florence, and a citation by Cinelli [1677] 167. Reumont 1835, 84 also describes this as a work by Andrea. Guinness 1899, 96 had assigned the picture to Andrea's school.[4]

VIENNA, Collection "G."

Published as an original work of Andrea's by Suida 1934/1936, 184–185.

A pastiche rather than, strictly, another example of this type of derivation. The Christ Child and the St. John follow the accustomed pattern, but the Madonna is synthesized from the *Madonna della Scala* and the *Madonna Pinti.* There may, of course, have been some authority for this also in an old model of the Sarto school, but this picture, probably of the seventeenth century, is not that model.[5]

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[1] Redford 1888, I, 12.

[2] Redford 1888, I, 12; Waagen 1854, II, 478; Madrazo 1884, 115–116.

[3] Of which engravings would have been available to Andrea; of the former by Marco Dente (B. 54), and of the latter by Marcantonio (B. 52 and 53).

[4] Biadi 1829, 149, 283 had incorrectly located this picture as in Lord Castelreagh's collection, London.

[5] A drawing sold London, Sotheby, 7–10 December 1920, no. 294 (red chalk, 39 x 22.9; from the Geiger Collection), is a copy after the angel right of the *Madonna della Scala.*

52 · 1522/1523–1524/1525. ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN. Florence, Pitti no. 191. Figs. [119–121].

Panel, 362 x 209, arched top. It would seem that the panel was originally less high than it is now, with a flatter arch. A visible seam marks the original top limit of the panel: beginning at the springing of the arch, it cuts through the outer corner of the tablet held by the angel-putto left, through the middle of his right wing and the edge of his head, passes about 20 cm above the head of the Virgin, and at the right descends through the left wing of the angel right. All the paint beyond this seam appears to be of different quality and facture than the rest.

The panel has two severe cracks through its whole length: one through its center axis, and another to the right (passing through the back of the Apostle Thomas); two other cracks, less long than these, through the left and right sides. The repaint along these cracks is fairly discreet. Besides the losses along the margin of the cracks, there are pervasive small losses through the picture. The only losses of fair size are in the upper portion of the panel, in the sky.

The painting is not finished. The upper portion of the picture, with the Madonna and angel-putti, is (except for possible slight touches) complete; the lower part conspicuously not so. The following parts in particular are unfinished: the head, drapery, and legs of the figure lower right; the head and parts of the drapery of the figure extreme right; the feet and the right leg of Thomas, center; the feet of the kneeling saint foreground left; the leg and foot of the figure at the left edge of the panel. In general, the heads of the Apostles are in varying states of finish. (Except for the obvious repairs) the quality of painting throughout is unexceptionably autograph, and the character of autograph is made more visible still by the state of incompletion.

The Madonna wears a blue mantle that picks up reflected lights from her dress of faded rose. The angels round the Madonna winged with pale orange and blue. The upper sky shades from neutral middle blue to a yellow-green suffusion behind the Virgin; the clouds are greyish-green blue. A twilight-blue sky lower left; the cliff right shades from a greyish tone toward brown. The main figure lower left in a neutralized yellow-green shirt over a white sleeve; a dulled yellow-gold skirt. The grey-haired man behind and to the right in very dark blue; the figure forward of this one in a rose drapery of mauve cast. The figure center rear in a neutral dark green. The kneeling figure left front wears a mantle of bleached light red and an undergarment of neutral dark blue-green. St. Thomas in a red-orange mantle over a dark green shirt. St. James in tarnished silver-grey over madder. The kneeling figure forward of him in a bleached pink shirt with a yellow-white mantle. The Apostle farthest right wears a shirt *changeant* from muted green to mauve and a lower garment of neutralized yellow. The tomb center is yellow-grey; the foreground a greyed tan.

Vasari 1550, 754 informs us that this altar was painted for Bartolommeo Panciatichi the elder: "Faceva allora in Francia molte faccende di mercanzia Bartolomeo Panchiatichi il vecchio: et desideroso lasciare memoria di sè in Lione; ordinò a Baccio d'Agnolo, che Andrea li dipignessi una tavola, per mandarsi là; nella quale volse una assunta di Nostra Donna, con gli Apostoli che stessino a torno a'l sepolcro.[1] La quale Andrea condusse fin' presso alla fine; ma il legname di quella parecchie volte si aperse: Et così ella rimase adietro non finita del tutto alla morte sua. Questa fu poi da Bartolomeo Panciatichi il giovane suo figliuolo, riposta nelle sue case, come opera veramente degna di lode; per le bellissime figure de gli Apostoli, oltre alla Nostra Donna che da un coro di putti ritti è circundata, senza altri fanciulli che la reggano et portono, con una grazia singularissima." The young Panciatichi's possession of this picture after Andrea's death had been recorded earlier in the *Codex Magliabechiano*, 108. Vasari's description of this *Assunta* is given in sequence just after his mention of the *Madonna di Porta Pinti*. In 1568 [1880] V, 33, Vasari repeats the same information, but adds the following qualifying phrase in speaking of the unfinished state of the picture: "(perchè il legname . . . parecchie volte s'aperse,) or lavorandovi or lasciandola stare, ella si rimase . . . non finito del tutto alla morte sua . . ." He also notes that the picture has changed hands (since his information taken for the first edition), and "È oggi questa nella villa de' Baroncelli[2] . . . in una chiesetta stata murata da Piero Salviati vicino alla sua villa per ornamento di detta tavola." Borghini [1807] II, 222 repeats this last information.

The altar seems almost certainly to have remained continuously in the "chiesetta" at the Villa Baroncelli, and it was acquired, with the villa, by the Archduchess Maria Maddalena in 1602. Moreni II (1792), 161 reports a *memoria* in the *Scrittoio del R. Possessioni* to the effect that Maria Maddalena paid 1000 scudi for a picture by Andrea in the Villa Poggio Baroncelli; the painting is not named or described, but is surely this *Assunta*.[3] It passed into the collections of the Pitti under Grand Duke Pietro Leopoldo.[4]

Vasari's implied date for the beginning of the *Assunta* for Bartolommeo Panciatichi, as we have observed from the sequence in which he cites the picture, would follow closely on the *Madonna di Porta Pinti*, i.e., c. 1522. Vasari's account of the time of the beginning of the picture is taken without contest by Reumont 1835, 198: apparently not long after Andrea's return from France. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 193 only note that the painting was left unfinished at Andrea's death. Guinness 1899, 80, 104 gives a dating c. 1523. It is Knapp 1907, 121, 130 who first among the modern writers seems to have taken Vasari's statement, to the effect that the picture remained unfinished at Andrea's death, as an indication of a late time of origin for the work. He treats it as the last event of Andrea's career; but at the same time he notices that the quality of the picture does not justify any assertion of a late decline in Andrea's powers. Di Pietro 1911, 85 also treats this painting as a late work. Venturi 1925, 598–599 discusses Pitti 191 in sequence after the *Madonna del Sacco* of 1525, but he gives no. 191 precedence before no. 225 (which he regards as a free replica by Andrea's school). Venturi also sees pupils' intervention in the execution of no. 191. He would have Andrea influenced, in 191, by the example of Titian's altar in the Frari. Differently from the current since Knapp's time of opinion that favors a late date, Popham 1930, 56 stands fast on the older mode of dating, placing the altar c. 1521. Berenson [1932] 17, evidently accepting Knapp's view, gives a date of 1531. Fraenckel 1935, 82, 146–147, 230–231n77 puts 191 in 1529–1530, and refers to it as the "Assunta of 1530" or the "late" *Assunta*, to distinguish it from 225, "of about four years before." Fraenckel suggests the possibility of an influence on Andrea's movemented composition from Correggio's *Ascension* in S. Giovanni Evangelista in Parma, and makes other comparisons with Correggio's work. She believes that there may also be some sense in Venturi's proposal of an influence from the Frari Titian. The references to Correggio and Titian are neither of them remotely justified. Properly, however, Fraenckel rejects Venturi's notion of participation of pupils in the execution of 191. Becherucci 1955, 14 regards 191 as the later of the two *Assuntas*, but gives no precise date for either. Wagner 1959, 435 gives dates of c. 1530 for Pitti 191, and c. 1526 for Pitti 225.

The mistaken balance of modern opinion, which puts the Panciatichi *Assunta* into the latest moments of Andrea's career, and considers it posterior to the *Assunta Passerini*, was corrected definitely by Shearman 1959, 124–134. Shearman's argument establishes with certainty that Pitti 191 must have been conceived, as Vasari said it was, in the close chronological vicinity of the Scalzo *Dance of Salome* and the *Madonna della Scala*. That part of Shearman's evidence which explicitly concerns us in the dating of the *Assunta* Panciatichi may be very briefly summarized as follows. Late dating for Pitti 191 results from misinterpretation of Vasari's statement that the picture remained unfinished at Andrea's death. His statement does not say that the picture was unfinished *because* of Andrea's death, but because of the repeated accidents suffered by the panel. Vasari's sequence of events is, at the point where he mentions the Panciatichi *Assunta*, particularly confusing, but there is no doubt that it means to locate the work before late 1523.[5] The preparatory drawings that survive, and which may be attached to one or the other of the two *Assuntas*, are many more in number for 191, and where common motives appear in both 191 and 225, the drawing that survives for them was made for the former. (For Shearman's particular observations on the drawings, and our own comment, see under Preparatory Studies, below.) These drawings include intimate connections of motive with the *Dance of Salome* and with the *Madonna della Scala*; and one drawing (Uffizi 314Fr) not explicitly preparatory but very intimately related in style to the studies for 191, is for a Scalzo basamento dateable 1522–1523. The drawings that survive for the Passerini *Assunta* are not only fewer than those for 191, but have been made only for significantly different motives in the second altar, where the drawings for 191 could not be reused. Shearman concludes with general observations on the style of the two paintings which support the evidence of the relation in time he correctly makes for them.

Shearman's principal and most cogent argument for the dating of the *Assunta* Panciatichi is based, as we observed, on the evidence that he derives from the preparatory drawings for the picture. The date that he arrives at thereby is conclusive, but it must be noted that this date, strictly speaking, applies to the preparation of the painting and its probable beginning, but not necessarily to its entire execution. The upper portion of the painting, the Virgin and attendant angel-putti, is certainly immediately successive on this preparation; there is the closest similarity in the manner of the painting (as distinguished from any evidence of drawing, or community of motives) between this part of the *Assunta* Panciatichi and the *Madonna della Scala.* However, the lower portion of the painting offers a somewhat different aspect, and not only on account of its, in part, unfinished state. There is, among the Apostles, a character of style that we begin to observe only in the works that follow on the Luco *Pietà*, beginning with the *Visitation* of the Scalzo and continuing through the *Cena* of S. Salvi. This manner is distinguished from that of the *Madonna della Scala* and the Scalzo works of 1521–1523 (and from that of the upper part of 191) by a marked lessening of plastic emphasis, and by a deliberate *reprise* of Andrea's former tendency toward complex effects of light.[6] The temper of mobility, in these effects of light and in the rhythms of drawing of the draperies (in part, of course, influenced by the action of the light) is much accelerated from the pictures that precede the *Visitation.* This new complexity and — almost — excitability in temper operate against Andrea's former preoccupation to achieve, as in the *Scala* altar, a dense and monumental form, and the figures seem slighter and more gracile in proportion, and less ponderous in action, than in the works of 1521–1523.

Specific comparisons with works of later 1524 and onward may support these general remarks. For the swift and movemented complication of the light, the analogy is in the *Visitation,* and here also is the shift from the preceding plastic emphasis, and the concomitant alteration to a slighter proportion of the figures, more flexibly mobile. For the drapery handling, the closest analogies for the figures in the foreground of 191 are in the rich complexities of the *Madonna del Sacco*, and not in the repertory used in the *Scala* altar, or in the *Pietà* of Luco. The types of the Apostles, and much in the manner of describing them, relate to the same cast of actors who are in the *Cena* at S. Salvi.[7]

Vasari's account of the circumstances under which the Panciatichi *Assunta* was painted justifies our observation that its manufacture was by no means the product of a single year, or even two; "or lavorandosi or lasciandola stare . . . " Andrea's work may well have extended, in parts, even beyond the limit of 1524–1525 we have assigned. The fundamental invention of the panel and the execution of its upper part were doubtless of 1522–23, but the mode of painting of the lower part, almost altogether, conforms to the style that Andrea had evolved only after an interval, and specifically after his return from the Mugello in 1524. The plague that caused his journey out of Florence may, indeed, have interrupted the program of execution of so large a work as Pitti 191, to be resumed only after Andrea's return. No alteration in any drawing made on the lower panel would have been necessary to create the effects of style that we perceive as different from the upper part; the new effects are those created by the manipulation, in paint, of devices of light and color, and by the rhythmic action of the brush. But it is also not impossible that the actual drawing on the lower panel may have been made only in a second, and later, campaign of work on the picture.[8]

Vasari stated that Andrea's self-portrait has been painted into one of the heads of the Apostles in this picture. In the first edition (p. 754) his statement reads: "in una sommità della tavola è ritratto fra gli Apostoli Andrea nello specchio che par vivo." In the second edition [1880] V, 33 the wording has been slightly altered: "a sommo della tavola è ritratto fra gli Apostoli Andrea tanto naturalmente che par vivo." The phrase of the first edition is rather different in meaning from that of the second. "In una sommità" means in *one* of the top points (i.e., the upper angles of a geometric form); "a sommo" means at *the* top point. A "ritratto nello specchio," in the first edition, implies the customary gaze of a mirror portrait; "ritratto tanto naturalmente" of the second edition contains no such implication. The uncertain meaning of each of Vasari's descriptions of Andrea's portrait, and the disparity between them, have resulted in varied choices among the heads of the Apostles for Andrea's own. Bottari in Vasari [1759] II, 230n2, Biadi 1829, 141n3, Guinness 1899, 80, and Cat. Pitti 1937, no. 191, are among those who disregard Vasari's indication of place altogether, and think the head of the kneeling Apostle left is that of Andrea. Reumont 1835, 198 and Fraenckel 1935, 230 opt for the head at the extreme left of the panel. Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 33n2 and Shearman 1959, 127 consider that Vasari means to identify as Andrea's self-portrait the head of the bald and bearded older man to the rear and just left of center among the Apostles. If we take the wording of Vasari in the second edition, this last identification might well be acceptable. This head, however, does not satisfy the description of the first edition; this does not give the impression of a mirror-portrait, and almost less than any other head among the Apostles is this such as to stimulate, even in Vasari, the characterization of "par vivo." The only heads that reveal the glance as of a mirror portrait are those of the kneeling Apostle and the truncated head at extreme left. Of these two, only the latter is "in una sommità" and it is only this head (Fig. [121]) that accords with the certain iconography of Andrea; these are the features of the late self-portrait on tile (Fig. [213]) in the Uffizi Galleria degli Autoritratti and (earlier, and at that time with this same beard) of the self-portrait identified so explicitly by Vasari in the Annunziata *Adoration of Kings* (Fig. [31]).[9]

The Apostle left of center in the rear cannot be reconciled with any of the authentic items of Andrea's iconography. It should be remembered that when Andrea designed this altarpiece he was thirty-six and probably thirty-eight or thirty-nine when, by our calculation, he executed his self-portrait within it. The Apostle to the rear is an evidently older man. Shearman (1959, 127) compounds the unlikelihood of this identification, and on the same grounds of age, when he states further that the head in the same place to the rear of the Passerini *Assunta* (1526–1529, at the widest permissible margins for its dating) is also a self-portrait, of Andrea grown older still; and the identification becomes quite implausible when we are required to believe (Shearman 1959, 127) that the same model, who serves for the Joseph of the Borgherini *Madonna* (c. 1527) is again Andrea, in a "movingly honest self-portrait." Andrea died at forty-four, not of premature decay, but of the plague; his countenance never wore the look of a man well into his later fifties. His latest appearance is, we repeat, that (so unlike the Borgherini Joseph) in the Uffizi portrait on tile.

The model who posed for Andrea for these types, and whom Shearman confounds with Andrea, appears elsewhere in a guise that cannot conceivably be mistaken for a portrait, much less a self-portrait, as the third Apostle from the right in the Salvi *Cena* (Fig. [171]).[10]

PREPARATORY STUDIES

FLORENCE, Uffizi no. 282F. Drapery study for the figure extreme left in the *Dance of Salome* (q.v.). Fig. 64.

Reused, with minor alterations, for the Apostle left in Pitti 191. Fraenckel 1935, 219n53 had pointed out the reuse of the motive in the two pictures, but not in connection with this drawing, which she regarded as a copy. Shearman 1959, 129 makes the observation that the drawing served both the figure of the *Dance* and *Assunta* 191.

——— no. 303F. Nude model study, in the attitude of the Virgin of Pitti 191; to the right, the left foot of the figure lightly sketched. Black chalk, 26.6 x 19; stained. Fig. 79.

Ferri 1893, 136 and all subsequent authorities (except Knapp 1907) identify the sheet as above. Berenson [1938] no. 111; di Pietro 1911, no. 17; Ferri 1916, no. 24; Leporini 1925*b*, no. 7; Fraenckel 1935, 171; Shearman 1959, 130.[11]

——— no. 323F. *Recto*, draped legs, the right knee raised higher than the left. *Verso*, study of a clothed male model, in the attitude of the Virgin of Pitti 191. Black chalk, 25.2 x 17.6. Figs. 80 [125].

Ferri 1893, 137 identifies the recto as the drapery of the Virgin of Pitti 225; but Berenson [1938] no. 116 correctly says it is for the same passage in Pitti 191, while the verso is explicitly for the whole figure of the Virgin in that painting. So also Knapp 1907, 133 and di Pietro 1911, nos. 35, 36. Fraenckel 1935, 173 associates the recto with Pitti 225 and the verso with Pitti 191, and this is also the opinion of Shearman 1959, 131 and n40. Berenson [1961] no. 116 notes Shearman's opinion.

No such division of purpose between the recto and verso as is proposed by Fraenckel and by Shearman is justified. When this sheet was first used for Pitti 191 (as its verso sufficiently indicates it was) it served, so to speak, as the under-study for that Virgin's drapery, to which the matter of the further drapery study (Uffizi 327F) for a mantle over this skirt was added. The recto was later reused for the skirt of the Virgin in 225, without the concealing drapery; this accounts for the apparent, but erroneous close connection with Pitti 225.

FLORENCE, Uffizi no. 327F. *Recto*, drapery study of a mantle over a skirt, the latter partly indicated. *Verso*, an elaborated and more complete drapery study of the same, with the upper part of the torso more heavily drawn than in the recto. Black chalk, 26.4 x 21. Figs. 81 [126].

Ferri 1893, 137 improperly identified this sheet with Pitti 225. Corrected by Berenson [1938] no. 118, but Knapp 1907, 127, 133 repeats Ferri's error. Di Pietro 1911, nos. 41, 42 and Fraenckel 1935, 173 as Berenson.

——— no. 6431F. A clothed left arm, part of the drapery over the shoulder. Black chalk, 9.3 x 15.3. Fig. 82.

Berenson 1903, no. 123 as Andrea's, but without identification. Knapp 1907, 134 properly associated it with the left arm of Thomas in Pitti 191. So also di Pietro 1911, no. 86; Fraenckel 1935, 178; Berenson [1938] no. 123.[12] Shearman 1959, 131n40 asserts this drawing is to be connected neither with Pitti 191 nor 225, but with the *Madonna Pinti*; but this cannot be correct.[13] Berenson [1961] no. 123 notes Shearman's opinion.

——— no. 1486 Orn. Studies of children in the attitudes of the leftmost and rightmost putti of Pitti 191. Red chalk, 27.5 x 18.6; pieced out bottom left and right. Fig. 83.

Berenson [1938] no. 120 for the angel-putti of Pitti 191. So also Knapp 1907, fig. 118; di Pietro 1911, no. 81; Shearman 1959, 130. Fraenckel 1935, 192 sees these studies as probable copies after lost drawings by Andrea.

HAMBURG, Kunsthalle no. 21459. Study of hair, the head seen from the rear. Red chalk, 32.8 x 27.6, originally on a rectangular sheet but pieced out to an oval of this dimension. Inscribed "turpilio." The contours of the face, neck, and shoulders are a later addition. Fig. [127].

Fraenckel 1935, 178 as an authentic drawing, but without association; so also Berenson [1961] no. 129B (but not in 1903 or [1938]).

For the hair of the kneeling Apostle right in Pitti 191. The connection has been made less obvious by the later sketched lines which give a pose unlike that in the painting for the neck and shoulders.

LONDON, British Museum no. 1910–2–12–37. *Recto*, seven studies of putti, red and black chalk. *Verso*, on the left half of the sheet, bottom, rough sketches of draped standing figures, and top, upside down, a dragon, in red chalk; on the right half of the sheet a standing draped figure in profile to the right, cancelled out with repeated rough strokes of chalk, and farther right a nude female figure in violent contrapposto, black chalk. 20 x 25.5; cut left and right. From the Salting Collection. Figs. [118, 123].

Berenson 1903, no. 141; [1938] no. 138A identifies the recto for the putti of Pitti 191, and describes the main figure on the verso as "a nude female tied to a tree." Knapp 1907, 135 identifies the recto as for the *Assunta*, surely also intending no. 191. Di Pietro 1911, 89 connects the recto only. Colvin, Vasari Society ser. 1, 7:5 (1911–1912) connects three of the sketches on the recto with the "Pitti *Assunta*," but cannot associate the others; apparently he was thinking only of no. 225 and neglected to observe the obvious relation with Pitti 191. Fraenckel 1935, 179 admits the recto is a study for no. 191, but refuses the verso to Andrea, and suggests its author may be Puligo. The pose of the female nude on the verso reminds her of an Andromeda. Berenson [1961] no. 138A notes the identification made by Shearman 1959 (q.v. below) for the red chalk sketches.

For the association of the red chalk torso top center of the recto with the *Madonna della Scala*, see under our catalogue entry no. 51.

Shearman 1959, 129 was the first to establish that the verso forms part of the preparatory material of Pitti 191; we summarize his observations. Shearman points out the relation of the "primary" study on the verso to the left figures of the *Dance of Salome*, and very properly sees in this relation evidence that Andrea was still close to the *Dance* when he began thinking of the design for Pitti 191. The standing figure right of center of the sheet particularly resembles both the left figure of the *Dance* and the left Apostle of no. 191 (still more the latter). To the left side of the sheet the figures lightly sketched are first thoughts for the Apostles, in postures that become, in the painting, more disciplined; the roughly indicated figure left of center becomes the left kneeling Apostle of the painting. These rough sketches on the verso, as well as the studies on the recto, are most intimately related to a drawing in the Lugt Collection, Paris, q.v. below. The dragon that occurs on this sheet, upside down, occurs also on the sheet in the Lugt Collection. Shearman observes that this motive is not to be related to any known work of Andrea's, but it obviously suggests that there should be a companion St. George.[14] For the nude female figure lower right Shearman makes the very reasonable proposition that, despite its extraordinary contrapposto, it is a primitive idea for the Virgin of the *Assunta* 191. We may support Shearman's interpretation by comparing this quick note with the early restudy for the Virgin's posture from the clothed model, Uffizi 323F, much more spirited than either the careful drawing in the nude, of a later stage, or than the pose in the picture.[15] Shearman sees the place of this figure, in relation to the draped Apostle who stands at left,[16] as a deliberate relation of composition, as if the Virgin would be seen rising from the very midst of the Apostles. He speculates that such a composition may have been a memory of ideas Andrea had for an *Assunta*, commissioned to him for the Annunziata in 1515, but which he did not execute, the commission being transferred shortly afterwards to Rosso. This singular idea of composition would be, according to Shearman, a possible accommodation to the relatively broad, low shape of the wall spaces in the atrium of the Annunziata. This notion seems unlikely. It should be observed, first, that the figure of the Apostle beside the Virgin has been most forcefully cancelled out (as if to emphasize that the female figure study was explicitly not to be related to it); and second, that Rosso's *Assunta*, made for the same wall space as Andrea's unexecuted commission of 1515, shows (and quite comfortably) the usual two-tiered arrangement. In consequence of this unlikely notion of compositional type, Shearman reverses (it appears to me) the order of the sketches on this sheet, saying that the red chalk *pensieri* to the far left are a "clarification" of the ideas for the Apostle as he was drawn to the right, in black chalk. Aside from the fact that the figure in black chalk is, on the face of it, nearer to that of the painting, the process of specification of ideas and form obviously proceeds, on this sheet, the other way.

——— Fawkener no. 5210-63. *Recto*, four studies of putti, two of them embracing; a left hand. Red chalk, 20 x 25. Fig. [124]. *Verso* (see under our catalogue entry no. 8, Preparatory Studies).

Wickhoff 1899, 214n2 identified the two figures right on this sheet as studies for the putti lower center of the Vallombrosa altar. Berenson [1938] no. 132 gave a choice of associations: either for the Vallombrosa altar or for Pitti 191. Knapp 1907, 135 makes no association. Di Pietro 1911, 89n makes the precise identification, for the second and third putti from the left, and the second putto from the right, in Pitti 191. Dodgson 1926, 5 repeats Wickhoff's erroneous idea. Fraenckel 1935, 179 respecified the purpose of this sheet for Pitti 191. Shearman 1959, 129 suggests the hand center is probably for the *Speranza* of the Scalzo (paid for 22 August 1523), but this is incorrect.[17] This is a grasping, not a praying hand; it is merely a specification of the left hand of the putto farthest to the right. Berenson [1961] no. 132 notes Shearman's association for the hand.

PARIS, Institut Néerlandais, Lugt Collection no. J2537. *Recto*, two studies of a putto, the right arm raised, the head studied separately to the upper left, in red chalk; to the upper right, the right arm restudied, in black chalk. *Verso*, four draped figures, standing, black chalk; above them, drawn on the side of the sheet and then, upside down, two (three?) studies of a dragon, red chalk. 18 x 25.3; cut top and, probably, at left. From the Flameng and Wauters Collections. Figs. 84 [122].

Described Cat. Wauters sale, Amsterdam, 15–16 June 1926, no. 181, and the recto there identified as containing studies for both paintings of the *Assunta*. Lugt in Cat. *Italiaansche Kunst in Nederlandsch Bezit* (Amsterdam, 1934), no. 644 associated both recto and verso with the *Assunta* compositions (but not specifying which), and pointed out the relation to British Museum 1910–2–12–37r. Shearman 1959, 130 demonstrates specifically that this sheet is for Pitti 191, and that it is a just prior stage in preparation to British Museum 1910–2–12–37. Berenson [1961] no. 159A2 lists the sheet with Shearman's associations.

PARIS, Louvre no. 1685. *Recto* (see under our catalogue entry no. 51, *Madonna della Scala*, Preparatory Studies). Fig. [117].

Reiset 1866, no. 41 without identification. Guinness 1899, 80 for the Apostle at left of Pitti 191. Berenson 1903, no. 149 without identification. Di Pietro 1911, 89n supports Guinness' association. Fraenckel 1935, 179 gives this as a copy, probably after a lost study by Andrea for Pitti 225. Berenson [1938] no. 149 for the Joseph of the Prado altar; so also Bacou 1955, no. 42.

ROME, Galleria Nazionale delle Stampe no. 124156. *Recto*, head in *profil perdu* to the left, looking upward. *Verso*, the same, smaller and at a slightly different angle. Black (dark grey) chalk, 26.7 x 20.8.[18] Figs. [128], 124.

Published by Fraenckel 1933/1934, 8–10 as a study for the head of Thomas in Pitti 225 (which she thought the earlier). The identification repeated by Berenson [1938] no. 159C (but not in 1903). Shearman 1959, 130 notes precisely that the slope of the shoulders in the recto is that of the figure in Pitti 191. He observes also, however, that the verso agrees with the position of the head and shoulders of the saint as they are in Pitti 225, and considers that the verso is a later restudy, made for no. 225. Shearman's argument seems unexceptionable.[19] Berenson [1961] no. 159C approves Shearman's observations.

UNKNOWN PLACE. A partly nude male figure kneeling to the right. Red chalk, 27.4 x 19.8. Not illustrated.

Identified by Shearman 1959, 129, 132, fig. 12 as a life study for the kneeling Apostle in the foreground of Pitti 191.

COPIES AFTER LOST PREPARATORY STUDIES

FLORENCE, Uffizi no. 302F. The nude model study for the Madonna of 191, copied from Uffizi 303F, but with parts repeated to the right, and with details added, apparently after some other sheet by Andrea. Red chalk, 28 x 20.5.

Ferri 1893, 136 as an original drawing by Andrea for the Madonna of Pitti 191; so also Jacobsen 1898, 274; Guinness 1899, 80; Berenson 1903, no. 69, [1938] no. 110K; Knapp 1907, 133 (the last apparently through a confusion; he describes the main original, Uffizi 303F but illustrates 302F). Di Pietro 1911, 87 identified this correctly as a copy after Uffizi 303F, as did Fraenckel 1935, 171. Now catalogued as a copy in the Cabinet.

——— no. 7506F. On the left, a quick sketch of the upper torso of a nude youth, leaning to the right, arms crossed on breast; on the right a capped head in *profil perdu* to the left, looking upward. Red chalk, 13 x 18.5 (two sheets, pasted together).

By Naldini, and so catalogued in the Cabinet; after lost model studies by Andrea for the young St. John left center of Pitti 191 and for the head of St. Thomas in the same picture.

NEW YORK, Art Market. *Recto*, a bearded head, looking upward. *Verso*, a partly nude model, moving toward the right. Red chalk, 23.5 x 16.2; pieced out to the right. Drastically overdrawn. Figs. 85, 86.

Cat. *Exhibition of Drawings by Old Masters*, Slatkin Galleries, New York, 1956, as by Andrea. So much remade that any judgment is difficult; it is not to be excluded that this sheet may be original.

The head on the recto is a finished study for that of the Apostle at the farthest rear, center, of Pitti 191. The verso is an action study for the posture of the Apostle farthest left, before the position used in the painting was finally determined. This pose develops from the first idea on the versos of Lugt Collection no. J2537 and British Museum 1910–2–12–37.

WINDSOR, Royal Library no. 264. Head of an older man, three-quarters right. Black chalk, 23.5 x 16.6.

Attributed in the Windsor Catalogue to Daniele da Volterra. Shearman 1959, 127n4 observes that this is probably a copy after a drawing by Andrea for the head rear, just left of center, in Pitti 191.[20]

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[1] Shearman 1959, 127 indicates that the destination intended by Panciatichi for this painting was, presumably, a chapel founded by him in the Dominican church of Notre-Dame-de-Confort in Lyons. Shearman indicates convincingly that the date of Panciatichi's founding of the chapel was 1517, and not 1526, as an eighteenth-century source erroneously gives it. The church was demolished in 1823. Panciatichi died in Lyons in 1533.

[2] Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 33n3: on the site of the present Poggio Imperiale.

[3] Shearman 1959, 128n17 gives the history of ownership of the Villa Baroncelli, from Anguillesi, *Notizie Storiche dei Palazzi, e Ville appartenenti alla I. e R. Corona di Toscana* (1815) 91. Shearman also remarks there that the *Assunta* must have been at the Villa Baroncelli before 1548, since the house was confiscated at that time by Cosimo I.

[4] Cat. Pitti 1927, no. 191.

[5] Part of the confusion that Shearman found in this section of Vasari's chronology was in fact not such. We have observed that Vasari cites Pitti 191 directly after the *Madonna Pinti,* which is very close indeed to the facts as we can ascertain them. However, at the time of writing of this article Shearman held the incorrect opinion of Ragghianti (which he informs us he has since abandoned) about the dating of the *Madonna Pinti,* which indeed makes Vasari's sequence of events on these pages senseless.

A remark on Vasari's method of chronology: in the case of an artist whose *oeuvre* Vasari knows intimately, as he does Andrea's, groups of works may be described in an order that seems confused, but which on closer examination proves to be a reasonably decipherable game of chronological leap-frog; and the order of individual paintings within each of these "leap-frog" groups may often prove to be a good approximation of the effective historical truth as it is established by other evidence.

[6] That this shift is certainly deliberate, and not a circumstance of the physical place in which the Apostles stand, in shade beneath a cloud, is indicated by the much smoother, less optically varied, handling of this same situation in Pitti 225.

[7] Shearman 1959, 134 himself observed and stressed this relation, but believed at the time he wrote this article that the *Cena* was executed, substantially, shortly after 1520; he was not then in possession of the complete documentary evidence which puts the bulk of payments for the *Cena,* and its probable entire execution, in 1526–1527. Further to this question see under the *Last Supper,* Florence, S. Salvi (our catalogue entry no. 65).

[8] Our dating of the lower part of Pitti 191 involves, as a corollary, that we date its counterpart, no. 225, somewhat later than the time that, it would appear (though he does not specify it), Shearman would assign to it; see our discussion of that picture (our catalogue entry no. 72).

[9] There are no further surviving authentic documents for Andrea's iconography. The portrait in Vasari's frontispiece to the life in the second edition ([1568] III, 149) is taken from the late Uffizi painting, and the "self-portrait" at Cornbury Park is an invention of the late sixteenth century, based on the same source (see in our catalogue of Attributed Paintings). The portrait, also in the Galleria degli Autoritratti (no. 1486) said to be of Andrea by himself, is by him but not of him (see our catalogue entry no. 30). The derivations and pastiches on this latter portrait are obviously not relevant.

[10] It is an unprovable speculation only, but the notion has occurred to me that this often-repeated face may be that of Andrea's father (who lived at least into 1527).

[11] Knapp 1907, 127, 133 discusses and reproduces, instead of this sheet, the copy Uffizi 302F, q.v.

[12] But misquoting Knapp to the effect the study is for Pitti 225.

[13] The pose of the arm here is not the one finally taken for Thomas in the Panciatichi *Assunta,* and its angle does resemble that of the arm of the *Madonna Pinti*; however, the accessory drapery in the drawing is identical with that over Thomas's shoulder in the painting, and does not resemble the drapery over the shoulder of the *Madonna Pinti,* either in the painted copies or in the authentic preparatory study British Museum 1912–12–14–1. Since the pattern of drapery of the *Madonna Pinti* in this British Museum sheet and in the painted copies is the same, there is no reason to assume that any intermediate preparatory drawing showed a different arrangement, such as that we see here. While the angle of the arm in Uffizi 6431 resembles that of the *Madonna Pinti,* there is no indication whatever in this sheet of the foreshortening so clearly apparent in her arm, both in the British Museum study and in the painted copies. The posture of this arm, further, shows no stress of pose such as would be required by the action of the Madonna of the Pinti fresco.

[14] A *St. George* study may not in fact exist, but one seems perhaps to have been invented to justify the dragon, which appears again in another drawing by Andrea, more finished, Louvre 1724r. A later hand has ingeniously mounted, as an artificial verso for this dragon, a drawing by Andrea for a knight on horseback, who served for one of the cavaliers in the background of the *Adoration of the Kings* of the Annunziata. See our remarks on Louvre 1724 under our catalogue entry no. 14 and under Authentic Unassociated Drawings.

[15] There is still, however, some ambiguity in the meaning of this figure. The shapes that extend upward from the figure's shoulders may be read as alternative positions for the arms, or indeed as the branches of a tree, as Berenson [1938] no. 138A saw them; there is some sense in Fraenckel's reading of this form as a possible *Andromeda.* This idea is stimulated by the presence on the same sheet of the sketch for a dragon. It is not impossible that there may have been, here, a confluence, or a quick succession, of ideas in Andrea's mind; not necessarily the result of a wish to design a picture of the *Andromeda* subject, but the result perhaps of a first stimulus of the notion of posture from an *Andromeda* by another painter, or a recall of such a picture while, or after, he drew this *pensiero.* There is a flavor, both in the female nude and in the dragon, of, e.g., the same forms in the painting of the *Rescue of Andromeda* by Piero di Cosimo.

[16] He sees the Virgin as *surrounded* by figures (reminding us that the sheet is cut at right); but the other forms are not evident to me.

[17] This further relation to the Scalzo frescoes of this

approximate time is hardly necessary to Shearman's already excellent case for the "early" date of the *Assunta* 191; indeed it is a later relation than is desirable for the time of invention of the altarpiece.

[18] Incorrectly described by Shearman 1959, facing p. 130, as in red chalk; so also the verso.

[19] However, Shearman asserts Uffizi 323F as an example of a similar case of a drawing made first for no. 191, and then restudied for no. 225, a matter on which we differ.

[20] The following drawings are copied from the painting: Florence, Uffizi 686S (from the kneeling Apostle left foreground); Louvre 10204 (from the Apostle farthest left).

Guinness 1899, 80 thought Uffizi 686S an original preparatory study.

53. 1523. BEHEADING OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST.
Florence, Chiostro dello Scalzo. Figs. [129, 132].

Fresco (grisaille), 194 x 203. Considerably worn, especially in the lower parts.

Payment for this fresco is documented in A.S.F. Comp. Sopp. 1198/28, c. 83: "Et de avere, adì 9 di magio 1523, £. cinquazei sono per dipittura de' quadro de la dicholazione di Sa' Giovani, chome si vede ne nostro ciosttro d'achodiro [sic] £ 56."[1]

Vasari 1550, 753; 1568 [1880] V, 32: following the citation of the *Dance of Salome*. Knapp 1907, 87 points out Andrea's dependence for the major motive of his composition on Dürer's print of the same theme, of 1510 (B. 125), but stresses the differently classical use to which Andrea has converted his borrowings. Sinibaldi 1925*a*, 19 and Venturi 1925, 551 say the architectural motive to the rear is inspired from Raphael's *Mass of Bolsena*, but the connection is not convincing. Fraenckel 1935, 55, 220n55 suggests that the motive of the background may better derive from a print by Cranach of the *Beheading* (B. 62), in which figures are seen leaning over a balcony to watch the execution. Fraenckel feels further resemblances to outside sources: of motive to Raphael's ceiling of the Stanza della Segnatura, and to Verrocchio's relief on the silver altar of the Duomo; and of a principle of composition to Michelangelo's lunettes on the Sistine Ceiling and to Raphael's *Logge*; none of these resemblances would seem relevant. Fraenckel thinks the background of the *Beheading* "wie so oft die Nebenfiguren in den Fresken Sartos" was executed by assistants, but both this specific conclusion and her general statement are not justified.

PREPARATORY STUDIES

FLORENCE, Uffizi no. 652E. *Recto*, a draped male figure standing in profile to the left, pointing. Fig. [130]. *Verso* (not illustrated), two hands, very lightly and roughly sketched. Red chalk, 26.2 x 17.

Ferri 1893, 133 identified the recto as a study for the officer at right in the *Beheading*. Berenson [1938] no. 97 made the same identification, but less positively. Di Pietro 1911, no. 70 is explicit about the same association, as is Venturi 1925, 552. Only Fraenckel 1935, 191 denies Andrea's authorship of the drawing.

The recto is freer than usual for a model sketch by Andrea, and peculiarly responsive to effects of light. Andrea is, here, still searching out his motive, and the posture as well as the drapery he has recorded in the sketch have been altered at a later stage to make a more "Roman" effect.

The verso is not mentioned in the literature. It is also, almost surely, associable with this fresco: at least the hand on the left of the verso is a note for the right hand of the Salome.

——— no. 321F. *Invenzione* for the composition. Black chalk, 9.7 x 13. Rubbed. Fig. [131].

Ferri 1893, 137 identified this sketch correctly as a *primo pensiero* for this Scalzo fresco. So also Berenson 1903, no. 75, [1938] no. 115B and I, 270, 277, 279; Ferri 1916, no. 34; Comandé 1952, 81. Fraenckel 1935, 189, as usual, disagrees, considering the drawing the work of a Mannerist draughtsman.

A characteristic example of Andrea's style in a quick *invenzione*. The general means of indicating form as well as the specific abbreviations for details (e.g., the heads, the legs) appear on Andrea's few other surviving sheets that have a similar purpose; cf. especially the *invenzione* on Uffizi 297Fv. Similarities of thoroughly convincing kind exist also in such sheets as British Museum 5266–86, for the *Naming of the Baptist*, and Berlin 5082, for the destroyed altar of 1528, though the proportions of the figures in these later drawings are more elongated than in this present sketch.[2]

[1] Published by Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 70, but with the written date transcribed as 2 May 1533, and with other errors.

[2] Copies in drawing after the fresco are: Uffizi 16482F, which Berenson [1938] no. 1755A (but not in 1903) gives correctly to Naldini; sold Florence, Guidi Collection, 1910; London, Mond Collection 237r, after the figure at the left.

54 · 1523. PRESENTATION OF THE HEAD OF ST. JOHN. Florence, Chiostro dello Scalzo. Figs. 4 [133–135].

Fresco (grisaille), 194 x 203.

See under our catalogue entry no. 8 for the account of an old misadventure suffered by this fresco. Detached, remounted, and cleaned in 1960–1961. The old disfiguring stains removed; cracks repaired; large losses upper left discreetly restored. Some old restoration, not disfiguring, remains in the form of a pearly wash in the background right and in the foreground center. A conspicuous pentimento in the head of the attendant left rear; the stylus drawing in the plaster indicates that it was at first meant to be bent down forward, in a way that much recalls the head of the figure left front in the *Tribute*, Poggio.

Payment for this fresco is documented in A.S.F. Comp. Sopp. 1198/28, c. 83, under the year 1523: "Et de avere, adì 30 di magio, £. cinquanzei sono pe dipintura de quadro de la rapresettazione de la testa di Sa Giovanni chome si vede ne nostro ciostro, d'achordo. .... £ 56."[1]

Vasari 1550, 753; 1568 [1880] V, 32, in sequence following the citation of the *Beheading of the Baptist*. Knapp 1907, 89–90; Venturi 1925, 553. Fraenckel 1935, 56 remarks the reuse by Andrea of Dürer's woodcut B. 126, and notes the Michelangelesque aspect of the figure of Salome, which she compares to the Judith in the Sistine pendentive, and of the *pensieroso* right, whom she relates to the *Jeremiah*, the *Isaiah*, and the *Persian Sibyl;* all suggestive but by no means commanding resemblances.

PREPARATORY STUDY

BERLIN-DAHLEM, Kupferstichkabinett no. 12924 verso (Fig. [107]). See under Poggio a Cajano, *Tribute to Caesar*, Preparatory Studies (our catalogue entry no. 48). The *pensieroso* motive on this sheet is clearly an afterthought, later than the rest.[2]

[1] Published by Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 70.

[2] The following are copies in drawing after the fresco:

Florence, Uffizi no. 16482BF, by Naldini; from the Morelli Collection. Published by Frizzoni 1881, 127 and by Lübke 1886, 299 as the original preparatory study by Andrea; given by Berenson [1938] no. 1757 to Naldini. Fraenckel 1935, 196 as a copy after the fresco.

Sold Geneva, 15–16 May 1924, no. 141 (after the Salome only).

Paris, Louvre no. 1752 (after the figures to the right of the fresco); no. 1770 (after the figures to the left).

Vienna, Albertina SR 176; assigned by Wickhoff 1891/92 to Pontormo, incorrectly.

55 · 1523. HOPE. Florence, Chiostro dello Scalzo. Figs. 3 [137, 139].

Fresco (grisaille), 194 x 102.

Detached, remounted, and cleaned 1960–1961. The cracking plaster repaired, and disfiguring old reglazing in the darks removed; discreetly restored. Old restoration, in the form of a grey glaze, remains in the lower drapery of the figure.

Payment for this fresco is recorded in A.S.F. Comp. Sopp. 1198/28, c. 83, under date 22 August 1523: "Et de avere adì detto £. vetuna sono per avere dipitto una figura a latto a la porta ne ciostro coè Speranza, d'achordo .... £ 21."[1]

Mantz 1877, 267; Guinness 1899, 93; Knapp 1907, 131; Sinibaldi 1925*a*, 20; Venturi 1925, 555; Fraenckel 1935, 57–58, 152, 220n56. Fraenckel observes Andrea's figure may be related in motive to the same subject by Donatello on the baptistry font, Siena.

We observe in our discussion of the companion fresco to this one, the *Faith*, that she is a portrait of Lucrezia; it should here be suggested that the *Hope* is a portrait of her daughter, Maria. Cf. the head, taken from Maria, in the St. Catherine of the Luco *Pietà*.[2]

[1] Published by Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 70.

[2] For a copy in drawing after the *Hope*, see under the companion fresco, *Faith*.

56 · 1523. FAITH. Florence, Chiostro dello Scalzo. Figs. [136, 138].

Fresco (grisaille), 194 x 110.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 181 place this, with the *Charity*, c. 1520, as do Mantz 1877, 264; Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 69; and Knapp 1907, 131; all apparently on the basis of a withdrawal (debit) from Andrea's account dated 19 August 1520. For our refutation of this interpretation of the document, see under our catalogue entry no. 8, p. 11. Mantz 1877, 268 observes correctly that the figure is a portrait of Lucrezia del Fede, an obvious play on the name. Sinibaldi 1925*a*, 14 follows the precedent of Crowe and Cavalcaselle and of Milanesi in assigning a date of 1520 to the *Faith*. Venturi 1925, 555 discusses *Faith* together with the *Hope*, with the implication of a date in 1523. Fraenckel 1935, 57–58, 153, 221n56 assigns the *Faith* to c. 1523, and insists that it is, if anything, not earlier but later in execution than the *Hope*. She observes that the document of August 1520, applied to the *Faith* by the older critics, is not any more, or less, to be connected with the *Faith* than another document of slightly later date, 6 December 1521.

We have observed that there is no surviving document that can be attached to the painting of the *Faith*, but the frescoes of the Scalzo were, as our consistent experience so far indicates, executed in exact sequence of their places on the wall, counterclockwise. According to this apparent habit, the *Faith* should have succeeded its companion, *Hope*, as well as the *Presentation* and *Beheading*, for which payments are documented within 1523. From the internal evidence of style, the *Faith* fits without obstruction into the usual order of events within the Scalzo, and could take a date in 1523.[1]

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[1] Reumont 1835, 146n1 reports a sketch for *Faith* existed in the Piatti Collection, Florence, and before that had been in the Michelozzi Giacomini and Don Gasparo d'Haro Guzman collections. Guinness 1899, 90 repeats this information.

Copies in drawing after both *Faith* and *Hope* are on Louvre no. 1744, black chalk with touches of red chalk; they should probably be assigned to Federico Zuccaro. The copy after *Faith* reproduced, without our attribution, by Shearman 1960*c*, 219, fig. 8.

57 · 1523. ANNUNCIATION TO ZACHARY. Florence, Chiostro dello Scalzo. Fig. [141].

Fresco (grisaille), 194 x 211. Pervasive minor damage, especially in the figure of Zachary. A damaged date inscribed on the basis of the altar, center, now appears to be 1522, in roman numerals.[1]

Payment for this fresco is recorded in A.S.F. Comp. Sopp. 1198/28, c. 83: "Et de avere adì 22 d'agostto 1523 £. ciquaze sono per dipittura de' quadiro del' Anuzazone [*sic*] di Sa' G[i]ovani, chome si vede ne' nosttro ciosttro, d'achodiro .... £ 56."[2]

Vasari 1550, 759; 1568 [1880] V, 40–41 mentions this, with the *Visitation* of the Scalzo, in a chronological context that can be identified from other sources as c. 1524. Reumont 1835, 142 considers the fresco "apparently" of 1524. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 182 give the date of payment from the document above. Guinness 1899, 90 repeats the information of Milanesi for the inscribed date and the date of the document. Knapp 1907, 90, 131 reports a monogram, and reads the inscribed date 1522, and misquotes the date of the document as 13 August 1523. He describes the *Annunciation* as the most painterly of all of Andrea's frescoes, marking a change in style he sees in it from the just preceding Scalzo frescoes. Sinibaldi 1925*a*, 20 and Venturi 1925, 555 refer to a relation with Ghirlandaio's fresco of the same subject in S. M. Novella. Fraenckel 1935, 58, 153 affirms that it is impossible on grounds of style to accept that the correct reading of the inscribed date should be 1522. She suggests (incorrectly) assistants' participation in the figures to the right.

From our experience of the close relation between time of execution of a painting and the payment for it in the Scalzo project, it would not seem necessary to take the disputable evidence of the damaged date as it now reads in the fresco into serious consideration. Still more closely than the Scalzo frescoes paid for earlier in 1523, this one approaches the character of geometric composition, and the quality of increased optical responsiveness, that are in the *Visitation*, paid for late in 1524.

PREPARATORY STUDIES

MADRID, Prado no. 2767. *Recto*, head in profile to the right, lightly sketched, red chalk; a nude boy moving to the right, the skirt of a standing figure; the arms of the nude boy, twice restudied, a hand; the latter all black chalk. *Verso*, legs of a male figure; a draped female in profile to the right, black chalk. 19.9 x 28. Figs. [140, 142].

Published by Fraenckel 1935, 197–198 as a shop drawing with corrections by Andrea's hand; a case we do not know elsewhere. Fraenckel points out the connection of each study with a detail of the *Annunciation to Zachary*, but will not admit their preparatory function. Fraenckel states the sketches of the boy, recto, were used in the S. Godenzo *Annunciation*, and the female figure, verso, in the predella panel with the *Beheading of the Baptist* from the Vallombrosa altar.

The drawing seems to us wholly autograph, and it prepares, on its recto, the angel and the lower drapery of the female spectator left in the *Annunciation to Zachary*; and on its verso, prepares the upper drapery of the same figure and the legs of the male figure to the right.

COPY AFTER LOST PREPARATORY DRAWING

PARIS, Louvre no. 1672 (top center drawing of four sheets on one mount, catalogued under the one number together with three studies by Fra Bartolommeo). Head of a bearded older male, in profile to the left. Black chalk, diameter 7.5. Inscribed in a later hand with Andrea's name. From the Mariette Collection.

Reiset 1866, no. 53 by Andrea, without identification, and incorrectly assigning the two other smaller drawings on this mount to Andrea also. Berenson [1938] no. 142A (but not in 1903) isolates this head for Andrea, assigning the remaining drawings to Fra Bartolommeo, Berenson identifies the Sartesque study as for the Zachary in the *Annunciation*.

Too bland and too minutely finished to be by Andrea himself; at best a copy from a lost study, and at worst taken from the fresco.[3]

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[1] Milanesi speaks of the presence in the fresco of "la solita cifra," which is not visible. He says of the date that its last four figures are almost eradicated. Borenius in Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 189n3 read the inscribed date as 1521.

[2] Published by Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 70.

[3] Guinness 1899, 90 cites, as a preparatory study for the Zachary, a sheet in the Corsini which I have not been able to identify.

The following are copies in drawing after the painting: Sold Brussels, Fievez-Bezine sale, 14–15 June 1927, no. 88; Oslo, National Museum (from the four figures to the right of the fresco only); London, British Museum 1946–7–13–529, from the Fitzroy Fenwick Collection (including the basamento of the fresco); Paris, Ecole des Beaux-Arts no. 362/1 (after the female figure to the left); Louvre no. 1733.

58 · late 1523–1524. PIETÀ. Florence, Pitti no. 58. Figs. [144, 149].

Panel, 238 x 198. Monogrammed on the stone beneath the Christ.

The seams of the panel have spread slightly, but only the center seam has opened sufficiently to require repair and some repainting. The condition of the picture is, in general, exceptionally good. The altar lacks its original frame, and also lacks its predella, which have remained at the church in Luco in the Mugello for which the painting was done. This predella (Figs. 11a, 11b) however, is of significantly later date than the altar (toward the midcentury) and by another hand.[1]

St. John in a cool blue dress with a touch of white sleeve showing above the right elbow; a light rose mantle over. St. Peter in a yellow-gold mantle over a dark blue shirt. Christ in an icy blue loincloth sits on a white sheet. The Virgin in a grey-white hood and mantle over a madder dress. The Magdalen wears a greyed yellow-green scarf over a salmon-pink dress that bleaches to pale yellow-gold in the strongest lights. Catherine has a pale yellow scarf over a neutral darkened blue-green dress. She wears a fillet, striped green and mauve, in her brown hair. Paul in a paled violet shirt and reddish-orange mantle. The background to the left greyed brown; to the right blue-green. The foreground earth a pale brown.

Vasari 1550, 758 informs us of the circumstances in which this altarpiece was done. "Venne l'anno MDXXIII. che in Fiorenza fu la peste, et Andrea impaurito, non sapeva dove ritirarsi." [2] Then, after citing two further works, a Madonna and a portrait, Vasari continues: "Era divenuto amicissimo suo Antonio Brancacci, il quale aveveva interesse con le monache di Luco in Mugello, le quali desiderose di avere una tavola che fussi onorevole, Antonio ne ricercò Andrea, il quale accordatosi seco ordinarono che egli fuggissi la peste in Mugello da quelle monache, et in mentre facessi questo lavoro. Et così messosi in ordine menò seco la moglie, et una figliastra, con la sorella di lei, et un garzone, et in Mugello se ne andorno; dove stando quietamente, messe mano in quell'opera: et ricevendo da quelle donne ogni dì nuove carezze, egli con grandissimo amore si pose a lavorare quella tavola. Nella quale fece un CHRISTO morto, pianto dall Nostra Donna, San Giovanni Evangelista, et la Magdalena, figure che col fiato et con l'anima paiono vive. Oltra che si scorge quella tenera dilezzione di quello Apostolo, et l'amore della Magdalena nel pianto, oltra il dolore intenso nel volto et attitudine della Nostra Donna: la quale vedendo il CHRISTO che par' veramente di rilievo in carne, et morto, fa di terrore temere un San Piero, et stupire un San Paulo, che contemplano quella passione. La qual'opera fa conoscere, quanto egli si dilettassi delle fini perfezzioni dell'arte. Perilchè più nome ha dato tal'opera a quel munistero, che quante fabbriche et spese vi sono state fatte." In 1568 [1880] V, 38–39 Vasari gives the same information in slightly altered form. Vasari's report is confirmed by a document that existed for this altar, and for other work (now lost) done by Andrea at Luco. This document is Andrea's receipt, from the year 1524, at one time preserved in A.S.F. Conv. Sopp. 155 (S. Pietro di Luco di Mugello) Debitori e Creditori B dal 1502 al 1527, c. 186: "L'anno 1524. Io Andrea di Agnolo del Sarto a dì 11 ottobre 1524 ho ricevuto fiorini ottanta d'oro di quei larghi della Tavola dell'Altare grande; e di una mezza Tavola della Visitazione da donna Caterina della Casa, fiorentina, Badessa di Luco; et in fede di ciò ho scritto di propria mano questo dì et anno suddetto." A postscript (of later date) reads: "Et io Raffaello suo garzone il dì 6 ottobre 1527 ho ricevuto dalla suddecta Badessa scudi dieci d'oro per magistero della Tavola di Andrea del Sarto; et in fede di ciò ho scritto di propria mano." [3] Vasari tells us [1880] V, 40 that an attempt was made to remove the *Pietà* from Luco during the Siege of Florence but was successfully resisted. The painting remained at Luco until 1782, when it was bought by the Grand Duke Pietro Leopoldo; a copy made in 1783 by Santi Pacini was substituted.[4] The original was first put into the Tribuna of the Uffizi, but in 1795 was exchanged with the Pitti for the *Madonna of the Harpies*. The *Pietà* was taken to Paris in 1799, and returned to the Pitti in 1815.[5]

Described by Borghini [1807] II, 223. Baldinucci [1769] IV, 194n1 knows the receipt transcribed above, but dates it 1528. Richa IX (1771) 230 (Appendix by Dott. Andrea Pietro Giulianelli) describes the painting, then still at Luco. Biadi 1829, 87–89 cites the document in part and gives its date as Baldinucci, 1528; so also Reumont 1835, 174–175, 177n1. Dating the picture 1528, Reumont has assumed the occurrence of plague Vasari mentions just before Andrea's painting of this picture must have been that which occurred in 1527. Reumont observes the relation of the idea of this design to Bartolommeo's painting of 1516–1517. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 187 place the picture in 1524; as do all subsequent authorities, basing themselves on Milanesi's publication of the document. Guinness 1899, 76 notes that the figure of St. Peter reappears, in the Scalzo *Visitation*, as Joseph. Knapp 1907, 96, 129 and Venturi 1925, 584 both mention the picture with scant appreciation. Fraenckel 1935, 64, 142, 222n61 observes the antecedent in Perugino for this composition (Uffizi 8365) (a valid connection, but more in the sense of compositional type than in respect of motive or particular effects of style), and repeats the older observation of connection with Fra Bartolommeo's picture. Fraenckel feels that, beyond this compositional basis in Florentine tradition, the whole remaining character of the picture shows the influence of Venetian art, of Giovanni Bellini especially. Fraenckel is correct in her statement that Andrea's painting, like those of the Venetian Bellini, intends an *Existenzbild*, but her evidence of particular connections with Venetian art is quite invalid. Shearman 1959, 130 dates the painting 1523–1524.

The *terminus ante quem* for the time of painting of the Luco *Pietà* is of course the document of receipt for payment, dated 11 October 1524; and a *terminus post quem* is presumably to be found in the documents of 22 August 1523, for the *Hope* and the *Annunciation to Zachary* of the Scalzo. The *Pietà*, the most important of the works done at Luco, may (but also only presumably) have been the first to have been undertaken there.

The presence of one at least of the two attendant saints, Peter, is accounted for by the fact that he is the titular saint of the church at Luco. St. Paul is an obvious companion, though the pair are not usual in a Pietà.[6] The precedent for the presence of the two saints may have been in the alleged original state of Fra Bartolommeo's Pitti *Pietà*, to which Andrea obviously referred. The St. Catherine at right is an obvious allusion to Caterina della Casa, the abbess of the convent referred to in Andrea's receipt for payment. The women who accompanied Andrea to his retreat in the Mugello served as models for the female saints of this picture: Lucrezia for the Virgin, her sister for the Magdalen, and the young Maria del Berrettaio, Lucrezia's daughter, for the Catherine.[7]

PREPARATORY STUDIES

FLORENCE, Horne Foundation no. 5543. Rough compositional sketch of a Pietà with attendant figures. Black chalk, 14.2 x 16. Fig. [143].

Berenson [1961]no. 56A (but not in 1903 or [1938]), on the indication of this author, uncertainly suggests that this sketch may represent a first idea for the *Pietà* at Luco. Not elsewhere mentioned in the literature.

A completely characteristic example of Andrea's style in his first ideas for a composition: compare especially, for the mode of drawing and for mannerisms of detail, the *invenzione* for the (lost) Berlin altar, Berlin no. 5082 (our catalogue entry no. 76). The Horne sketch prepares the last version of the design for which we have evidence in drawing (in the copy) Uffizi 642E, q.v. below. The order of Andrea's surviving projects of design for the Luco altar is: Louvre 1677, British Museum 1895–9–15–546, Horne 5543, Uffizi 642E (copy). The executed painting differs, however, even from the latest plan.

——— Uffizi no. 644E. Head of a young woman, looking down and to the left. Red chalk, 21.5 x 16.5. Fig. [148].

Milanesi 1880, V, 39n1 had indicated that this drawing served for the head of the Magdalen in the Luco painting; Andrea's authorship and this association are universally accepted: Ferri 1893, 132; Jacobsen 1898, 273, no. 101; Guinness 1899, 76; Berenson [1938] no. 94; Knapp 1907, 134; di Pietro 1911, no. 66; Ferri 1916, no. 7; Leporini 1925*b*, pl. 3; Venturi 1925, 586; Fraenckel 1935, 176.

LONDON, British Museum no. 1895–15–546. Compositional study for a *Pietà*. Black chalk, 21.9 x 17. Inscribed at bottom, in a later hand, "Andrea fece alle Monache di Monte Luco, ne parla il Vasari." Fig. [145].

Robinson in Cat. Malcolm Collection, 1876, no. 109 as a study by Andrea for the Luco painting. Berenson [1938] I, 288n3 describes this as a copy from a design by Andrea for the Luco painting. Catalogued in the Cabinet as a copy.

In our opinion, an authentic study for the composition of the Luco altar, preceding the Horne sketch and the lost drawing that Sogliani copied on Uffizi 642E. The name saint of the Luco church, Peter, is in the place of the St. John Evangelist of the final composition; but apparently, at this stage, the other saints to be included in the painting had not yet been certainly decided: here they are, besides the necessary Magdalen, John Baptist and Sebastian.

The general style of drawing in this sheet accords with that in Uffizi 642E, and the fact that a reflection of such a style as this, for which there is no exact parallel elsewhere in Andrea's surviving *oeuvre*, exists gives some support for our thinking that this sheet is actually Andrea's. The generic similarity with the copy Uffizi 642E is evident, but no less is the great difference in quality of draughtsmanship between the two sheets. In this drawing, the very complex light is handled so as to achieve an entire consistency, finely differentiated and of utmost subtlety in modulation, very different from the copyist's schematic imitation. The sensibility and the authority of the quick-movemented line are also conspicuously unlike the scratchings of Sogliani in the copy; and there is, here, such a precise searching and realization of sensitive and meaningful detail as only an inventing eye and hand can find.

We believe we have, on this sheet, another of Andrea's rare modelli, but one unique (among his surviving work) in its special kind, not so definitive in its intention nor so finished as are Uffizi 634E, for an *Adoration of the Kings*, or Louvre 1670, for a *Pentecost* (which, as we suggest below, might have been for the predella of this same altar). Indeed, these modelli, *prima facie*, would have represented, even in precise subject matter, an only tentative idea, something for consideration of the patron at an early stage. The present sheet nevertheless compares, in structure, in concern with light, in mood, in modelling of drapery, and in the fine and nervous draughtsmanship with Andrea's manner in the more developed, and we think contemporary, modello, Louvre 1670 (Fig. [241]).[8]

PARIS, Louvre no. 1677. *Pietà* with Sts. John Baptist and Peter.[9] Red chalk, 17.7 x 15.3. From the Jabach Collection, no. 39, listed in the Jabach Inventory as a work of the Florentine school. Fig. 88.

Reiset 1866, no. 35 as Andrea. Berenson [1938] no. 1765 as a copy by Naldini after a lost drawing of Andrea's, noting also a further copy, of lesser quality, Uffizi 635E.

This sheet does not seem to be a copy, and it does not accord with any manner, even as a copyist, of Naldini's. We suggest that in quality and in style this sheet is close in some respects to the modello British Museum 1895–9–15–546 for the Luco altar, and in others to Uffizi 630E, a composition sketch in somewhat different, less deliberated vein (for an unused idea for the *Paramento* of Cortona, almost contemporary). In the London drawing cf. the head, the anatomy, and the quality of posture of the St. John; also cf. the head of Christ here with that of St. Sebastian; and cf. the mode of stroking in the background. In Uffizi 630E, cf. the manner of indicating the heads, the drawing of anatomy, and the strong, cursive trait in general. Comparison for the drawing of the head of Christ and of the Magdalen may be made also in the drawings for the *Cena,* Uffizi 663E and 664E.

The presence here of one certainly, and probably two, of the saints who appear in the discarded composition British Museum 1895–9–15–546 and the permissible dating, on grounds of style, of the present sheet c. 1524 encourage the suggestion that it represents a further discarded plan, probably the earliest of all, for the Luco altar. It should be observed that the idea for the head of the Madonna in this plan reappears in the painted work. Though the sheet differs more than the two other projected designs from the final version, in this detail it is closer than they.[10]

——— 1682/1. *Recto,* two left hands interlaced. *Verso,* a hand supporting a portion of a torso, lightly sketched, at the armpit. Red chalk, 9.5 x 15.7 (pieced out at the upper corners). From the Mariette Collection. Figs. 89, 90.

Reiset 1866, no. 39/1 assigns the sheet to Andrea but makes no association. Guinness 1899, 76 identified the recto as for the left hands of Christ and of the Madonna in the Luco painting. Berenson 1903, no. 147 and Knapp 1907, 135 to Andrea, but without association. Venturi 1925, 588n1 identifies the recto only, as Guinness. Fraenckel 1935, 199 considers both recto and verso copies after the painting. Berenson [1938] no. 147 adds, for the recto only, Guinness' identification. Rouchès 1939, no. 9a describes the recto only with the same identification. Bacou 1955, no. 40 finally published the identification of the verso, for the left hand of St. John in the Luco altar, as he holds the Christ.[11]

——— no. 1715. Model study, in the attitude of the Christ of the Luco *Pietà.* Red chalk, 20 x 26.3 (right upper side pieced out). From King William II of Holland. Fig. [146].

Reiset 1866, no. 50 identified the drawing as above, and it is so universally taken by later critics. Berenson [1938] no. 155. For complete bibliography see Bacou 1955, no. 39.

A study that demonstrates an exceptional sympathy with the intended sense and feeling of the subject, and in this respect superior to the rather academic translation of the model into painted form.

——— no. 1716/1. Head of a young girl, evidently a portrait, three-quarters to the left. Black chalk, 13.1 x 10.8 (cut out and pasted down). Inscribed in a later hand "Andrea del Sarto." From Sir Thomas Lawrence and King William of Holland. Fig. [147].

Reiset 1866, no. 51 had identified both this and the (later portrait) drawing of the same subject on the same mount as studies for the St. Catherine at the right of the Pitti *Pietà,* but his identification was taken up among later critics only by Guinness 1899, 76 and di Pietro 1911, 51. Di Pietro observed that this head is that of Maria del Berrettaio. Berenson [1938] no. 156 gives no association. Bacou 1955, no. 50 identifies the model as the same person who is studied on Uffizi 306F, Ecole des Beaux-Arts 34163, and Louvre 1716 *bis.* Becherucci 1955, pl. 26 suggests this may be a first idea for the St. Catherine of the late (lost) Berlin altar, but without good reason.

Bacou is exact in her identification of the same model in the series of drawings she names; and that, further, this subject is Maria del Berrettaio may be established by comparison with the portrait, so to be identified, of the *Girl with a Petrarchino* in the Uffizi; di Pietro 1911, 51 had already pointed out this resemblance. In the present drawing, however, the subject is clearly a few years younger, still adolescent, as she is no longer in the painted portrait or in Louvre 1716 *bis*.

The pose of the subject in this drawing, except for the portraitlike gaze of the eyes, is within a fraction that of the head of St. Catherine in the Luco painting; the coiffure and the cap are quite the same. In the painting, as is Andrea's frequent habit, the features of the model have been made somewhat more regular.[12]

VIENNA, Albertina no. R162 (inv. no. 4867). Head of a woman, wearing a cap, looking downward. Red chalk, 19.6 x 13.9. An old inscription has been obliterated. Fig. 91.

Schönbrunner and Meder 1893–1908, pl. 562 as Andrea. Berenson [1938] no. 160 for the Madonna of the Luco *Pietà*; so also Knapp 1907, 135. Cat. Albertina 1932, III, R162 takes this as Andrea's but without association. Fraenckel 1935, 184 as Berenson and Knapp.[13]

COPY AFTER LOST PREPARATORY STUDY

FLORENCE, Uffizi no. 642E. Composition study for the Luco *Pietà*. Black chalk, 27.5 x 22.5. A later sixteenth-century inscription "di mano da'drea del sarto." Fig. 87.

Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 39n1 referred to this drawing as the "design" for the Luco *Pietà*. Ferri 1893, 132 and Guinness 1899, 76 repeated this opinion. Di Pietro 1911, 48 published the drawing as a *ricordo* of a first *pensiero* for the altar (not knowing the Horne sheet, which must take precedence to this). Catalogued in the Cabinet as a copy by Sogliani, which seems the correct attribution. Venturi 1925, 587, however, still regards the sheet as an original, of masterly quality.

This drawing shows motives that appear in the two authentic composition studies and in the painting, and it is much more likely a copy, rather than a free *ricordo*, of a lost study by Andrea for an intermediate stage in his thinking of the composition of the picture.

The peculiar complicated lighting and febrile draughtsmanship of this sheet are not the invention of the copyist, but an accurate reflection of Andrea's style in the lost original; cf. British Museum 1895-9-15-546. From the evidence of Uffizi 642E, it would appear that when it was made there was still some liberty, or uncertainty, in respect to the choice of saints to be represented in the painting. The St. Catherine (who pays compliment to the abbess of the convent) was not at first intended, and the tardy decision to introduce her (somewhat uncomfortably, in fact) required the alteration, from the posture taken in the drawing, of the Magdalen. This scheme represents the most rigidly classical, even academic, moment among Andrea's ideas for the composition; the painting (probably as a result of the introduction of the Catherine) required some adjustment of the literal symmetry of the present drawing.[14]

COPY

LUCO (Mugello), S. Pietro. By Santi Pacini, painted in 1783 to replace the original; cf. the history of the altar, above.

A.S.F. Conv. Sopp. 155/26, c. unnumbered, under date 1782, and under the name of Tomasso Gherardini, informs us that the original was estimated by Gherardini for sale to the Grand Duke Pietro Leopoldo at 2400 scudi, and the painting transferred to the Gallery; in 1783, the copy, by Pacini, was substituted in place of Andrea's painting.[15]

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[1] Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 39n1 wrongly suggests that the predella may have been the work of Raffaello, the *garzone* who was with Andrea. However, it shows a character of style resembling that, e.g., in the late pictures of Michele di Ridolfo. The subjects of the six predella panels are: *St. Gregory*, the *Last Supper*, *Two Angels*, an *Agony in the Garden*, *St. Nicholas of Bari*. There are also small painted tondi, with half figures, in the frame. We have no sure knowledge that a predella by Andrea, or by a direct assistant of his, was ever executed.

[2] For the time of the plague, see, among others, F. Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, books 14–15; B. Cellini, *Vita*, ed. Tassi [Florence, 1829] 109n3.

[3] Published by Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 71. The book cannot now be found in A.S.F. A.S.F. Conv. Sopp. 155/26 (Spogli di documenti del Monastero), 1223–1775, c. unnumbered, gives the following: "1524. Sarto, Andrea del, Pittore, Sua ricevuta per saldo della tavola che ci dipinse per la nostra Chiesa, rappresentante la Pietà, e che fu collata all'Altare Maggiore. Debitori e Creditori B dal 1502 al 1527, a c. 186."

[4] Lanzi [1824] 209–210; Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 39n1; and see under our listing of this copy, below.

[5] Cat. Pitti 1937, no. 58.

[6] Fraenckel 1935, 222n61 asserts, apparently on the

basis of Lastri, *Etruria Pittrice* (1791), that St. Paul is a second titular saint of the Luco church.

[7] The identification given by Comandé 1952, 90 of the Magdalen as Maria is incorrect. It is the Catherine whose face appears a few years later, and more mature, in the Uffizi Portrait of a *Girl with a Petrarchino* and in the more or less related drawings. She appears also in a drawing (Louvre 1716/1) that we assume is probably a preparatory study for the Luco altar, in which the model irresistibly compels that the study be a portrait.

Maria was born 1 January 1513 (st. c.); see the document of baptism in Rossi 1930, 23n8.

[8] The attribution of the British Museum sheet requires justification on more than grounds of an association with the Luco altar, and on grounds more precise than those of quality. We suggest the following comparisons of the *trait* and of details with other sheets we think Andrea's, set down roughly in chronological order. Melbourne (for the Baptist of the Scalzo *Baptism of the Multitude*), for the manner of drawing in the nudes, not only in modelling but in contour. Louvre 5946 (for the Infant Christ in the *Harpies*), for the quick sfumato handling of the chalk, and very conspicuously, for the likeness in expression of countenance to the Sebastian here. Uffizi 304F (for the Borghese *Madonna and St. John* no. 334), for the accented, quick *trait* of contour and for the likeness in the abbreviated notation of the head of the Magdalen here. Uffizi 648Ev (for Poggio) for the drawing of the hand, to be compared especially with the right hand of our Sebastian. Uffizi 652E (for the captain of the *Beheading of St. John*) for the system of proportion, for the complexity of light, and for the flattened, elongated profile of the face; cf. also the feet in this sheet with those of the Christ here. Uffizi 318F (for the angel of the *Scala* altar), for the drawing of the legs, and for the comparison of the right hand with that of the Magdalen here. In British Museum 5210–63v (for the *Assunta* no. 191) compare, for the character of contour and the mode of indication of the faces, the two putti right especially with the Sebastian here. Uffizi 327F (for the drapery of the Madonna in Pitti no. 191), compare with the drapery of the Madonna here. Madrid (for the *Annunciation to Zachary*) cf. the hands and hair. In British Museum 5226–86 (for the *Naming of the Baptist*) cf. the *trait* in this quick study, also the attenuated profile heads (especially the Zachary with the Peter here).

[9] The attribute not clearly indicated.

[10] The original copied on Uffizi 635E, red chalk, 18 x 15.5. Catalogued by Ferri 1893, 132 as Andrea; noted by Berenson [1938] under his no. 1765.

[11] For Louvre 1682 *bis* see in our Catalogue of Attributed Drawings.

[12] Reiset's old association of this study with the St. Catherine of the Luco *Pietà* is thus correct, but 1716 *bis* should be separated from it, as a record of Maria's countenance at a later date, related very probably to the painted portrait in the Uffizi, see our catalogue entry no. 82.

[13] It is possible that the modello by Andrea, Louvre 1670, for a *Pentecost*, may have been intended to serve for a predella panel for this altar. The subject, in which the Virgin is associated with Apostles, as in this *Pietà*, would be acceptable, and the apparent scale implied in the modello seems appropriate. The drawing shows, in our opinion, just the combination of elements of style that appear in the altarpiece, and that permit it to be assigned to the same date: a very rigorous rectilinear scheme of whole design and, at the same time, a peculiar sensibility to light. Drapery style is also very similar. The type and even the dress of the Virgin in the modello and in the painting are identical, and the types of the Apostles quite the same.

Our association of this drawing with the Luco work is necessarily tentative; and the drawing does not so strongly imply the existence of a picture as do the modelli Louvre no. 231 and Uffizi no. 634E. We have therefore thought best to catalogue Louvre no. 1670 with the authentic but unassociated drawings.

[14] Doubtfully, but incorrectly, associated with the Luco *Pietà* (Berenson [1938] no. 159; Fraenckel 1935, 183) is École des Beaux-Arts no. 352, described as a study for the Magdalen of this picture. It belongs instead with the preparatory matter for the altar formerly in Berlin, q.v. under our catalogue entry no. 76.

[15] Louvre nos. 1735 and 1736 are copies in drawing after the painting.

59 · c. 1524. THE DEAD CHRIST. Florence, S. Salvi. no. 8675. Fig. [150].

Fresco (detached), 182 x 113, arched top.

Considerably damaged: faded by weathering; numerous small losses and some of larger size; a particular disfigurement in the area to the right of Christ's left knee, continuing rightward to the lowest right corner of the fresco. The losses in part restored, but not disfiguringly overpainted.

The flesh of somewhat yellowed tone, with smoky shadows of a violet cast. A light madder loincloth. To the lower right a pale yellow-orange cloth, with the metal head of the lance on it. The lower left foreground light tan; the rest of the ground against which the figure is relieved a mixed tone of greyed lilac and greyed green.

Vasari 1550, 755 describes this work in the convent of the Annunziata: ". . . una Pietà colorita nel noviziato, in fresco in una nicchia, a sommo a una scala, che fu molto bella." He gives the same information in 1568 [1880] V, 34. Borghini [1807] II, 222; Bocchi [1677] 465–466; del Migliore 1684, 297; Richa VIII (1759) 64; all mention the painting *in situ*. The fresco was detached by Francesco Zuccharelli and transferred to the Academy on the suppression of the convent in 1810[1] Reumont 1835, 116 cites the fresco as Academy no. 43; Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 176n5 and Knapp 1907, 130 cite it as Academy no. 75. More recently transferred to S. Salvi.

The dating of this fresco has offered conspicuous difficulty. Vasari's sequence of events, at this point in his narrative, is not helpful; he cites, in the close vicinity of the Annunziata *Pietà*, works which are dateable from c. 1517 through the middle twenties. Reumont 1835, 116 dates the painting 1519; Guinness 1899, 101, 1508–1509; Knapp 1907 48, 130 gives the date c. 1525, and emphasizes that the mode of lighting requires it to be placed in the middle twenties. Sinibaldi 1925*a*, 14 associates it, quite differently, with the *Birth of the Virgin*, and would date it c. 1514; and this is also the implication of Venturi 1925, 542. Fraenckel 1935, 44, 149, 216n47 gives a date c. 1515. Fraenckel correctly advances a Düreresque connection, unspecifiable but none the less present, for the painting, and compares the title leaf of the small woodcut *Passion* B. 16. Paatz [1955] I, 133 dates the fresco shortly before 1525. Wagner 1959, 433 follows Fraenckel in dating. Fraenckel does not assert of this picture, as she does of so many (later) works of Andrea, that it shows Venetian experience. Yet, it is one case where an experience of a Venetian work of art may in fact underlie Andrea's conception. The motive, and the character as of an *Existenzbild* in the S. Salvi *Pietà* may be in recall of Giovanni Bellini's remarkable painting of the identical theme, now in Stockholm. This painting, done for S. Francesco della Vigna in Venice, was ceded to Louis XII of France[2] and therefore would have been in the Royal Collections visible to Andrea during his French sojourn. If this connection (inevitably oblique, as are all Andrea's references to other paintings) is valid, it provides at least a *terminus post* for this work.

The fresco obviously invites comparison with the other like themes by Andrea. Unfortunately, one such term is lost, the early *Pietà* engraved by A. Veneziano in 1516. However, we believe we can reconstruct its style as a painting, by relation to the chronologically nearby, and compositionally similar, *Holy Family with St. Catherine* in Leningrad; and that fine, close-textured work is not in the mode of handling of this one, of great boldness, and of a luminosity so compelling as to overcome all its defects of condition. The technical sophistication and the freedom with which this image has been set down are those which come into Andrea's work only c. 1520, as indeed in the Vienna version of the *Pietà*, and it is with this painting that the S. Salvi fresco finds its first fairly comfortable *point de repère*. However, a comparison with the Luco *Pietà* becomes still more convincing. With the latter *Pietà* there is not only a near-interchangeability of anatomical type and of manner of its description[3] but, more important, a similar sense of plastic isolation of the form within an ambient of atmosphere, missing in the painting in Vienna. The sense of "existence" of the form is a consequence, in the S. Salvi fresco, of the same growing preoccupation with the play of light that is in the Luco altar. In the S. Salvi fresco, this concern with light may be yet more developed than in the Luco altar; the subtlety and the descriptive power, both, of the light are those which Andrea demonstrates, also in a fresco medium, in the Scalzo *Visitation*.

We have remarked elsewhere how the drawing Louvre 1715 for the Christ of the Luco *Pietà* demonstrates an exceptional sympathy with its subject, but that this quality was academicized in the painting. The mood of that drawing has, instead, its whole counterpart in the S. Salvi fresco.

We must allow some latitude in our dating of this fresco, between 1523 and 1525; but it would seem its time should be very close to that of the *Visitation*, 1524.

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[1] Reumont 1835, 116; Guinness 1899, 84.

[2] In *Mostra di Giovanni Bellini* (Venice, 1949) no. 111.

[3] Compare also in the Luco *Pietà* the folding of drapery in the mantle of the Madonna, over her right shoulder, with that of Christ's loincloth.

60 · 1524. VISITATION. Florence, Chiostro dello Scalzo. Fig. [151].

Fresco (grisaille), 194 x 208.

The lowest part of the fresco quite obliterated; further grave damage, by loss and fading, just above the lowest areas and, higher, to the right. Above the handmaid right center is an area of loss, down to the *intonaco*, of considerable dimension. The seams between days' work seem to have been less carefully adjusted than in most of the preceding frescoes, and are now mostly very clearly visible. Those around the male servant on the steps, far right, are so rough as to suggest that this figure was broken out and remade by Andrea.

Payment for this fresco is recorded in A.S.F. Comp. Sopp. 1198/28, c. 106, under the year 1524: "Maestro Andrea di rinchontro de'avere per la dipintura di uno quadro, c(i)oè una storia dov'è la vicitazione delle Vergine Maria e di Santa Lisabetta, a mano ritta a l'entrare dentro, fu finito adì [*blank in the manuscript*] di novenbre .... £ 56 c.– d.–" [1]

Vasari 1550, 759 mentions the *Visitation* with the *Annunciation to Zachary*, in the same close context of c. 1524; so also 1568 [1880] V, 41. Reumont 1835, 143–144; Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 187; Guinness 1899, 39, 90; Knapp 1907, 106, 131; Sinibaldi 1925*a*, 21. Venturi 1925, 557 as Andrea's best work in the Scalzo, and "un capolavoro dell'arte fiorentina nel Cinquecento." Fraenckel 1935, 74, 153, 227n71 with the assertion (as for the Luco *Pietà*) of Venetian character in the open, light-filled composition, and a suggestion (invalid) of possible relation to the same subject by Palma Vecchio (Vienna). Fraenckel indicates the bases in Florentine tradition for Andrea's iconography. She also points out (as had Guinness 1899, 76) that the St. Peter of the Luco *Pietà* reappears as the Joseph of this painting.

Having discharged his receipt for work done at Luco on 11 October 1524, Andrea must have painted the *Visitation* almost immediately on his return to Florence.

PREPARATORY STUDIES

DIJON, Musée des Beaux-Arts no. 819 (Cat. 1883). Head of an old man in profile to the right; a left hand grasping the head of a stick. Red chalk, 19.5 x 11.5. Inscribed in a later hand "Andrea del sarto." From the Joshua Reynolds and His de la Salle collections. Fig. 92.

Reproduced by Ottley 1823, opp. p. 41. Berenson 1903, no. 1958 as Pontormo, but [1938] no. 55H as Andrea, for the head and left hand of the Zachary in the *Visitation*.

NEW YORK, Morgan Library no. I, 30. *Recto*, model study, in the attitude of the porter at the right of the *Visitation*. Black chalk. *Verso* (no. IV, 14), the same figure, partly sketched, the left hand restudied, in black chalk; the end of the sack restudied, in red chalk. 26.2 x 13.3. From the Richardson Sr., Reynolds, Rogers, Leathan, and Fairfax Murray collections. Figs. 93, 94.

Waagen 1854, II, 80 (in the collection of Mr. Rogers, London) as Andrea's preparatory study for the *Visitation*. Berenson 1903, no. 55, [1938] no. 141E so identifies both recto and verso.

COPIES AND DERIVATIONS

Sold LONDON, Christie's, Viscount Scarsdale, 18 July 1930, no. 114. The Madonna and Elizabeth, St. Peter to the rear, in a long octagon. Copper, 24 x 18.5.

PHILADELPHIA, Museum, Johnson Collection. Partial copy, in a very rough style.

ROME, Galleria Spada no. 103 (Cat. 1954). Panel, 67 x 89.5. Fig. 13.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 195 as a "portion of a predella," and certainly done in Andrea's atelier. Venturi 1925, 562, fig. 426 reproduces this with the caption of the Scalzo fresco. Zeri in Cat. Spada 1954, no. 103 insists on its originality.

Of good quality, but the drawing is too thin and fine, and in places far too weak, to be considered by Andrea's hand; the color, furthermore, is pale and clear, and suggests the palette of Florentine painters of the latest sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

Formerly? ROME, Palazzo Giustiniani. Cited by Lanzi [1824] I, 216.

UNKNOWN PLACE. After the right half of the fresco only. (Photograph Berenson Library.) [2]

[1] Published by Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 70.

[2] See also under our catalogue entry no. 8, copy, Munich.

The following are copies in drawing after the fresco: Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland 2272; Florence, Uffizi 14439F; 16482AF (Berenson [1938] no. 1756 as Naldini; from the Morelli Collection; see the companion drawing under Scalzo, *Presentation of the Head*, Uffizi 16482BF); Oxford, Christ Church Library V10A (Cat. 1914), after the figure of the porter only; Paris, Louvre 1720 (Venturi 1925, 563 and fig. 427 as original); 1750; 1769 (after the center figures only).

Besançon, Museum of Fine Arts, possess a copy after a Sartesque *Visitation* which appears to be derived from the Scalzo fresco, but may rather reflect another, lost, work, for Luco; see the catalogue of Lost Works.

61 · 1525. Copy from Raphael, PORTRAIT OF LEO X WITH THE CARDINALS GIULIO DE' MEDICI AND LUIGI ROSSI. Naples, Pinacoteca Nazionale no. 138; Cat. 1928. Figs. [152, 153].

Panel, 161 x 119. The rear of the panel bears the following inscription: "P. Leon X / mā di Rafaelo d. Urbino / Gio. bat̄t̄a b̄toluzo [*Bartoluzzo*] /." A device of a star surmounted by a cross contains the initial AN; beside this is the name Agostino Nerone. Farnese seal, yellow wax, and the number 215.[1]

The surface shows pitting, perhaps no deeper than the varnish only, and sparse minor losses. Condition is superior.

Cardinal Giulio, in brick red, echoes the slightly hotter red of the garment of Rossi. Giulio's lower sleeve is blue; Rossi's white. The reds of Giulio's and Rossi's garments picked up with a slightly more vermilion accent in the tablecloth, front. Leo's biretta and stole a velvety burgundy, somewhat differentiated in the upholstery of the chair in which he sits. Leo's undergarment white; a touch of brown-grey fur at the edge of the sleeves. The book on the table illuminated in red, blue, and gold; the bell silver and gold with a red cord. The background a neutral dark grey. The color seems in general somewhat more intense and luminous than that of Raphael's original.

To the Capodimonte in Naples from the Palazzo del Giardino, Parma, where it was inventoried 1580: "Un quadro alto br. 2 on. 11 largo br. 2 on. 3 in tavola da noce: contiene un ritratto di Papa Leone X sedente ad un tavolino, sopra del quale un campanello e breviario, con un Cardinale da una, et uno dell'altra parte di Raffaele d'Urbino." Sent to Palermo 1806, and thence returned to Naples.[2]

The circumstances of the making of this copy are described in detail by Vasari, an actual witness of the event, in 1550, 759–760, and yet more elaborately in 1568 [1880] V, 41–43: "Federico II duca di Mantoa, nel passare per Fiorenza quando andò a fare reverenza a Clemente VII, vide sopra una porta in casa Medici quel ritratto di papa Leone in mezzo al cardinale Giulio de' Medici e al cardinale de' Rossi, che già fece l'eccellentissimo Raffaello da Urbino; perchè piacendogli straordinariamente, pensò, come quello che si dilettava di così fatte pitture eccellenti, farlo suo: e così quando gli parve tempo, essendo in Roma, lo chiese in dono a papa Clemente, che glie ne fece grazia cortesemente; onde fu ordinato in Fiorenza a Ottaviano de' Medici, sotto la cui cura e governo erano Ippolito ed Alessandro, che incassatolo lo facesse portare a Mantoa. La qual cosa dispiacendo molto al Magnifico Ottaviano, che non arebbe voluto privar Fiorenza d'una sì fatta pittura, si maravigliò che il papa l'avesse corsa così a un tratto: pure rispose che non mancherebbe di servire il duca, ma che essendo l'ornamento cattivo, ne faceva fare un nuovo, il quale come fusse messo d'oro, manderebbe sicurissimamente il quadro a Mantoa. E ciò fatto messer Ottaviano per salvare, come si dice, la capra e i cavoli, mandò segretamente per Andrea e gli disse come il fatto stava, e che a ciò non era altro rimedio che contrafare quello con ogni diligenza, e mandandone un simile al duca, ritenere, ma nascosamente, quello di mano di Raffaello. Avendo dunque promesso Andrea di fare quanto sapeva e poteva, fatto fare un quadro simile di grandezza ed in tutte le parti, lo lavorò in casa di messer Ottaviano segretamente; e vi si affaticò di maniera, che esso messer Ottaviano intendentissimo delle cose dell'arti, quando fu finito, non conosceva l'uno dall' altro, nè il proprio e vero dal simile, avendo massimamente Andrea contrafatto insino alle macchie del sucido, come era il vero a punto. E così nascosto che ebbero quello di Raffaello, mandarono quello di mano d'Andrea in un ornamento simile a Mantoa: di che il duca restò sodisfattissimo, avendoglielo massimamente lodato, senza essersi avveduto della cosa, Giulio Romano pittore e discepolo di Raffaello: il quale Giulio si sarebbe stato sempre in quella openione e l'arebbe creduto di mano di Raffaello; ma capitando a Mantoa Giorgio Vasari, il quale essendo fanciullo e creatura di messer Ottaviano, aveva veduto Andrea lavorare quel quadro, scoperse la cosa; perchè facendo il detto Giulio molte carezze al Vasari e mostrandogli dopo molte anticaglie e pitture quel quadro di Raffaello, come la miglior cosa che vi fusse, disse Giorgio: L'opera è bellissima, ma non è altrimenti di mano di Raffaelo. Come no? disse Giulio: non lo so io, che riconosco i colpi che vi lavorai su? Voi ve gli sete dimenticati, soggiunse Giorgio; perchè questo è di mano d'Andrea del Sarto, e per segno di ciò, eccovi un segno (e glielo mostrò) che fu fatto in Fiorenza, perchè quando erano insieme si scambiavano. Ciò udito, fece rivoltar Giulio il quadro, e visto il contrassegno, si strinse nelle spalle dicendo queste parole: Io non lo stimo meno che s'ella fusse di mano di Raffaello, anzi molto più; perchè è cosa fuor di natura, che un uomo eccellente imiti sì bene la maniera d'un altro, e la faccia così simile. Basta, che si conosce che così valse la virtù d'Andrea accompagnata, come sola. E così fu col giudizio e consiglio di messer Ottaviano sodisfatto al duca, e non privata Fiorenza d'una sì degna opera; la quale essendogli poi donata dal duca Alessandro, tenne molti anni appresso di sè; e finalmente ne fece dono al duca Cosimo, che l'ha in guardaroba con molte altre pitture famose." The "countersign" Vasari asserts is on the rear of the panel cannot be found.[3]

Vasari's report can be corrected in detail, and somewhat deromanticized, from the evidence of contemporary documents, published by Baschet 1866, 116–125 and by d'Arco and Braghirolli 1868, 181–193. The journey of Federico from Mantua to Rome, which Vasari reports as a completed fact, and in the course of which he would have seen the Raphael *Leo X*, never took place. It was begun, but on 18 October 1524 it was truncated at Bologna on account of warnings of plague, and the party returned forthwith to Mantua. The request for the Raphael painting was made of Pope Clement, on behalf of the (then) Marchese Federico, by Pietro Aretino; and the circumstances described in a surviving letter from Francesco Gonzaga, ambassador of Mantua in Rome, to Federico, dated 13 November 1524 (Baschet 117–118): ". . . dice [Aretino] che ragionando tre sere sonno con N. S. sopra il subietto di V. E., fece intendere a S. Beatiudine [*sic*] che altre volte la gli haveva ditto desiderar molto d'aver un quadro da pictura fatto per mani di Raphaele da Urbino, dove è retratto dal neturale la felice mem. di Papa Leone, insieme cum S. Santità et alcuni altri; il qual quadro era nel pallazzo suo in Firenze: et che quelle si dolse che prima non gli haveva scoperto questo desiderio di V. E. perchè la ne saria ristata satisfatta già molti di. Ma che quello non era fatto, se farìa; però che ordinarìa che gli fusse mandato ditto quadro fin a Mantua, dimostrando questa essere una minima cose a quella che S. Beatitudine disidera per fare piacer a quella." Federico's reply, dated 23 November, reads (Baschet 119): ". . . Ringraziate in nome nostra M. Pietro Aretino . . . ch'el procuri . . . ciò è la imagine de la felicissima memoria di Papa Leone et quella di nostro S., di mane di Raphaele de Urbino . . . et ditele che aspettamo quella tavola col maggior desiderio del mondo: e però se no fosse anchor detto la comissione che la ne sia mandata a Firenze, vedete de farla dare . . ."

On 30 November Francesco writes the Marchese (Baschet 119): ". . . Ho lecto il capitolo a M. Pietro Aretino pertinente a lui: quel me ha detto, che questa sera satisfarà cum N. S. sopra il quadro da pictura che se ha ad mandare a V. E. . . ."

On 12 December Francesco writes again that Aretino has persuaded Clement to make the desired gift, but that it must wait until a copy could be made in Florence of the original (Baschet 119): ". . . M. Pietro Aretino me ha ditto haver parlato cum N. S. sopra il quadra che si ha ad mandar a V. E., e che S. S. ha fatto scriver a Fiorenza, che subito un certo pictor lì excelente debba farne un retratto, per tener quello in memoria di papa Leone; et subito fatto, S. S. ha commisso che quello de man de Raphaelle da Urbino sii madato a V. E. . . ."

On 28 December Aretino himself writes from

Rome to Federico (d'Arco-Braghirolli 191–193): ". . . Sua Santità lo fa copiare et subito finito, quel di mano di Raphaello sarà vostro, l'altro il suo . . ."

Evidently, differently from Vasari's assertion, the copy was by no means prepared in secret. Aretino's memory can bear the suspicion that we entertain: that the whole plot for a substitution of Andrea's copy for Raphael's original, by which (in Vasari's phrase) the "capra e i cavoli" were both saved, was conceived by Aretino.

The progress of the copy is documented in two further letters, the first to Aretino from the Marquess, of uncertain date between March and June 1525 (Baschet 125): ". . . Et pure hiersera N. S. mi disse ch'el quadro di Raffaello è quasi copiato in Firenze, et che subito a V. S. Exc. lo mandera . . ." The second, from Giovanni Borromei to Federico, from Florence, dated 6 August 1525 (d'Arco-Braghirolli 193) reads: "M. Octaviano de' Medici . . . dice che fra due giorni gli debbe mandare un quadro di Raffaello da Urbino, dove e pincto papa Leone et S. S. Card. et el R.mo de Rossi . . ." Andrea's picture arrived in Mantua, therefore, in late summer or early autumn 1525.

In 1627, the painting was surely no longer in the Mantuan collections; it is not included in the Mantua inventory of that year,[4] nor is it listed among the paintings sold by Vincenzo I of Mantua in 1629–1632 to Charles I.[5] It is not certain how or when the picture was transferred to Parma.[6] Despite the hiatus in its history, there is no doubt that the painting now in Naples is Andrea's; nevertheless a tempest in a teapot was stirred up on this point in 1841–1842, when a group of Neapolitans, more patriotic than discerning, decided that their version was Raphael's original, and that in Florence the copy.[7]

Richardson [1728] III, 666 observes the greater freshness of color and the superior condition of Andrea's copy to Raphael's original. Quatremère de Quincy, *Raphael*, 1824, 191 describes the Naples copy in comparison to Raphael's original. Biadi 1829, 34n2, 159 summarizes Vasari, and mentions the existence of the copy in Naples. Reumont 1835, 149–150, 151n1 specifies that the date of the copy must be 1525, since Vasari came to live in Ottaviano de' Medici's house and take instruction from Andrea in that year. It is Niccolini 1841, then director of the Naples Gallery, who first asserted the Naples painting was by Raphael, and touched off a basically journalistic controversy. The principal spokesman for the Florentine view in the controversy is Masselli 1842. The first documentary clarification of the history of the Naples picture by Guerra 1845; further documentary material in Baschet 1866 and d'Arco and Braghirolli 1868, cf. above. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 184–186 give a good characterization of the distinctions of style and technique between the Naples copy and the Raphael. Mantz 1877, 278, still concerned with the Naples-Florence controversy, affirms that the Naples painting is Andrea's. Guinness 1899, 36–37, 94, 105 repeats some of the errors of detail in Vasari's account. Guinness dates the picture 1524. Knapp 1907, 99 gives the date 1524–1525; p. 132, 1524. Venturi 1925, 517 gives the date 1526; 589n1, 1524. Fraenckel 1935, 89, 158–159, 233n83 redates the work 1524–1525. The documentary evidence is of course explicit that the copy could not have been commissioned before December 1524 and was executed in 1525.[8]

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[1] Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 186 had observed that this is the same matter (minus the number) that is on the rear of the panel by Giulio Romano of the *Madonna della Gatta* in the Naples Gallery.

[2] Cat. Naples 1928, no. 138.

[3] Bottari in Vasari [1759] II, 237n1 reports that according to a tradition maintained until the time of the painter Galbiani, by whom it was communicated to Bottari, the "countersign" was Andrea's own name, written on the edge of the panel concealed by the frame. However, there is no such sign.

[4] A. Luzio, *La Galleria dei Gonzaga venduta all' Inghilterra, 1627–1628* (Milan, 1913).

[5] C. d'Arco, *Delle Arti e degli Artefici di Mantova . . . Notizie* (Mantua, 1857) II, 153 ff.

[6] It has been suggested (Guerra 1845, 14) that the painting came to Parma with Margherita, the separated wife of the Duke Vincenzo I, at the time of their separation in 1580. The same source, cited d'Arco-Braghirolli 1868, 176n, says he was assured in 1843 by the librarian Pizzani of Parma that this painting appeared in a Mantua inventory of 1600, but the wording given would seem in fact to be that of the Parma inventory of 1680; the librarian's reference would seem to be a confusion.

[7] For a bibliography of the literature of this campanilistic controversy see d'Arco-Braghirolli 1868, 177 and Cat. Naples 1928, no. 138.

[8] A portrait of Leo X, called a copy by Andrea after Raphael, was sold London, Christie's, May 1791, from the collection of a nobleman. Listed Redford 1888, I, 47.

Reumont 1835, 151n cites a note in the catalogue by von Perger of the Belvedere, Vienna, which describes a copy by Andrea of "Raffael's Papst Julius II [*sic*] ohne die Nebenfiguren." Reumont cannot identify the work described by this evidently mistaken reference.

62 · 1525. MADONNA DEL SACCO. Florence, SS. Annunziata, Cloister. Figs. [154, 155].

Fresco, 191 x 403, lunette. Dated on the tablet in the architecture, right, "ANN. DOM / MDXX / V." The matching tablet, left, carries the inscription "QUE̅ GENUIT / ADORA / VIT." Extensively damaged by weathering, faded and cracked; some of the cracks touched in.[1]

Joseph in a light red-violet garment of mauve cast; grey hair and a half-transparent blonde halo. There is a yellow-green cloth over the white sack, which is tied by a light blue ribbon. Joseph holds a white book, on the open page of which there is a strongly visible red letter D. The Madonna wears a strong green scarf over brown hair. Her shirt is white, shadowed with blue-grey; her skirt a pale salmon. The mantle at her right side and passing over her lap to her left leg is a cool blue. Christ wears a pale violet loincloth. A book lying at the right is red-violet with a yellow-gold fore-edge. The background shades from ivory to tan, and is greyer behind the figures than to the sides.

Mentioned in the *Codex Magliabechiano*, 108. Vasari 1550, 762–763: "Aveva M. Iacopo frate de Servi, nello assolvere un voto d'una donna fatto promuta che ella facessi far sopra la porta ch'esce per il fianco nel chiostro, dove è il Capitolo della Nunziata, una figura d'una Nostra Donna: et trovato Andrea, li disse che aveva da fare ispendere questi danari: che se bene eglino non erano molta somma; era assai lassare nell'ultimo, del suo essere eccellente, una opera in un luogo, che si vedessi da tutto il mondo. Et che se bene l'utile tal volta ci fa commodità; non è però che l'onore non si spenda di continuo più di quello doppo la morte. Là onde Andrea fra la voglia del luogo, et la poca opera, che non vi andavano se non tre figure, spinto dalla gloria, più che dal prezzo, la prese volentieri: et così messoci mano, fece in fresco una Nostra Donna che siede, bellissima, con il figliuolo in collo: et con un Giuseppo appoggiato a un sacco, che aperto un libro legge quello. Dove s'ingegnò far conoscere in tal lavoro una assoluta arte, et perfetta di disegno, et una grazia et bontà di colorito, oltre alla grazia delle teste, et la vivezza, et rilievo di quelle figure: mostrando a tutti i pittori Fiorentini, averli superati et avanzati di gran lunga per fino a quel giorno, come apertamente da sè stessa si fa senza altra lode conoscere: che gli artefici, et gli altri ingegnosi spirti di continuo la celebrano, per cosa rarissima." The citation just precedes that of the last of the Scalzo frescoes, dateable in 1526. Essentially the same account, in the same sequence, appears in 1568 [1880] V, 44–45. Descriptions in Bocchi [1677] 457–462; del Migliore 1684, 293; Richa VIII (1759) 62; Lanzi [1824] I, 208. D'Argenville [1762] I, 144 applies to this painting the story that the *sacco* in the fresco is an allusion to Andrea's having received, as payment for his work, a sack of grain. Biadi 1829, 41–44 asserts the inscription and the date are later additions to the fresco, alleging the existence of a record of part payment in the "Libri manoscritti di spese dei PP. Serviti di Firenze," under the date June 1514. We have not been able to trace this document, but *prima facie* Biadi's citation cannot be correct. Reumont 1835, 141n1 denies the sense of Biadi's alleged document and his contest of the authenticity of the inscriptions. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 188–189 and n1 give the date 1525, but read the actual inscription as decipherable only "Anno Dom M . . . V . . ." Janitschek 1879, 42 finds a strongly Michelangelesque flavor in the form of the fresco. Guinness 1899, 88 and Knapp 1907, 102–104, 130 give the date 1525. Knapp finds the monumentality of the composition Michelangelesque, and makes an analogy with the Ancestor lunettes of the Sistine. Escher 1922, 245 finds the form of the Madonna like that of Michelangelo's Sistine *Delfica*, but thinks the mood of the figure more recalls the *Ancestors*. Fraenckel 1935, 67, 140, 223n63 gives the inscription and date 1525; she also finds evidence of strong influence from the Sistine Ceiling. Beyond the observations made by earlier critics, Fraenckel compares the reading Joseph to the *Persica*, or to a similar motive in Michelangelo. She also finds, as is her tendency in Andrea's pictures of this period, Venetian character in the mood and in the manner of painting. Wagner 1959, 434 states that the immediate antecedent of this design is the *Jurisprudence* of Raphael's Stanza della Segnatura.

PREPARATORY STUDIES

LONDON, British Museum no. 1912–12–14–2. Five composition studies of a Madonna and Child in a lunette. Red chalk, 29 x 26 (cut at right?). From the Heseltine and Oppenheimer collections. Fig. [157].

Identified by Berenson [1938] no. 140 as studies for the *Madonna del Sacco*; so also Knapp 1907, 135 and Meder 1919, pl. 98. Fraenckel 1935, 180 considers the association with the *Sacco* incorrect; and (believing no genuine *invenzioni* by Andrea survive) feels there is no good ground for comparison of the style in Andrea's authentic work. She nevertheless catalogues the drawing among the authentic sheets. Comandé 1952, 96 as Berenson and Knapp.

The quick sketch style on this sheet is as in the other *invenzioni* we assign to Andrea, and it is in particular like Uffizi 297v (q.v. under Authentic Unassociated Drawings) of slightly later date. There has been a considerable change of idea from the probings on this sheet to the final composition, but the development toward the motive of pose for the Madonna and Child used in the fresco becomes, as the sketches succeed each other on this sheet (in orderly sequence, upper left to lower right) increasingly explicit. The discarded ideas are by no means wholly wasted; the motive of the center sketch reappears in the altar of a *Madonna with Six Saints* (Pitti 307), shortly after this time.

It would seem certain that Andrea had Pontormo's fresco of *Veronica* (S. M. Novella, Cappella del Papa, 1515) in mind when he began this sheet. The pose of the Madonna upper left with the putti and the motive of the baldacchino, and the putti at the right edge of the center of the sheet, seem most reminiscent of Pontormo's fresco.

PARIS, Louvre no. 1675. Nude model seated, facing right, leaning with his left arm on a sack. Red chalk, 14.6 x 15.7. Fig. [156].

Reiset 1866, no. 34 for the Joseph of the *Madonna del Sacco*, and so accepted by all subsequent authorities. Berenson [1938] no. 143. For complete bibliography see Bacou 1955, no. 43.[2]

COPIES AND DERIVATIONS

FLORENCE, Convento della Calza.

Paatz [1955] II, 276.

Of the seventeenth century.

——— S. Salvi no. 7192. On canvas.

Formerly? FLORENCE, Soprintendenza, Ufficio Esportazioni. The Madonna and Child only.

Of the later sixteenth century, and perhaps North European. (Photo Soprintendenza 7696.)

LONDON, Lord Clifford. Panel, 26.5 x 41.2. From Lord Lansdowne's Collection.

An inferior copy, wrongly described as an oil sketch for the painting.

Sold LONDON, Christie's, Duke of Gloucester Collection, 17 May 1806, no. 24, to Sir F. Bourgeois.

Redford 1888, I, 96; II, 251. Graves III (1921) 139. Engraved by Morghen.

ROME, Galleria Spada.

A much altered copy, in which Joseph is shifted to the right of the Madonna and Child; in a rectangle.[3]

Formerly ROME, Palazzo Giustianini.

Engraved from this collection by Cornelius Bloemaert.

Guinness 1899, 96.

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[1] Remarks on the condition of the painting in earlier times by Baldinucci [1769] IV, 228; Richardson [1728] II, 141; Reumont 1835, 156n2.

[2] Popham 1930, no. 202 informs us that the drawing or a close copy is engraved in Ottley 1823, facing p. 41. This engraving may be of the copy in the British Museum, 1895–9–15–547, red chalk, there assigned to Andrea's school.

[3] The following are copies in drawing after the painting: Uffizi 14449F, a free rearrangement, adding a St. Anne to the right; Louvre 1746 and 1759; Weimar, from the Jabach Collection, engraved by Corneille in the *Receuil d'Estampes du Cabinet au Roy*, 1754; Vienna, Albertina SR 177, after the Madonna and Child only.

Reumont 1835, 156n1 knew of a "color sketch" in a French collection, in which there was included an angel holding flowers, and knew a similar color sketch in Florence, Collection Ciampi. Guinness 1899, 42 repeats this information.

63 · 1525–1526. EMBROIDERIES FOR THE PARAMENTO OF CARDINAL SILVIO PASSERINI. Cortona, Museo Diocesano. Figs. 14 [158–160, 162, 164].

The embroideries on the *paramento* that indicate a Sartesque origin are (a) on the strip that makes the facing for the upper border of the *paliotto* (altar frontal; Fig. 14), five small tondi, of which the central tondo is a Madonna and Child (derived in design from the upper part of the *Madonna Pinti*, but omitting the St. John), and the two flanking tondi to each side, of the four Evangelists (Figs. [158–160]; two further tondi at the extreme ends of this strip are saints from designs by Raffaellino del Garbo) (b) on the (detachable) *capotto* (hood; Fig. [164]) of the *piviale* (cape), a *Transfiguration* (the remaining embroideries on the *piviale* also from designs by Raffaellino).

See under the discussion of the *Madonna Pinti* (our catalogue entry no. 47) for the initial data and the references for the history of this *paramento*. The *piviale* worn for the first time by Leo X on 18 November 1515, but there is no indication that the *pianeta* (chasuble) or the *capotto*, a detachable piece of the *piviale*, on which the Sartesque *Transfiguration* is embroidered, were worn with it. The *paliotto* woven later, for the altar of Cortona Cathedral, presumably after 1517. The *paramento* was made at the expense of Cardinal Silvio Passerini,[1] whose arms as cardinal are on the center of the *paliotto*. This *paramento* was in the Palazzo Passerini in Cortona until 3 December 1526, when a deed of gift was made to the cathedral and the whole *paramento* deposited there.[2] There is no documentary record in the Archivio Capitolare of Cortona for the commission of the *paramento*, but a record of 1526 gives a detailed description of it. In Lib. 64 in this Archivio, under the date 4 December 1526, there is a copy of an *atto* of the notary Venuti, in which it is reported that the *paramento* was made at the expense of the Cardinal Passerini, and "lavorati e dipinti da nobili artisti" of Florence. The same document reports that the *paliotto* was made originally for the altar of the Cathedral.

Podreider 1928, 176 describes the *paramento* and illustrates it, but makes no particular attribution for the design of its embroideries. She reports that the *piviale* was first worn by Leo X to celebrate mass in S. Francesco, Cortona, in 1515. Procacci 1945 (cited by Ragghianti, q.v. below) holds an opinion which (according to Ragghianti) is the "traditional" one: that Raphael is responsible for the design of the *Transfiguration* on the *capotto*, but Procacci gives no opinion on the authors of the designs of the other embroideries. Ragghianti 1949, 113–124 accurately assigns the design of the non-Sartesque embroideries to Raffaellino del Garbo (Capponi), but gives a date for them shortly after 1500, which may be early. He correctly identified the designs for the tondi of the Madonna and four Evangelists on the *paliotto*, and for the *Transfiguration*, as Sartesque, and indeed attributes them without hesitation to Andrea. Assuming, without knowledge of the contrary evidence of the documents, that the whole *paramento* served for Leo X's mass of 1515, he dates the designs of Sarto earlier than that year. Ragghianti accounts for the similarities between the *Transfiguration* of the *capotto* and Raphael's painting (begun only in 1517, and not completed until 1520 at earliest) by asserting that Raphael's *Transfiguration* is dependent on this embroidery. As a postscript to his article (p. 124n2), Ragghianti adds the notice of two drawings, Uffizi 14421F and 14422F, of the John and Matthew tondi of the *paliotto*, which he describes as sixteenth-century copies after Andrea's lost original designs. Wagner 1959, 435, following Ragghianti's argument, dates the *paramento* c. 1514.

Ragghianti's assumption of Andrea's personal responsibility for design of the Sartesque embroideries on the Passerini *paramento* would seem wholly justified. In addition to the two copies, Uffizi 14421F and 14422F, that Ragghianti describes as after Andrea's lost designs (and which indeed adequately reflect the character of originals by Sarto) we believe we can adduce two original preparatory studies, Uffizi 6447F and 6448F, used for the St. Matthew of the *paliotto*, and we can present the evidence of a drawing closely related, and probably preparatory, to the *Transfiguration* of the *capotto*. Among the embroideries themselves, at least those of the Evangelists display, both in general appearance and in detail, Andrea's precise personal vocabulary. The commission for the designs came from Cardinal Silvio Passerini, a client of the first importance, from whom in the spring of 1526 Andrea accepted another and more important order, for the second of the great *Assuntas*. It is certain that Andrea must have regarded the preparation of the drawings for the *paramento* as his personal responsibility, not to be delegated to a member of his shop. The five pieces on the *paliotto*, as Ragghianti has interestingly demonstrated, are — despite their separate frames — a carefully plotted unity of composition; we must see in them the product of one act of invention.

In this invention, there is one recall by Andrea of an idea of a shortly prior time, in the *Pinti* motive that serves as the basis for his roundel of the Madonna, but the four Evangelists all reflect Andrea's preoccupations of the years 1524–1526. This is the time, precisely, that is given by the external evidence as the *terminus ante* for the *paliotto*. The St. Mark (Fig. [159]), in type and in drapery motive, much resembles the St. Paul of the Luco *Pietà*, and the St. Luke of the *paliotto* suggests comparison with the Peter of that altar. In the St. Matthew (Fig. [162]), the motive of his lower drapery is extremely close to that of the Apostle farthest right in the S. Salvi *Cena* (for which the documentary evidence requires a date of invention about early 1526, q.v. our catalogue entry no. 65). The type of St. Matthew and his posture seem also to be related to the Zachary of the *Naming of the Baptist*, dated 1526. Since the whole *paramento* was given over to the Cathedral of Cortona in December 1526, and many months must have been required for its working, it would seem reasonable to place Andrea's designs for the *paliotto* in 1525 or, at the latest, early in 1526.

The case of the *Transfiguration* on the *capotto* is more difficult. We cannot know, from the evidence of the documents we have adduced, if this piece was wholly added to the existing *piviale* in 1525–1526, or if it was invented earlier. The internal evidence, however, provides a *terminus post* which tends to indicate that this piece was invented close in time to the tondi for the *paliotto*. The elements of derivation from the *Transfiguration* of Raphael are sufficiently explicit to enable us to say with fair certainty that they require Andrea's experience, in some form, of that picture; the motive of the Apostle left, arm crooked around his head, seems almost surely to be derivative from the Raphael. Though there is always the possibility that Andrea's experience of Raphael's *Transfiguration* may have been indirect, this borrowing may be the most nearly overt evidence we have of a time for a trip by Andrea to Rome (though it may not have been the only one). Raphael's *Transfiguration* was exhibited, by Vasari's account (1568 [1880] IV, 383) for the first time, but apparently only briefly, in April 1520. However, it was not set up in its place in S. Pietro in Montorio until 1523. Whether Andrea's experience of the painting was direct, or through an intermediary, the presumption is that he would not have had it until 1523 or 1524. Given the times of occurrence of plague in these years, in Rome as well as Florence,[3] and the times of Andrea's own absence in the Mugello for this same reason, the date of any trip to Rome, and of a direct experience of Raphael's *Transfiguration*, may well be advanced until 1525. Indeed, business with Cortona, not just in connection with the minor matter of the *paramento*, but with the *Assunta* Passerini (commissioned, we recall, before spring 1526) might well have taken Sarto half way on the road to Rome.

A second internal index for a *terminus post quem* for the *Transfiguration* of the *capotto* points, more roughly, into the same time. This is the approximate reuse, for the Prophet to our right of Christ, of the figure who stands at extreme right of the *Assunta* Pitti 191, whose design may be somewhat earlier, but whose (incompleted) execution we would date in 1524–1525.

The *capotto* seems to reflect much less faithfully than the tondi of the *paliotto* the explicit vocabulary of Andrea's style, at least as his paintings of these years show it to us. We believe, however, that there is evidence to justify its somewhat exceptional appearance. There is no precise preparatory drawing, but we would relate to it Uffizi 630E (Fig. [163]), a composition study for a *Resurrection*; this, too, an exceptional piece in Andrea's *oeuvre* (and improperly removed from it by some recent critics), but showing the same rather sparse and rhythmically complicated style of forms that is in the *capotto*, and an abundance of relations in specific motives. We suggest that this drawing is in fact a sketch made for the purpose of the Cortona *capotto*, when the determination of the precise subject had not yet been made, and that its style and many of its details were carried over into the modello for the final subject, the *Transfiguration*, when it was made.

The iconography of the *Resurrection* drawing is singular in the presence in it of the kneeling female saint beside the Christ, and we believe that this iconography gives further reason for association of the sheet with Andrea's work done for Cortona. This female saint adopts the attitude, almost exactly, that Andrea gave, in the Passerini *Assunta* for Cortona, to the Sta. Margherita Penitente, patron saint of Margherita Passerini, mother of the Cardinal Silvio, and patroness of the town.

PREPARATORY STUDIES

FLORENCE, Uffizi no. 630E. Composition study for a *Resurrection*, with a female saint kneeling to the right. Red chalk, 22 x 18.5. Fig. [163].

Ferri 1893, 181 assigns this sheet to Andrea. Berenson [1938] no. 89 and I, 270, 286 believes it is probably from Andrea's youthful period; Berenson identifies the female saint as the Magdalen. Di Pietro 1911, no. 57 by Andrea. Middeldorf 1932, 536–538 assigned the drawing to Maso da S. Friano, on the basis of comparison with a small painting in Volterra which, however, only derives (and only in part) from this study by Andrea. Middeldorf's attribution accepted in the Cabinet, and the drawing there now so catalogued.

This sheet is of the greatest interest: it is the only example surviving to us of a composition study by Andrea of its particular degree of finish, or absence of it; it stands between the stage of rough *invenzione* represented, e.g., by the sketches for the lost Berlin altar (Berlin 5082; see our cat. entry no. 76) and the *Naming of the Baptist* (British Museum 5226–86), and a tentative modello such as that we have for the *Pietà* of Luco (British Museum 1895–9–15–546). Placed in this context, the style of Uffizi 630E becomes instantly comprehensible: it shows the attentuated, quick-movemented forms of the rough *invenzione*, and at the same time shows part of the more complex and cursive development of shapes, and some of the effects of light, that are in the tentative modello. The *trait* in this sheet is unmistakably Andrea's, and the line moves with a sureness and vivacity that are impossible to an imitator. Beyond this, there is a multiplicity of likenesses to both terms, the more and the less finished, of comparison. We cite a few of them, only among the most precise: in the Berlin drawing, cf. the right hand of the female saint lower right with the hand of the St. Margaret? here; the right leg of the kneeling saint left foreground with the left leg of the soldier foreground here; the manner of indicating the head of the Madonna and that of the soldier at far left here. In the London drawing, cf. the left leg of the handmaid center with the right leg of the soldier to the right here; the torso of the same maid with that of the St. Margaret here; the shape of the head of the handmaid second from the left with the head of the soldier rear center here; the left upper arm of Zachary with the right upper arm of Christ here. In the Luco modello, cf. the head and hair of the St. Sebastian with the Christ here; the right forearm and hand of the Baptist with the same in Christ here; the lighting and modelling of anatomy in the nude torsos.

What has been taken over from the *Resurrection* into the design for the new subject of the *Transfiguration* are particularly: the posture of the soldier front, which becomes that of the Apostle in the corresponding place; the postures of the soldiers right and left have been combined, now literally following Raphael's model, to make the posture of the Apostle to the left; the placing of the arms of Christ has been retained. There is, of course, a necessary compositional similarity.

——— no. 6447F. Two studies, one above the other, of a drapery across the upper legs of a seated figure. Red chalk, 26.3 x 17.3. Fig. [161].

Unpublished. Catalogued in the Cabinet as a school drawing.

For the drapery of St. Matthew on the Cortona *paliotto*. Note, particularly, the emphasis in the lower drawing on the indication of a long element (i.e., the wall), on which the figure is seated, passing beyond the thigh.[4] The sheet is in the reverse direction from the embroidery, being a study for what would be called, on larger scale, a cartoon.

——— no. 6448F. As 6447F, with variations. Red chalk, 24.4 x 19.2. Inscribed "cerveino"(?). Fig. 95.

By the same hand, and for the same purpose, as 6447F.

COPIES AFTER LOST PREPARATORY STUDIES

FLORENCE, Uffizi, no. 14421F. From Andrea's modello for the St. John Evangelist of the Cortona *paliotto*. Brown ink with white high lights on brown-tinted paper, diameter 14.5. Fig. 96.

Identified by Ragghianti 1949, 124n2 as a copy from a design by Andrea for the Cortona embroidery.

——— no. 14422F. From Andrea's modello for the St. Matthew of the Cortona *paliotto*. Brown ink with white high lights on brown-tinted paper, diam. 15.4.

Ragghianti 1949, 124n2 as for Uffizi 1442F.

DERIVATION

CANINO (near Tuscania). Two Evangelists. Panels, each diam. circa 1 m.

By a Sarto imitator of the thirties, based on his inventions for the Cortona *paliotto* (and the S. Salvi *Cena*).

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[1] Created 1 July 1517; Pastor [1923] VII, 203. Passerini was named Bishop of Cortona 21 November 1521, and his *possessio* was celebrated 2 April 1522.

[2] The record of gift 3 December 1526, *rogato* Ser Christoforo Venuti, in the Archivio Capitolare, Cortona. On 4 December 1526 the fee for carriage of the *paramento* is paid to the *mulattiere* of the Cardinal, Lib. del Capitolo no. 3, 122. For this and the immediately following documentary information, all from the Archivio Capitolare, the author is again obliged to Canon Giovanni Basanieri of the Museo Diocesano and to Dr. Shearman; see under our catalogue entry no. 47, n. 1.

[3] See under our catalogue entry no. 58, n. 2.

[4] And for this reason, explicitly to be differentiated from the *Apostle* at the far right in S. Salvi, which this drawing, in drapery motive, also resembles.

64· 1526. NAMING OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST (*Birth of the Baptist*). Florence, Chiostro dello Scalzo. Fig. [166].

Fresco (grisaille), 194 x 313.

The lowest part of the fresco almost or altogether obliterated. The remainder considerably damaged. It is still apparent, but only barely, that an effect of complex and refined light, like that in the (also damaged) *Visitation*, was intended.

Payment for this fresco is recorded in A.S.F. Comp. Sopp. 1198/28, c. 106: "E de'avere insino adì 24 di giugnio 1526 fiorini otto larg(h)i d'oro in oro, per la dipi(n)tura d'uno quadro ne' nostro chiostro e 3 a mano ritta, che v'ène dipi(n)tto la natività di S. Giovani .... £ 56 s. –d. –".[1]

Vasari 1550, 763–764: "Mancava al cortile dello Scalzo solamente una istoria, et restava finito del tutto, per il che Andrea che aveva ringrandito la maniera per aver visto le figure, che Michel'agnol' Buon'arroti aveva cominciate et parte finite per la sagrestia di San Lorenzo; messe mano a fare quest' ultima istoria dove andava il nascere di San' Giovan' Batista, la qual finì, et diede l'ultimo saggio del suo miglioramento, certamente di lode dignissimo;" with a continuing detailed description. Substantially the same account is in 1568 [1880] V, 45. In both editions the fresco is cited in sequence immediately after the *Sacco* of 1525. Reumont 1835, 144 dates the fresco in 1525, without knowing of the document. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 189 know the date 1526. Guinness 1899, 43–44, 90; Knapp 1907, 106, 131; Sinibaldi 1925*a*, 21. Venturi 1925, 564 carelessly gives the date 1527. He compares the old crone left to Michelangelo's *Persica*. Fraenckel 1935, 75, 153, 237n72 attempts to specify further the assertion of Michelangelism critics since Vasari have found in the fresco, and would relate the figure of the handmaid to the *Amon* lunette of the Sistine, most unconvincingly. Wagner 1951, 48.

PREPARATORY STUDIES

LONDON, British Museum, Sloane no. 5226–86. Composition study for the fresco. Red chalk, 16.3 x 22 (pieced out at corners). Fig. [165].

Berenson [1938] no. 1763A by Naldini, inspired by the fresco. Formerly so catalogued in the Cabinet, but now given to Andrea.

Almost interchangeable in style with Berlin 5082, for the (lost) Berlin altar of 1528, and like it an authentic testimony of Andrea's manner in an *invenzione*. This draughtsmanship is quite unlike Naldini's only roughly comparable sketch style.

In general, the *trait* in this drawing is yet thinner than in the Berlin sketch; the handling of this sheet is still more like the composition study Uffizi 297Fv (q.v. under Authentic Unassociated Drawings). Compare also, among the other rare drawings by Andrea of this kind, Horne 5543, the *invenzione* for the Luco *Pietà*, and British Museum 1910–2–12–37v, for Pitti 191.

Certain motives in this study may depend on Bandinelli's sketches (e.g. London, Rudolf Coll.) for his *Birth of the Virgin* at the Santa Casa.

PARIS, Louvre no. 1680. *Recto*, seated figure, writing, in the attitude of Zachary in the *Naming of the Baptist*; black chalk. *Verso*, head of a bearded older man, in profile to the left, red chalk. Inscribed "turpilio," and with a cartellino carrying Andrea's name. 24.2 x 15. From the Vasari and Mariette collections. Figs. [167], 98.

Reiset 1866, no. 37 identifies the recto as above, but has no association for the verso. Guinness 1899, 91 refers to a sketch for Zachary in the Louvre, presumably this recto. Knapp 1907, 126–127, 135 also so identifies the recto, as does Berenson [1938] no. 145. Berenson observes that the verso is from the same model, and that it is almost identical with Louvre 1690 (which we assign to the Poggio studies), but he offers no association. Venturi 1925, 564n1 gives the recto only. Bacou 1955, no. 45. Rouchès 1939, no. 6, like Berenson, observes that the verso is from the same subject as the recto, but with the head turned differently; strictly, there is no evidence for this, but it is inevitable that we should read into the blank contour of a head on the body of the verso the features of Zachary as he is in the painting, with which the features on the verso are in fact almost identical.

As a study of the features of the Zachary, or rather of the model who served for him, the verso may count as preparatory to the painting. However, it is not impossible that Andrea may have turned in his thinking at this moment from the immediate purpose of the Scalzo fresco to the problems of the S. Salvi *Cena*, then imminent if not actually contemporary, and cast the model in the pose of the head of the Apostle farthest on the right in that fresco. The type as he is transcribed in the painting is much altered, but the carriage of the head and the expression are those of the actor in the *Cena*. The model of 1680 verso, more literally taken, and seen three-quarters to the right, served exactly for the *Cena*; he is the third Apostle from the right.[2]

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[1] Published by Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 71.

[2] For painted copies from the fresco see under our catalogue entry no. 8.

Munich, Graphische Sammlung no. 2211L, bistre and wash with white high lights, is a copy in drawing from the painting.

65 · 1526–1527. LAST SUPPER. Florence, S. Salvi. Figs. [168–174].

Fresco, 462 x 872 (inside the painted frame; width of whole wall, 924); lunette.

Among the figures there are, in general, only minor losses, of scratchings or small flakings of paint; one head only among the Apostles, the fourth from the right, has suffered significantly from bleaching and fading, probably as the result of a leakage of damp through the wall behind. There are slight losses along some of the *costure*. Most of these losses remain unrestored; there is no disfiguring repaint. The upper area of the painting would seem to have suffered rather more. There is evidence of damage by seepage of damp at the top of the fresco and in general around the upper contour of the arch, and some losses of fair size have occurred in the painting of the upper, greenish, wall. These losses have been repaired in a more yellow tone than the rest, but only a part of such yellowish areas are restorations: Andrea's original intention was, apparently, to reproduce the effect, blotched, mottled, and repaired, that is familiar to us in the stuccoed walls of older buildings in Italy. The "step" at the lowest margin of the fresco is entirely repainted, this apparently in connection with the later painting-in (in the nineteenth century?) of a basamento beneath the fresco and on the walls to either side, in replacement of the former *spalliere*.

The condition of the work as a whole, in terms of preservation of Andrea's intention, is excellent.[1]

The colors of the figures, left to right: 1) red shirt, bleaching in lights to yellow-gold, white sleeve, a flat pink dress. 2) a middle green sleeve, and below a part of a dark madder skirt. 3) flat salmon-colored shirt. 4) a light red mantle over a dull light violet dress. 5) blue, bleached almost white in the lights. 6) (Judas), pale green shirt with violet reflected lights, a yellow-orange drapery over the left shoulder. 7) (Christ), a light rose dress and powdery light blue lower garment. 8) (St. John), an icy blue-white shirt, a faded mauve drapery over the left arm. 9) light yellow-orange mantle over grey-blue-white sleeves. 10) dull madder shirt, with lighter collar and forearm, a middle green drapery diagonally across the torso. 11) dull middle violet. 12) yellow-orange scarf over a light green dress. 13) a scarf *changeant* pink to light green over a pale pink shirt, a violet skirt.

The sky shows mauve-tinted clouds. The figure left in the loggia in glowing red-orange shirt and lilac hat; the figure right in lilac hat and shirt, with a yellow-green jerkin. The upper architecture a mottled yellow-green, with a *pietra serena* color for the balustrade, inset with dull violet plaques. The lower wall a flat grey, but lent a bluish cast by the articulation of cornice and pilasters in a neutralized violet hue. The tablecloth glowing white; the floor light grey with orange-toned tesserae.

For the earlier documentary history of the commission for this work, and the painting on the arch before it, see our account of the latter under our catalogue entry no. 13.

The *ricordo* of the original commission, of 15 June 1511 (A.S.F. Conv. Sopp. 88/3, c. 7r) is, as we have observed, followed (on the remainder of the same page) by a list of payments made against the 38 florins that Andrea was to have for his work. The first of these entries records that Andrea had received from Don Ilario (who died before 30 April 1522[2]) the sum of 18 florins. The remaining entries read as follows:[3]

"Et fiorini tredici larghi d'oro ha auto da l'Abbate e dal Kamarlingo in piu volte come si vede a loro L[ibr]o e a Uscita a car. 152 .... F. 13 —

Et adi 6 d'ap[ri]le lire sette p[or]to Zanobi suo garzone Uscita a car. 158 .... F. 1 —

Et adi 16 d'aprile lire quattordici porto lui contanti Uscita a car. 158 .... F. 2 —

Et adi 25 fiorini dua larghi p[or]to Zanobi Uscita a car. 159 .... F. 2 —

Et adi primo di giugno fiorini dua larghi p[or]to Zanobi Uscita a car. 159 .... F. 2 —

Et adi 8 fiorini dua p[or]to Lorenzo a car. 159 .... F. 2 —

Et 15 di decto fiorini dua porto lui a car. 159 .... F. 2 —"

The references to *uscite* in these entries collate with entries, on pages 1–21 of this journal, that are dated between 6 June 1526 and 15 June 1527.[4] It is therefore explicit that a substantial amount of work was done by Andrea in 1526, probably in the spring and summer of that year. From the relative amount paid within 1526 (13 florins disbursed "in più volte" of the total sum remaining, after the payments of an earlier time, of 20 florins) it would seem that the larger part of the fresco was done in that year. All the subsequent payments of 1527 are made to *garzoni*, less likely indicating work of an accessory kind actually performed by them in that year than collections made by them on behalf of Andrea, who may, after the date of the first of these payments (spring? 1527) no longer have been himself working in the convent. It should be observed that (as we have noticed earlier) the actual amount of disbursements in these two years brings the whole payment to a total not of 38, but of 42 florins, so that 24 florins were spent in 1526–1527, against the 18 expended before Panichi's death. This increase in compensation makes the disproportion between the payment for the earlier and later parts of Andrea's work in S. Salvi less acute, even if we do not assume that part of the earlier disbursements were made in anticipation.

Vasari 1550, 764 describes the disorders in the government of S. Salvi that had caused the interruption of Andrea's work after its first episode in 1511. He then continues, giving an account of Andrea's painting of the *Supper*: ". . . et venuto un abate che si dilettava più degli altri dell'opere virtuose, avendo et lettere et molto giudizio nelle cose, deliberò che Andrea finisse quell'opera, de la quale, egli che già era obligato, non fece resistenzia. Et fatto cartoni, et messo in ordine, fra non molti mesi, lavorandone a suo piacere un pezzo per volta, la finì." In 1568 [1880] V, 47 the language is much the same: ". . . un abbate galantuomo e di giudizio deliberò che egli finisse quell' opera; onde Andrea, che già si era a ciò altra volta obligato, non fece alcuna resistenza, anzi messovi mano in non molti mesi, lavorandone a suo piacere un pezzo per volta, lo finì . . ." It should be noted that Vasari's account of the circumstances of Andrea's painting of the *Supper* accords with the information supplied us by the documents, and that his description of the execution agrees with what we can adduce from the records of payment.

Vasari further tells us (1550, 765; 1568 [1880] V, 47) that during the Siege of Florence, when the "scorched earth" policy was put in effect, and S. Salvi was in process of destruction, the *guastatori*, having already wrecked the church and campanile, were so impressed by Andrea's fresco that they abandoned their work of destruction when they came to the refectory. Varchi, *Storia* (1721) 292 had earlier told this same story.[5]

Reumont 1835, 163 dates the *Supper* 1526–1527, and so do Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 105; Mantz 1877, 339 says that it will perhaps be discovered one day to be of 1526 or 1527. Guinness 1899, 89 asserts the *Supper*, ordered in 1519 (according to Milanesi's misreading of the date of the *ricordo* in Vasari [1880] V, 47n2), was not begun until 1525. Knapp 1907, 131 repeats the mistaken date of the commission, states that the fresco had not yet been begun in 1525, and was complete in 1527; p. 104 he gives the date 1526–1527. Sinibaldi 1925*a*, 25 and Venturi 1925, 610 judge the *Supper* unfavorably; the latter states that it was finished 1529. Rossi 1930, 13 states that Andrea received the commission to do the *Cena* in 1525; that it was begun in 1526 and finished 1527. He gives no source, but it is likely that he was speaking from the documents. Fraenckel 1935, 71–72, 149–150, 225–226n68 dates the fresco c. 1526. She says it is not sure that Andrea knew the *Cena* of Leonardo, but that he rather used, as model, Marcantonio's rather free engraving after it. This assertion is in effect correct. Fraenckel also points out the relation in Andrea's mode of setting to the older Florentine tradition, as to Castagno's, Ghirlandaio's, and Perugino's frescos from the Quattrocento. Berenson [1932] 18: "begun 1519"; [1938] I, 280, he reports Knapp's citation of the (supposed) date of commission, and says the fresco was probably not finished for two or three years. Wagner 1951, 26 follows Fraenckel's date, c. 1526, and remarks the possibility that Andrea saw Leonardo's fresco in the course of his French trip.

Shearman 1959, 128n14, 134, in an aside to his discussion of the two *Assuntas*, was led to the conclusion that the *Supper* must have been painted just after Andrea's return from France. His conclusion was based on the perfectly proper observation of the resemblance of types and technique between the Apostles of Pitti 191 (of which the beginning date could have been 1522) and those of the *Supper* and, in combination with this, the evidence of the date of the *ricordo* as it had been read, 1519. On this combination, a date of c. 1520 would be natural. However, the misread date of 1519 is, obviously, not relevant to the argument. Furthermore, Shearman, in his interpretation of the *ricordo*, had not realized that the accounts of payment that followed on the same page were for the *Last Supper*: in publishing the document he gave the *ricordo* only, and not the payments of 1526–1527, believing they represented disbursements made by Don Ilario for other purposes. Shearman was therefore not in a position to assess the proper weight of documentary evidence against the weight of his observation of the evidence of style. In the latter respect, however, his view as he expressed it in his article also requires an amendment: it is incontestable that the Apostles of Pitti 191 are very like their counterparts of the *Last Supper*, but this is one more reason why the Apostles of the altar require, mostly or altogether, to be placed later in their time of execution than the upper portion of that painting (as we have established, on the basis of this and other evidence, they should be, in our discussion of *Assunta* 191, q.v.).[6]

A few comparisons of style may be useful to fix the place of the *Last Supper* toward the middle, rather than in the first years, of the decade. A kind of *terminus post quem* in terms of style is given in the top portion of the fresco (naturally the first part executed): the head of the figure leaning profile to the right has the closest similarity to that of Joseph in the *Sacco*. The comparison of technique and types with the Apostles of Pitti 191, who in date approach the *Sacco*, or may be of the same time or slightly later, has been made above. The drapery of the Michelangelesque Apostle at extreme right, also, is in the vein of that of the Madonna of the *Sacco*. Still more, this figure reminds us of the Zachary of the *Naming of the Baptist* of 1526; and in general, throughout the *Supper*, proportions of the figures, drapery style, and technique compare particularly with that Scalzo fresco.

PREPARATORY STUDIES

FLORENCE, Uffizi no. 662E. Study from the nude for the figure of Christ. Red chalk, 18.8 x 15.1. Fig. 99.

Milanesi in Vasari [1880], V, 48 had described the group of studies for the *Cena* to which this one belongs. This sheet identified, as above, by Ferri 1893, 133; Jacobsen 1898, 276–277; Guinness 1899, 89; Berenson [1938] no. 104; Knapp 1907, 131, 134; di Pietro 1911, no. 77; Ferri 1916, no. 11; Fraenckel 1935, 177; Wagner 1951, 77n91.[7]

——— no. 663E. *Recto*, study in the nude for the figure of the fifth Apostle from the right. *Verso*, an indecipherable fragment, lightly sketched. Red chalk, 18.8 x 9.5. Fig. 100. Verso not illustrated.

The recto identified by Ferri 1893, 133, as above; so also Jacobsen 1898, 276–277; Guinness 1899, 89; Berenson [1938] no. 105; Knapp 1907, 131, 134; di Pietro 1911, no. 78; Fraenckel 1935, 177; Wagner 1951, 77n91.[8]

——— no. 664E. *Recto*, studies in the nude for the fourth, third, and second Apostles from the right, and sketch of a left arm, not used. *Verso*, study in the nude for the first Apostle on the right; in the long direction of the sheet, portrait sketch of a girl's head, beside which a legend in Andrea's hand "ANDR / ANDREAS / PICT." Red chalk, 25.5 x 36.4. Figs. [175], 101.

Identified by Ferri 1893, 133; Jacobsen 1899, 276–277; Guinness 1899, 89; Berenson [1938] no. 106; Knapp 1907, 131, 134; di Pietro 1911, 66–67, no. 79; Ferri 1916, no. 13; Leporini 1925*a*, pl. 128 (recto only); Popham 1930, no. 198. Fraenckel 1935, 178 thinks this may be partly an improved shop drawing, and rejects the head of a girl on the verso as not being by Andrea. Wagner 1951, 77n91.

The head of a girl on the verso a passing thought, but in trait and in response to the effects of light explicitly Andrea's. She is surely to be identified as Maria del Berrettaio.[9]

——— no. 289F. A bearded head in profile to the right, the eye restudied on the upper part of the sheet. Black chalk, 21.7 x 17.7. Fig. [176].

Ferri 1893, 135 for the Prophet Zachary (in the *Naming of the Baptist?*), with the remark that there is another drawing of the same head, more finished, in the Louvre. Jacobsen 1898, 276–277, for the Apostle to the right of Christ in the *Cena*. Berenson 1903, no. 63; [1938] no. 110E thinks the precise destination of this sheet is unclear, and that it might be for one of several paintings.

Knapp 1907, 131, 133 properly identifies this for the head of the second Apostle from the left in the *Cena*. Di Pietro 1911, 64–65 also properly insists that this is a study for the second Apostle from the left. In his opinion it would follow, as a more "artificial" reworking, a preceding sheet in the Louvre (1690r, which we assign to the preparations for Poggio. The model is in fact the same, as he is also on Louvre 1680v, for the Zachary of the *Naming* in the Scalzo). Ferri 1916, no. 12; and Fraenckel 1933/1934, 10; 1935, 169 for the second Apostle from the left, with the (incorrect) assertion that Louvre 1690 (q.v. above) is a copy. Wagner 1951, 77n91. Marcucci 1954, no. 22, with the note that the most convincing identification is for the Zachary of the *Naming*. Marcucci asserts the influence of Pontormo in the technique.

All the details of this drawing, including the character of expression, require that the precise destination of this study is as first identified by Knapp, for the second Apostle from the left in the *Cena.*

——— no. 292F. Bearded head of a younger man, three-quarters to the left. Black chalk, touched with red, 23.5 x 18.3. Fig. [177].

Ferri 1893, 135 as Andrea's, but without identification. Berenson 1903, no. 65; [1938] no. 110F perhaps for Herod in the *Feast of Salome*, or more likely for the third Apostle left in S. Salvi. The latter identification is made, correctly, by Knapp 1907, 131, 133; di Pietro 1911, no. 9; Fraenckel 1935, 170; Wagner 1951, 77n91.

——— no. 306F. *Verso*, study of the posture of St. John Evangelist in the *Cena*; on the same sheet, both verso and recto, studies for the (lost) Berlin altar of 1528. See under that painting, Preparatory Studies (our catalogue entry no. 76). Fig. 133.

The sketch of St. John identified as a study for the *Cena* by Ferri 1893, 136, and by Berenson [1938] no. 113, "probably." This sketch may, conceivably, be a *ricordo* by Andrea rather than a preparation, but we know of no other instance by him. If, as is more likely, it is a preparatory sketch, then the reuse of the same sheet for studies for the Berlin altar of 1528 may be taken as another index of the dating we deduce for the painting, rather than any suggested earlier one.

——— no. 313F. A right arm, carefully studied, and a draped seated torso, lightly sketched. Red chalk (pieced out to) 19.2 x 20.9. Fig. 102.

Ferri 1893, 136 for one of the Apostles of S. Salvi. Berenson 1903, no. 72; [1938] no. 113B for the Apostle extreme left; so also Knapp 1907, 131, 133; di Pietro 1911, no. 23; Ferri 1916, no. 14. Fraenckel 1935, 172 "verbesserte Schulerzeichnung," quite improperly. Wagner 1951, 79n91.

FLORENCE, Uffizi no. 336F. *Recto*, lower body and legs of a standing figure, drapery sketched lightly over; legs of a seated figure. *Verso*, two pairs of legs, of seated figures. Red chalk on pink-tinted paper, 19.2 x 14.6. Inscribed on the recto, "turpilio." Figs. 103, 104.

Ferri 1893, 137 for S. Salvi; so also Berenson 1903, no. 82; [1938] no. 119A; Knapp 1907, 134. Di Pietro 1911, no. 49 identifies the recto correctly as for the fourth and fifth Apostles from the left in S. Salvi. Fraenckel 1935, 174 further makes the excellent surmise that the verso is for the legs of the first and third Apostles from the left. Wagner 1951, 77n91 as di Pietro and Fraenckel.

——— no. 6424F. Drapery over the leg of a figure seated to the left. Red chalk on reddish paper, 20.9 x 14.7. Damaged. Fig. 105.

Berenson [1938] no. 121 as Andrea's, but without association. Knapp 1907, 134 for a seated Madonna, perhaps in the late Berlin or Pisa altars. Berenson [1961] no. 121 reports the verbal opinion of this author, 1957, that this is a study for the drapery of the Apostle extreme right in the *Cena*.

Rubbed but authentic.

PARIS, Louvre no. 1680v. Fig. 98. See under *Naming of the Baptist*, Preparatory Studies (our catalogue entry no. 64).

——— nos. 1714/2, –3, –4, –5. Five drawings on one mount (for no. 1714/1 see under the Borgherini *Holy Family*, Metropolitan Museum, New York, our catalogue entry no. 68). 1714/2, forearms with the hands joined, a right hand. 16.5 x 20. Inscribed "turpilio." 1714/3, studies of legs. 12.7 x 11.5. 1714/4, four studies of feet. 14.8 x 2.8. Inscribed "turpilio," and partly drawn over by the cartellino on the mount with Andrea's name. 1714/5, studies of legs. 13.8 x 6. All in red chalk. Mounted by Vasari; from the Collections de Fries, Lawrence, King William II of Holland. Fig. [178].

Reiset 1866, no. 49 without identification. Berenson [1938] no. 154 identifies 1714/2 as for the hands of the fifth Apostle from the right, and for another (discarded?) hand; he makes unclear identification of the other sheets as for the *Last Supper*. Knapp 1907, 135 refers only to "hand-studien," unidentified. Di Pietro 1911, 67 accepts all the drawings on the mount. Venturi 1925, 611 makes a general association of the whole mount with the *Last Supper* and specifies 1714/2 as for the fifth Apostle on the right and, correctly, for the hand of Christ. Fraenckel 1935, 182 describes 1714/2, –3, and –5 as for the *Supper*, but says of nos. 3 and 5 that they are doubtful and may be copies, while she regards 1714/4 as a workshop drawing perhaps corrected by Andrea, and derived from studies for the *Madonna of the Harpies;* she compares Louvre 1679, for that painting. Wagner 1951, 77n91 accepts 1714/2, –3, and –5 as studies for the *Supper*. Bacou 1955, no. 44 gives the following identifications: 1714/2, as Venturi 1925; 1714/3 for the legs of the fourth and fifth Apostles from the right; 1714/5 for the legs of the third Apostle from the left. These identifications are correct, save that the single leg on 1714/3 is not for the fifth Apostle but is a restudy of the right leg of the fourth. Bacou hazards no opinion on 1714/4. 1714/4 left and bottom right may be for the left foot of the third Apostle from the left, or for that of Christ; 1714/4 center may be for the left foot of the first Apostle left, unused, or used in reverse for the first Apostle on the right. Fraenckel's observation of relation of the center study on this sheet to the *Harpies* study, Louvre 1679, is sound, but 1714/4 center is not a copy by another hand but, instead, may be a restudy by Andrea of his own old drawing. We have suggested earlier (see under *Madonna of the Harpies*, Preparatory Studies, our catalogue entry no. 37) that Andrea may at this later time have retouched the *Harpies* sheet.[10]

COPIES

FLORENCE, S. Salvi no. 4946. The left Apostle only of the *Cena*.

OXFORD, Ashmolean. Panel, 75 x 178.

Lacking the figures at the window.

Described by Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 190 as a "sketch" (and as at Christ church; but part of the Fox-Strangways gift to the Ashmolean Museum). Janitschek 1879, 43; Guinness 1899, 89.

DERIVATIONS

ANGHIARI, S. Bartolommeo. By Sogliani, 1531.
Reumont 1835, 164n.

BERGAMO, Accademia Carrara. By Alessandro Allori; from the abbey of S. Astino.
Reumont 1835, 164n. Geisenheimer 1906, 41–44.

FLORENCE, S. Frediano. By Ridolfo Ghirlandaio, 1543.
Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 149.

——— S. M. del Carmine. By Alessandro Allori.
Guinness 1899, 43; Geisenheimer 1906, 41–44.

[1] Richa I (1754) 365, 378 informs us that the Arno flood of 1557 did much damage to the convent of S. Salvi, and that Andrea's paintings there suffered also. No evidence of flood damage can be seen in the picture. The walls of the refectory are, however, particularly affected by humidity. To relieve this condition in the wall on which the *Supper* is painted, an air conduit was built beneath it, and other special architectural measures were taken. What Richa may have thought to be flood damage may have been the (mostly temporary) effects of damp to which the fresco was subject before these safeguards. Biadi 1829, 85 makes no comment of his own on the condition of the *Last Supper*, but cites Richa's notice. Reumont 1835, 167 found the fresco in general well preserved despite some restorations in the heads. Guinness 1899, 43 found that only one or two heads on the right of the picture had suffered. Fraenckel 1935, 124–129, 149, 240 quite incomprehensibly considers the fresco "weitgehend übermalt" and much renewed, as in the balustrade across its upper part. She cites a general statement of Richardson [1728] III, 143 to the effect that Andrea's color in fresco could be judged only from the *Sacco*; but this statement is not applicable to the *Last Supper*, since Richardson could hardly have seen it. S. Salvi was under *clausura* from 1564 to 1810.

[2] A.S.F. Notarile ante-cosimiano G 488 (1522–1523), fol. 13r–13v.

[3] The transcription is that of Mr. Edward Sanchez, and the collation of dates given here was made by him also. We employ, for the numbering of the collations, the system preferred by Mr. Sanchez.

[4] The specific collations: The first entry, for 13 florins "in più volte," *uscita* c. 152, collates with c. 1 left, dated 18 July 1526, with c. 5 left, dated 6 June 1526, and with c. 8 left, dated 26 May-31 July 1526. The second and third entries, for 7 lire and 14 lire, *uscita* c. 158, collate with c. 5 left and c. 13 right, dated 14 and 16 April 1527, respectively. The remaining entries, *uscita* c. 159, collates with c. 16 left, dated 20 April-15 June 1527, and with c. 20 left, dated 13 April 1527.

[5] Shearman 1959, 128n14 gives evidence that the date of the interrupted demolition at S. Salvi, generally taken as autumn 1529, is incorrect, and should rather be April 1530.

On account of the *clausura* of S. Salvi, until 1810, the authors of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries almost certainly did not see the fresco. Borghini [1807] II, 225–226; Bottari in Vasari [1759] II, 257n3; Baldinucci [1769] IV, 195.

[6] Dr. Shearman has informed the author that he would now agree with the reading of the *ricordo* and the records of payment in 1526–1527 as we have given them above, and in our discussion of the work of 1511 at S. Salvi. However, at this writing, he would still prefer to believe that the *Supper* was begun and largely executed c. 1520, though its completion in 1526–1527 must be allowed. Shearman points out (as we have taken care to note also) that the payments made before Don Ilario Panichi's death (4 April 1522), in the amount of 18 florins, seem larger than is warranted for the painting of the earlier arch alone, and could in logic represent in part the payment also for the beginning, c. 1520, of the *Cena* (rather than, as we suggest, an advance, or expenses of the preparation of the wall; q.v. under our discussion of the first campaign of decoration in our catalogue entry no. 13). Such a proposition, of the beginning of work on the *Last Supper* c. 1520, would be permissible if all the following conditions were satisfied: (a) the records for the bulk of payment were before Panichi's death; but they are instead in 1526–1527; (b) the account of Vasari indicated a protracted period of execution; but he speaks instead of "non molti mesi"; (c) the fresco itself showed differences either of physical structure or of style that resulted from an execution protracted over seven years; but it is of a visible single consistency and nothing in it (including the Michelangelism of the Apostle at extreme right) does not jibe with the evidence of Andrea's style c. 1526.

[7] A copy was in the Wouters Collection, Paris. In the copy, the partly sketched note of the same figure to the right in the original is completed.

[8] The head of the figure on the recto copied on Uffizi 34F, ink, 9.8 x 7.6. Called an original by Ferri 1893, 134; Berenson 1903, no. 57, [1938] no. 108A; Knapp 1907, 133; di Pietro 1911, no. 1. Fraenckel 1935, 186 and Marcucci 1954, 17 establish that the drawing was a copy, and it is now properly so catalogued in the cabinet.

[9] The verso partly copied on Uffizi 14442Fr. See di Pietro 1911, 67, ill. p. 61.

[10] Louvre 1714/2 is copied on the verso of Uffizi 14442F. Di Pietro 1911, 67.

Jacobsen 1898, 276–277 and Guinness 1899, 89 incorrectly associate Uffizi 669E, for the *Disputà*, with this fresco; Venturi 1925, 611 incorrectly associates a Poggio drawing, Louvre 1684.

66 · 1527–1530. SACRIFICE OF ISAAC (various versions).

This subject by Andrea is mentioned in the *Codex Magliabechiano*, 109: "Et l'ultima opera che ej facessj fu un quadro d'altezza 3 braccia, entrovj dipinse un sacrifitio di Hobram et Isac con certj pastorj . . . Laquale hebbe poi il marchese di Peschara per mezo di Filippo Strozzi." Vasari 1550, 767 describes the subject as having been commissioned to Andrea, at the same time as a painting of a *Caritas*, by Giovanni Battista della Palla, who was acquiring works of art on behalf of the King of France: ". . . fece in uno quando Abraam vuole ammazzare nel Sacrificio Isaac; cosa tanto rara di suo, che fu giudicato che egli non avessi fatto mai meglio. Perchè si vedeva dentro a quella figura di vecchio, quella constanzia d'animo, et quella fede, che non lo spaventava nello ammazzare il figliuolo; Et nel menare del ferro, voltava la testa a un putto, che par gli dica che fermi il colpo; il qual di belezza non si può far meglio, senza che l'abito, l'attitudine, et i calzari, et altre cose di quel vecchio avevono una grandissima maestà. Oltra che si vedeva ignudo la bellissima et tenera età di Isaac, che dal timore della morte si vedeva quasi tremare, et morire innanzi al ferillo, avendo persino contratto il collo, tinto dal calore del Sole, et il resto del ignudo candidissimo per la coperta de panni. Senza che vi era un montone fra le spine vivo, et i panni d'Isaac a terra, veri più che dipinti: Oltre a certi servi ignudi, che guardavano un asino che pasceva, con un paese da mostrare a chi guardava questa pittura, non essere stato quel fatto altrimenti, che come Andrea l'aveva lavorato." Vasari continues with the history of this version done for Giovanni Battista della Palla: "La qual pittura, dopo la sua morte, et la Cattura di Batista, fu venduta a Filippo Strozzi. Il qual ne fece dono a Alfonso Davolos Marchese del Vasto. Et il Marchese lo fece portare ne l'Isola d'Ischia, vicina a Napoli in alcune stanze in compagnia d'altre degnissime pitture." The sequence in which this description comes is indefinite, but it is within the last few years of Andrea's career. The description of the picture in the second edition [1880] V, 50–51 is essentially the same, as is the subsequent history given for it, and the sequence in which the invention of it occurs.

A *terminus post* of some use at least for the principal version of the painting, which Vasari here describes, is given by the circumstance of its commission by della Palla. Della Palla, exiled from Florence in consequence of the anti-Medicean conspiracy of 1522, had returned to the neighborhood of the city when the disturbances of 1527 promised the hope of a republican revolution. In the spring of that year he was, with Zanobi Buondelmonti, at the head of a combine of exiles outside Florence, and on the expulsion of the Medici, 17 May 1527, he would have been free to reenter the city.[1] Vasari states in 1550, 766 (but not in the second edition) that della Palla operated as a collector of art in Florence for three years, and the beginning of this span of time would coincide with the date of his return in 1527. Della Palla was arrested after the end of the Siege (12 August 1530), tortured and imprisoned, and died in prison in 1531? in Pisa.[2]

The fact that the *Sacrifice of Isaac* and the *Caritas* commissioned by della Palla never reached their intended destination in France, but remained in Florence after Andrea's death, need not be taken as an indication of commission toward the end of the three years della Palla spent in Florence as an art agent. Conditions in these years were of such uncertainty that the export of a large and expensive painting might have involved more risk than della Palla cared to take.

The *Sacrifice* had been paid for by della Palla, or at least mostly paid for. Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 53n1 informs us (on the basis of documentary material that he does not identify precisely) that this painting was sold through the agency of Filippo Strozzi (not given, as Vasari states) to the Marchese del Vasto for 107 ducats. There was apparently some dispute about the sale, since the sum was deposited with the *Otto* until 8 August 1531. On that date 20 ducats were paid to Andrea's widow, and the remainder paid to Strozzi in the capacity of *procuratore* for della Palla, then in prison.

The picture remained in Florence until late 1532 or early 1533. A letter of Vasari to Antonio de' Medici[3] says that Sarto's *Sacrifice*, of which Ottaviano de' Medici wished a copy from Vasari's hand, has been packed up and sent to Ischia before Vasari could take a drawing from it; he nevertheless has made an approximation of it from memory, which he sends with the letter as a gift to be given to Ottaviano after his return from the Mugello.

Baldinucci [1769] IV, 196 tells us further that this picture was, "dicesi," taken from Ischia to Spain, and returned thence into the Medici Collections and exposed in the Tribuna. This history would require the identification of the painting made for della Palla with that now in Dresden, q.v. below. Cat. Dresden 1929, no. 77 says (without citing a source) that Giulio Inghirami was the agent of the return of the work from Spain.

In a slightly later context, toward 1529, than his description of the painting for della Palla, Vasari 1550, 769 informs us of a second version of the *Sacrifice of Isaac*: "Venne volontà grandissima vedendo la bozza di quello Abraam a Paulo da Terra rossa, amico grandissimo universalmente di tutti i pittori, et persona, molto gentile; che Andrea li facessi in un quadro piccolo, un ritratto di quello. Et egli non gli potendo negare per essere la persona ch'io dico, volentieri si pose a servirlo. Et lo finì et lo fece tale, che nella sua piccolezza, non era punto inferiore alla grandezza di quello originale: per il che portatolo a casa Paulo et piaciutogli, li dimandò del prezzo per pagarlo: stimando che dovessi costarli quel che veramente e' valeva preparatosi a pagarglielo tutto quello che e' diceva per essere ben' servito. Chiese Andrea una miseria, che Paulo si vergognò: et strintosi nelle spalle gli diede tutto quel che chiese. Il quale quadro fu da lui mandato a Napoli . . ."; substantially the same account is in 1568 [1880] V, 52–53.[4]

There are three extant versions of the painting by Andrea, which we list below in order of their probable sequence in time.[5]

c. 1527, prime version: CLEVELAND, Museum of Art, Holden Collection no. 37.57. Figs. [179–184].

Panel, 177 x 138.

Unfinished. The landscape left center and portions of the painting right center (the ass especially) carried only to the underdrawing; the underdrawing generally visible throughout the painting. There are numerous pentimenti; in particular, the position of the angel has been drastically changed, from an almost vertical to a diagonal posture like that in the subsequent replicas. Other pentimenti, less drastic, in the shape of the rock form to the right of Abraham's left leg, in the head of Isaac, and in the whole outline of the right side of Isaac's body.

Abraham in a light red coat over a greenish-blue dress that bleaches to yellow-orange in the high lights on the sleeves; a light blue skirt visible under, on Abraham's left leg. Isaac's cast-off garment, lower left, yellow-orange gold: more to the rear, a second greyish garment. The altar grey, blue-shadowed. The landscape in varied tones of transparent tan and light blue.

Acquired in 1937 from the collection of Lt. Col. H. Cornwall Legh, by whom it was exhibited (in a partly repainted state) at Burlington House (Winter Exhibition) 1882, no. 206. It is alleged that the picture was acquired by a member of the Legh family from the Tordaneri Collection in Florence in 1862. However, Redford 1888, II, 251 under date of 1854 lists the sale in London of an *Abraham and Isaac*, unfinished, and said to be Andrea's last work; this picture was bought by William Carr for £168. It was resold by Mrs. Carr in 1859 to Peters for £42 (Redford 1888, II, 251, under date of 1859). The purchase by the Legh family of (what would seem to be) this same picture was probably from the last source, rather than directly from a source in Florence.

Biadi 1829, 162n2 lists, among the versions he knows of the composition, an unfinished picture which was once in the Casa Montalvi, Florence, then in the Peruzzi Collection, and in Biadi's time in the Collection Zondadori. Reumont 1835, 182–183n1 also knew this painting, which may be identical with the panel presently in Cleveland. Guinness 1899, 74–75 notes without comment the exhibition of Col. Legh's picture in 1882. Francis 1938, 40 suggests the Cleveland picture is a first version.

1527–1528, principal version: DRESDEN, Gallery no. 77 (Cat. 1929). Fig. [190].

Panel, 213 x 159. Monogrammed to the lower right.

Extensive small losses; the seams of the panel, especially those left of center and far right, opened and generously repainted.

The coat of Abraham a deeper and more orangey red than in the Cleveland version; the dress a blued grey; the remaining color similar to that in the Cleveland version but in general stronger, deeper, and more clearly articulated.

Larger than the Cleveland version, and different from it in particular in the following details: the group of servants in the background right, the lamb to the middle distance right, the landscape upper left.

This version can be traced with entire certainty to the collection of the Cardinal Carlo de' Medici. Inventoried in the Uffizi 1633, and in the Tribuna, where it remained until 1649. It was then exchanged to the Ducal Gallery of Modena for Correggio's *Rest on the Flight* and a *St. Catherine* attributed to Raphael.[6] Acquired by Dresden in 1746 from Modena. Cat. Dresden 1765, no. 242. Identified by the Dresden catalogue as the version done for della Palla. This identification is generally, and properly, accepted; see the history prior to 1633 above.[7]

Biadi 1829, 162 as the painting for della Palla. Hirt 1830, 30 as a masterpiece of Andrea's. Reumont 1835, 183n as a work of 1529, but not quite certainly the picture done for della Palla. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 192–193 say that none of the extant versions, including this one, are worthy of the praise Vasari gives to della Palla's version. Janitscheck 1879, 44 makes the identification as della Palla's painting explicit, and says the date should be 1529. Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 51n3 is positive as to the identification but 53n1 seems less certain. Morelli [1883] 203 is also uncertain. Guinness 1899, 74 says this is della Palla's picture, and dates it 1529; so also Knapp 1907, 117–118, 129, who dates it 1529–1530. Venturi 1925, 618 and Fraenckel 1935, 73–74, 134, 227n70: della Palla's picture. Fraenckel gives the date c. 1526–1527. Wagner 1959, 434, following Fraenckel, dates the picture c. 1526.

c. 1529, reduced replica: MADRID, Prado no. 336. Fig. [191].

Panel, 98 x 69.

The torso of Isaac, the drapery to the lower left, the middle drapery of Abraham, and the sky throughout much marred by damages and inept restoration.

The coat of Abraham redder than in the Dresden picture, and his blue-grey dress here has a violet cast.

Acquired by Charles IV; once at the Escorial. In the inventory of pictures at Aranjuez, 1814.[8]

Generally taken in the literature, and almost certainly correctly, to be the replica made by Andrea for Paolo Terrarossa.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 192–193 probably the Terrarossa picture; damaged but by Andrea. Janitschek 1879, 44 for Terrarossa. So also Morelli [1883] 203; Guinness 1899, 74; Knapp 1907, 132; Venturi 1925, 618 ff., but p. 625 with the inexplicable date (a typographical error?) 1523. Fraenckel 1935, 134, 226n70 says this should be, from Vasari's account, the version done for Terrarossa, but does not exclude that it might instead be a later imitation.

It has been observed since Scanelli 1657, 174 that the *Sacrifice* depends on some experience of the *Laocoön* group. Förster 1906, 176 examines the relation in some detail, but points out that the picture is by no means literally dependent on the ancient model. Knapp 1907, 117–118 would use Andrea's knowledge of the statue as an evidence of a recent experience of Rome. Andrea may indeed have been in Rome a few years before he undertook the *Sacrifice* [9] but he would hardly have made the journey in the conditions that prevailed after 1526. It is more likely that his study of the statue was from Bandinelli's copy, transferred to Florence 10 December 1524.[10]

A multitude of possible explanations may be offered for the unfinished state of what we consider Andrea's prime version of the *Sacrifice of Isaac*, now in Cleveland, but speculation on this is fruitless. Two points only require consideration, and only one of them requires demonstration: Andrea's authorship of this painting, instantly apparent, and its position as the first one of this series. For the latter point there is, we think, convincing evidence. The pentimento in the posture of the angel shows a shift, from an initially different idea, to a posture then repeated in the Dresden and the Prado versions. The pentimenti in the drawing of the Isaac indicate that his precise posture and articulation were, in this version, still being sought. Among the few surviving studies for this subject, only the three drawings that can be connected explicitly with this version show the character of an early stage of a preparation; these are Uffizi 317F recto and verso, and Uffizi 626Ev (see below). The last of these has, on its recto, a study for the *Madonna and Six Saints*, Pitti 307, earlier, by general critical agreement, than either the Dresden or Madrid versions of the *Sacrifice*.

It is not only the unfinished state, and the consequent effect of spontaneity and brilliance in the handling of the Cleveland panel, that give it the effect of a first version. The posture of the Abraham makes an instant impress of an energy that has been lost, as by an excess of deliberation, in the Dresden version, and the expression of both actors, more naturally convincing in the Cleveland panel, has turned to artificial pathos in the work in Dresden, and their features have been slightly, but noticeably, idealized.[11]

The state of the Cleveland painting, as we have remarked, emphasizes a brilliance in it that the Dresden version does not share: of transparent color, of shorthand brushwork, and of energy of movemented line. Advanced farther toward completion, these effects might well have become less, but they seem to be present in the painting as the result of more than an accident of finish. The energy of handling that we perceive is the counterpart of the energy we sense here in Andrea's chief actor, which, like the handling, in the Dresden and Madrid replicas is in a more deliberated, and diminished, key. This vivacity of whole conception, as well as of the handling, is no longer to be seen in the works we can document for Andrea after 1528. Its analogy is, still, with the manner of painting of the *Last Supper*, and with the luminous excitement of the Borgherini *Holy Family*. We should, therefore, date this prime, unfinished version of the *Sacrifice* within 1527, and assume it was commissioned, as a most pressing piece of his artistic business, by Giovanni Battista della Palla very soon after his return to Florence in that year.

We have stated that there is no way of knowing surely why this first panel was abandoned, but we might risk one speculation on the reason: that the relation of the angel to the head of Abraham, in terms of explicit narrative meaning, may have been found unsatisfactory; and there was no room on this panel to repair it. A major difference in just this respect has been made in the two replicas.[12]

The reprise of the subject on a new and larger panel, that now in Dresden, may well have taken place before the end of 1527, but its execution, rhythmically simpler, and more shadowed than in the prime version, begins to suggest Andrea's manner in the dated works of 1528. As for the Madrid version, still broader and simpler, and softer also, its manner (and Vasari's implication of interval in time until its commission) requires that we place it later, c. 1529.

PREPARATORY STUDIES

FLORENCE, Uffizi no. 626E. *Verso*, a putto flying, lightly sketched, then cancelled out. Red chalk, 19.6 x 14.2 (corners repaired). *Recto* (see under our catalogue entry no. 70). Fig. [188].

Di Pietro 1911, no. 54 as Andrea's without identification. Fraenckel 1935, 175 refuses the verso of the sheet to Andrea, though she accepts the recto. Berenson [1938] no. 86 (the verso not in 1903) as Andrea's without identification. Shearman 1959, 130 says both recto and verso may be connected with the *Assunta*, Pitti 191. Berenson [1961] no. 86 reports the verbal opinion of this author, 1957, of the connection of this verso with the angel of the *Sacrifice of Isaac*.

The connection is specifically with the Cleveland panel, not with that in Dresden, since the pose given to the angel on this sheet is that indicated for him in the underdrawing first made on the Cleveland panel.

——— no. 317F. *Recto*, model study from a half nude youth, seated to the right, his head bent on his raised left knee. *Verso*, drapery study for part of a standing figure, the left arm crossing over the body. Red chalk, (pieced out to) 27.2 x 18.6. Figs. [185, 186].

Knapp 1907, 133 states the recto is a study for the *Disputà*, the verso for the drapery of John Evangelist in the *Madonna of the Harpies*. Di Pietro 1911, no. 27 would specify Knapp's idea for the recto only: probably a first thought for the St. Sebastian of the *Disputà*; di Pietro repeats Knapp's identification for the verso. Fraenckel 1935, 188 rejects the recto to Andrea, and thinks the verso perhaps a copy from an early drawing by him. Berenson [1938] no. 113E (not in 1903) would tentatively accept Knapp's identification for the verso only. Catalogued in the Cabinet as School of Andrea.

The recto is a study for the drapery of the Abraham of the *Sacrifice*, the posture already having been fixed in Andrea's mind. The verso prepares the first of the two servants in the right background of the Cleveland version of the painting. Because the latter association is explicitly only with this version we may assume the verso is for this same painting too.

——— no. 339F. Studies from the leg and torso of the eldest son of the *Laocoön* group. Red chalk, 28 x 21.5. Inscribed "turpilio."[13] Fig. [187].

Ferri 1893, 138: studies from the *Laocoön* by Andrea, but without suggestion of the purpose of the sheet. Venturi 1889, 109 and Knapp 1907, 134 as Ferri. Berenson 1903, no. 84; [1938] no. 119C says Andrea may have done this sheet in connection with the *Sacrifice*. Di Pietro 1911, no. 52 definitely as a preparation of this picture. Ferri 1916, no. 20 as di Pietro. Fraenckel 1935, 190 gives this as a copy from Andrea. She reports the verso has Andrea's name spelled, in mirror writing, in Greek capitals; but the verso is in fact blank.

Exploited by Andrea for the Isaac of the *Sacrifice*; specific evidence of Andrea's study of the antique work (or its Florentine copy) to which Ashmolean 694 must equally refer.

LONDON, British Museum, Fawkener no. 5211–19. A saddled ass, browsing. Red chalk, 16.9 x 19.3. Inscribed by a later hand with Andrea's name. Fig. 106.

Guinness 1899, 74 identifies this as for the animal in the background of the Dresden version of the *Sacrifice*. So also Wickhoff 1899, 214n2; Berenson [1938] no. 135; Knapp 1907, 135; Colvin, Vasari Society ser. 1, 5:2 (1909/1910); Fraenckel 1935, 180.

OXFORD, Ashmolean Museum no. 694. Study from the head of Laocoön in the antique group, but given the character of a study after life. Black chalk, with traces of red in the outline and modelling, 24.3 x 17.2. Retouched on the nose, forehead, and cheek. The sheet pasted onto another piece of old paper. Fig. [189].

Parker, Cat. Ashmolean, 1956, no 694 as the work of a follower of Andrea, of the second quarter of the sixteenth century.

Judgment is somewhat obscured by the condition of this sheet. The first impression is of a hand more literal than Andrea's, and of a manner of modelling too soft for him. However, we know of no instance in which a copyist or imitator counterfeits, so successfully, and with so quick a line, the *trait* of Andrea in his drawing of hair. Rather than a copy, we incline to believe this an original, falsified in part by damage and by restoration, and inhibited by the abnormal relation of the artist to a statuary model. Both the good and bad points of this sheet have some parallels in another study by Andrea from an antique work, Berlin 12924r, for Poggio; and certain of the details (e.g., the accents in the beard, the shape of the lower ear) are duplicated there.[14]

COPIES

Formerly? CHRISTIANSBORG, Kongelige Billedgalleri no. 43 (Cat. 1827). Panel, 17T x 13¼T.

FLORENCE, Poggio Imperiale.

Härth 1959, 167n2 as a copy from the Cleveland version. She incorrectly supposes this may be the copy made by Vasari for Ottaviano de' Medici; Vasari specifies that his (free) copy was after the version for della Palla, i.e., that now in Dresden.

LYONS, Musée des Beaux-Arts no. 47. Panel, 210 x 163. Fig. 15.

Taken from Holland and given by Napoleon I to the museum in 1811, as a copy. De Ris [1872] 219. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 192–193 with a suggestion of Pontormo's authorship. Mantz 1877, 274n1 as a copy from the Dresden version, correctly. Janitschek 1879, 44 a school work. Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 52n1 would like to identify this painting with the "third" version of the *Sacrifice* to which the letter from Mini of 1531 refers (cf. note 4), and is followed in this by Guinness 1899, 73, 99.

A copy, freely from the della Palla version after its return to Florence in the early seventeenth century.[15]

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[1] Roth 1925, 21, 45, 100.

[2] Roth 1925, 135. Varchi, *Storia Fiorentina* (1721) 447 characterizes della Palla and relates his end. Vasari's report [1881] VI, 619 that della Palla introduced the sculptor Rustici to Francis I after the Medici expulsion, in 1528, must be incorrect.

[3] Milanesi in Vasari [1881] VIII, 242–243, dated February 1533; also, in German translation, in Reumont 1835, 184n, but with the date 1535.

[4] Gaye, *Carteggio* (1839–1840) II, 231 cites a letter of 8 October 1531 from Giovanni Battista Mini in Florence to Baccio Valori in Rome, about an "Abram" of Sarto. If Vasari's assertion that the version for Terrarossa was sent by him to Naples is correct, this letter would appear to refer to yet another version of the painting: ". . . el quadro de l'Abram vedesti d'Andreino del Sarto, si vendè al Duca di Albania ducati 125; andràne in Francia per aventura, aria voluto fussi rimasto a questa terra, bene ch'altri dice, ch'egli è venuto verso Roma." This is a somewhat mysterious piece of information. James Stuart, Duke of Albany, had been, in 1525, commander of the force

sent by Francis I against Naples. He fell far short of his objective, being compelled to withdraw after the defeat of Francis at Pavia. It is not clear why this prominent French officer should have been in Florence, as presumably he was by Mini's report, so soon after the Siege.

Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 53n1 would identify this reference with the painting now in Lyons, q.v. in our list of copies.

[5] For a fourth, in Lyons, see under Copies.

[6] Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 51n3; Poggi 1912, 45, from documents of the Medici Guardaroba. See also A. Venturi, *La Reale Galleria Estense in Modena* (1883) 242, 256, and Berenson 1930, 4 (where the research on the exchange between Modena and Florence has been summarized); and Cat. Dresden 1929, no. 77.

[7] D'Argenville [1762] I, 144, 146 proliferates this one picture, citing it in Florence, Modena, and Dresden all at once.

[8] Cat. Prado 1945.

[9] See our discussion of the Cortona *paramento* (our catalogue entry no. 63).

[10] Pastor [1910] X, 360n2. The copy commissioned 21 September 1520, by Leo X, and begun in Rome. Two of the sons are known to have been finished by 1523; see Sittl 1895, 10, and Venturi, *Storia*, X/2, 187–188. Vasari 1568 [1881] VI, 145 informs us that the statue was completed in 1525, sent to Florence and set up in the Palazzo Medici. Other *Laocoön* copies are cited by Bieber 1942.

[11] It may be speculated whether there is not a reference to the Cleveland version in the text of Vasari. When Vasari gives his account of Paolo Terrarossa's ordering the Madrid replica, Vasari uses the unusual term, *bozza*, to refer to the object Terrarossa saw. This may, of course, have been no more than the Dresden painting, *abozzato* on its panel. However, Vasari's citation of the Terrarossa incident occurs at a sufficient distance in his text from the description of the della Palla version to suggest that version may have been, by then, completed and delivered into della Palla's hands. Some details of the Madrid version of course require the use at least of the intervening drawings made, since the Cleveland *bozza*, for the "improvements" of the della Palla picture, but others suggest that Andrea may have had the Cleveland version also present to his eye. One of these in particular is the "difficult" passage of the head of Abraham, which in the Madrid version is closer in its exact foreshortening and in its expression to the Cleveland picture than to that in Dresden.

[12] It may be that this unfinished version is the third painting of the subject of which Mini reported the sale to the Duke of Albany in 1531, though its presumed subsequent history indicates that it was not actually exported, but remained in Florence.

[13] The paper bleached?

[14] Härth 1959, 167–173 very tentatively attributes to Andrea, as a possible preparatory study, a sheet in the Uffizi, no. 16480F (catalogued in the Cabinet for Puligo, and closer to his style than Andrea's), which shows a landscape quite similar to that in the background of the *Sacrifice*. Härth's concern is less with her doubtful attribution to Andrea than in pointing out the fact that this landscape occurs in a *Pietà* of the Antwerp school (Berlin) which she dates c. 1520. She points out also that the same landscape reappears in the background of a *Madonna* by Jacopino del Conte (Uffizi). Given Andrea's habit of adapting details from other sources, North European included, it would not be unexpected that he might make such a borrowing as this one that Härth suggests for the *Sacrifice*.

The following have been wrongly associated with the *Sacrifice* as preparatory drawings: Uffizi 305F (Cat. Dresden 1929, no. 77; but for the *Pinti Madonna*); Luton Hoo, Drury-Lowe Collection (Guinness 1899, 74; but a study for the *St. John the Baptist*, Pitti 272).

[15] The following are copies in drawing after the painting: Darmstadt AE 2131 recto and verso (*Stift und Feder*, 1930, 77–79) by Naldini, apparently freely after the Cleveland version, but there is the possibility that it is based instead upon a lost *pensiero* by Andrea; Rotterdam, Boymans Museum, Koenigs Collection, red chalk, 42.7 x 21.3 (after the nude Isaac); Stockholm, National Museum, black and white chalk on grey paper, 28.6 x 18.6 (after the head of Isaac), already rejected by Sirén 1933, 109–110 and Fraenckel 1935, 200.

67· c. 1527. ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST. Lost.

This design is one of two pictures of the subject reported by Vasari in succession to each other, and in sequence just following Andrea's work at Poggio a Cajano. No useful distinction is made by Vasari in his too succinct description of either *St. John*: one is called "una meza figura ignuda di San' Giovan Batista," the other "un San Giovan' Batista mezo ignudo." Both pictures in fact represent half-length figures, in half undress. For the *St. John* Vasari reports first in order, see under our catalogue entry no. 74, Pitti 272 (Fig. [200]), to which we assign a date in 1528. Though Vasari gives no helpful description of the second picture in his order, the "San Giovan' Batista mezo ignudo," he does speak at length of the circumstances that surround this picture (1550, 757): ". . . ricordatosi alcuna volta delle cose di Francia, sospirava grandemente: et s'egli avessi pensato di potere avere perdono de'l fallo commesso: non è dubbio ch'egli vi sarebbe con ogni suo sforzo ritornato. Et così per tentare la fortuna, pensando forse che per la virtù sua, egli avessi a essere assoluto, si messe giù: et fece un quadro dentrovi un San' Giovan' Batista mezo ignudo: per mandarlo al gran maestro di Francia acciò ch'egli fussi mezzano con quel Re, a farli ritornare la grazia persa: Ma sconfortato da mercanti non glie lo mandò, anzi lo vendè al magnifico Ottaviano de' Medici: il quale lo stimò sempre mentre ch'e'visse . . ." The same account is in the second edition [1880] V, 37, except that the reference to Andrea's unsatisfactory dealing with the merchants is deleted. Borghini [1807] II, 223 summarizes Vasari's notice.

The identification of this lost work, rather than the *St. John* that survives in the Pitti, as the version of the subject intended for the king of France is by exclusion: we are able positively to identify the present Pitti picture as the *St. John* Vasari describes first, done for Giovanni Maria Benintendi. For our evidence, see our discussion of that work, our catalogue entry no. 74.

COPIES

The copies generally agree in their evidence of color: St. John carries a rose-colored drapery over his left arm, and his brown fur is hung over his shoulder with a strip of blue cloth. Neutral background.

Formerly BOLOGNA, Count Marescalchi.

Reported by Reumont 1835, 130n.

CAMBRIDGE, Mass., S. J. Freedberg. Canvas, 84.5 x 67.3.

Of the seventeenth century.

Formerly? FLORENCE, Palazzo Pitti.

Reumont 1835, 130n states a painting of this description, perhaps a copy of Andrea's lost work, and certainly from Sarto's school, was in his time in the Galleria del Poccetti in the Pitti; *Verz.* he would date Andrea's original in 1521. Milanesi in Vasari [1880], V, 37 states this painting is in the Stanza d'Ulisse. Now findable within the precincts of the Gallery is only the following work.

FLORENCE, Pitti deposit, from Poggio Imperiale, no. 17. Panel, 68 x 58.

Perhaps the painting described by Reumont and Milanesi, q.v. above. (Photograph Soprintendenza 94425.)

——— Uffizi deposit no. 924 (inv. 1881). Canvas. John's cross is wound about with a banderole carrying the legend "Ecce Agnus."

Of the later sixteenth century.

LONDON, Art Market. Panel, 72.5 x 54. From the William Cave Collection, Bristol, with a provenience from the Palazzo Orsini, Rome. Fig. [192].

Probably the same picture as that reported by Reumont in the collection of Mr. Rogers, London, q.v. below.

Attributed at one time to Andrea del Brescianino, and more recently to Michele di Ridolfo (Tosini); with great likelihood by him.

Formerly LONDON, Mr. Rogers.

Reported by Reumont 1835, 130n as purported, "wahrscheinlich mit recht," to be by Andrea.

LUCCA, Pinacoteca Nazionale no. 69. Panel. A landscape added to the right.

Of the later sixteenth century.

Formerly? POTSDAM, Sansoucci, Gallery, no. 123.

Exhibited as a work of Sarto's school.

VIENNA, Liechtenstein Collection no. 12 (Cat. 1931). Panel, 66 x 51.

Bode, Cat. Liechtenstein 1896, 73 remarks the influence of Michelangelo. Cat. 1931, no. 12, as an original by Sarto.

Of the later sixteenth century.

The evidence of the style of Andrea's original provided by the copies is not quite consistent in certain respects that would be, precisely, important for determination of the date of that original. On this account, our estimated date is given with some reserve. The copy of best quality is the one, probably by Michele Tosini, now in the London art market (Fig. [192]); however, because this copy is not merely pedestrian, but shows the personality of another artist, it may not be wholly accurate in the information it gives of the work from which it derives. It smooths and flattens, rather schematically, the effects of form. The copy in the Liechenstein Collection, later but of good quality also, shows a more accented modelling of form but seems, in a Manneristic way, to have elongated the proportions; otherwise, it gives the same information as the presumed Tosini. The accented modelling of anatomy that is in the Liechtenstein copy reappears, without exception, in the other copies also, and in this respect its information would seem more accurate than that provided by the Tosini.

Vasari's implication of date for both the *St. John* subjects is c. 1522. The surviving *St. John* is, quite certainly, to be dated much later than this, c. 1528; however, there is no absolutely binding reason in Vasari's mention together of the two *St. Johns* that requires us to date the first with the second. If we accept the information of the Tosini copy only, Vasari's chronological location of the version meant for France is not unlikely; there are points of reasonable similarity between the Tosini and, e.g., the angels of the Vienna *Pietà*, or the angel of the Scala altar. Not too distant from such a date, also, is the St. Sebastian of the *Disputà*, of which there has been, in this *St. John*, an evident recall. However, when we consider the different — and in this respect, consistent — information of the handling of the anatomy that is given us by the Liechtenstein and other copies, there seems more reason to believe Andrea's lost original was a product of a later time than c. 1522, close indeed to the date we must assign to the surviving version. In these other copies, the association that suggests itself at once is with the St. John in the *Madonna and Six Saints*, Pitti 307 (1527–1528), similar not only in pose and in proportion, but in the modelling of his anatomy. In the St. John of the altarpiece too, as in the Magdalen beside him, there is the recall that we remarked for the lost St. John of the older *Disputà*. Given this term of reference, many more points of comparison with other pictures of this time emerge. The head of St. John, in Tosini's copy in particular, strongly suggests the structure and the modelling of the head of the Borgherini Madonna, of 1527; less closely in structure, but more in physiognomic type, it resembles the head of Michael in the *Four Saints* of 1528. In a slightly earlier direction, there is a likeness in the rather long proportions of the figure with the torsoes of the S. Salvi *Cena* (those to the right especially), and to the figures (as, e.g., in particular the handmaid seen partly from the rear) in the *Naming of the Baptist*, 1526.

If we locate the lost *St. John* about this time, then Vasari's account of the history of the painting may help us to specify when it was done. After the defeat of Pavia, and until May 1526, when his situation was in effect restored, Francis I would hardly have been a good speculation for the purchase of an uncommissioned picture. After mid-1527, the presumption would be that the work intended for Francis would have been handled through Giovanni Battista della Palla (cf. the *Sacrifice of Isaac*), and there is no evidence that he entered into this transaction. As Vasari tells us, the picture was in fact sold to Ottaviano de' Medici.

68 · c. 1527. HOLY FAMILY WITH THE INFANT ST. JOHN (*Borgherini Holy Family*). New York, Metropolitan Museum no. 22.75, Cat. 1940. Fig. [194].

Panel, 135.8 x 100.6.

Some slight abrasion, particularly to the left; small losses, but few large enough to be disfiguring.

The Madonna in a mauve dress with a green belt and yellow-gold sleeve; a strong blue mantle draped across her lap. The Christ Child in a loincloth *changeant* from blue to mauve; he holds a blue orb, gold-striped. St. John's garment brown; he kneels on a bright red-orange drapery. A silvery-white pillow beneath the Christ Child's right foot. The support on which the children stand is light brown; the curtain across the background of the picture is a deep green.

The painting is correctly recognized to be the work described by Vasari 1550, 768–769: "Fece un altro quadro quasi simile a quello della Carità già detta a Giovan Borgherini, dentrovi una Nostra Donna dove è un San Giovanni putto, che porge a CHRISTO una palla, figurata per il mondo; con una testa di Giuseppo molto bella." Almost the same wording is in the second edition [1880] V, 52.[1] In 1550, 749, and 1568 [1880] V, 27, what is almost surely this same picture is mentioned by Vasari among the contents of the decorated *camera* of Pierfrancesco and Margherita Borgherini that Giovanni Battista della Palla tried unsuccessfully to purchase during the time of the Siege.

Four documents appear to refer to the purchase of this picture from the Borgherini by the Medici, and its transfer to Rome to the residence there of Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici. The first notice, A.S.F. Guardaroba 91, c. 101v, under date 11 July 1579 records the purchase: "Dal s^{r} Cavaliere Niccolò Gaddi un quadro di pittura co ornam^{to} doro di mano di Andrea del Sarto; il quale d^{o} s^{r} C. disse havere compr[at]o da m[esser] Vincentio, ò altri de borgherinj p[er] prezzo di F. 56; d^{o} di mt^{a} et cōsegnato a me parugio giandonati. Messo a entrata al inventario c. 46." A further notice (A.S.F. Guardaroba 79, Inventario Generale della Guardaroba del Card. Ferdinando de' Medici, c. 42) specifies the subject of the picture: "Un Redentore in braccio alla SS^{ma} Vergine, opera di Andrea del Sarto, acquistata della famiglia Borgherini." Another notice in A.S.F. Guardaroba 91, c. 102, under date 13 July 1579 reports the packing of the picture and its shipment to Rome: "V[n]^{a} cassa grande entrovi un quadro di pintura cō ornamento doro consegnato dal S^{re} Gaddi . . . che se mandata a Roma." The receipt of the painting in Rome is recorded in A.S.F. Guardaroba 79, c.46: "Un quadro dipinto in tavola entro San^{ma} Donna con Xro in braccia dipinto d'Andrea del Sarto con orname^{to} al antica tutto lavorato e dorato alto B [*blank in ms.*] e largo Br [*blank in ms.*] mandatoci di firenze m. Parugino Giandonati che comperò da borgherini adi 21 di luglio 1579 al quadernuccio 150."[2]

Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 52n2 reports he saw this picture in 1852 in Florence, in private hands, offered for sale; this notice repeated from the Lemonnier ed. [1852] VIII, 290n3. Waagen 1857, 497 saw it in the collection of William Drury Lowe at Locko Park, and observed that it was a "delicate picture by the master." Cat. Locko Park 1901, no. 54 as Andrea's. Exhibited at the Royal Academy, 1907, no. 31, from C. Fairfax Murray, from whose collection it was acquired by the Museum in 1922.

Listed by Biadi 1829, 153 as if he did not know the painting; not in Reumont 1835 nor in Crowe and Cavalcaselle. Despite the references to the existence of this painting made by Waagen and by Milanesi, and its appearance in the Royal Academy exhibition of 1907, the original seems to have remained mostly unknown to the more recent writers. Guinness 1899, 93 knew only the Corsini copy (q.v. below); Knapp did not mention it either in his edition of 1907 or in that of 1928. On the occasion of the exhibition of the painting in 1907 it was dismissed by von Schleinitz 1907, 242 as a school piece. Di Pietro 1911, 74 knew only two copies, in his time in the Museo di S. Marco and the Uffizi. Published by Burroughs 1922, 123 ff., affirming the identity of the painting as the *Holy Family* for Borgherini, and giving a listing of old copies and some preparatory drawings (which had been related, until then, to the information of the appearance of the original provided by the copyists). Berenson [1932] 19 lists the painting as Andrea's. Fraenckel 1935, 86, 159, 233n82 makes the same mistaken proposition for this painting that she makes for Wallace Collection no. 9: that it is a work begun by Andrea but left unfinished by him and completed by another hand. Shearman 1959, 127 asserts the Joseph is Andrea's self-portrait; but see our observations on this subject in the course of our discussion of the *Assunta*, Pitti 191, in our catalogue entry no. 52.

In both editions, Vasari's citation of this picture occurs in a chronological context that is of 1528–1529. He notes specifically that the painting is similar to a *Caritas* commissioned by Giovanni Battista della Palla for export to Francis I (now in the Kress Collection) and the wording and the sequence of his mention of the Borgherini picture imply (but do not state precisely) that the latter is the later work. This implication is either unintended or incorrect. A recent cleaning of the *Caritas* has produced almost certain proof that it is subsequent to the *Holy Family*. A pentimento left center has been revealed in the *Caritas* which indicates it had been begun, probably, almost as a replica of the Borgherini work: a hand (of St. John) and half of a head of St. Joseph, as he is in the Borgherini painting, are now visible. Further, it can hardly be wholly an accident of survival that all the preparatory material must be associated with the Borgherini *Holy Family*, and not with the *Caritas* for della Palla; clearly (as is the case with the two versions of the *Assunta*, Pitti 191 and Pitti 225) the preparations made explicitly for one were largely reused in the other. The style of the Borgherini painting in any case requires that it be dated c. 1527, with small liberty only for the "circa," while the *Caritas* matches neatly with the dated works of 1528. The *Holy Family* has been conceived in the same vein of handling, brilliant and accented, that we perceive in the prime version of the *Sacrifice of Isaac*. The rhythmic temper, both of handling and of whole design, is, as much as in the work in Cleveland, still visibly related to the S. Salvi *Supper*, but a little quieter than there, perhaps, in the movement of the folds of drapery. The color is a development of the bright play of color in the fresco, and even more calculatedly complex; it is a little less high keyed, though this may be expected in a panel. There is a sense in the *Holy Family* of the imminence, or the actual beginning, of the process of smoothing and of relative quieting that are more apparent in the Dresden painting of the *Sacrifice*.

Certain details suggest a close relation to the works we locate in the neighborhood of 1527. To the profile of the Baptist here, compare that of the Evangelist in the *Supper*; and compare the modelling of his anatomy with that of the Cleveland Isaac. The Christ Child's type and body are like a transformation into finished form of the angel of the Cleveland picture. The head of Joseph invites comparison to the Abraham, as much in the prime version as in the Dresden replica.

PREPARATORY STUDIES

FLORENCE, Uffizi no. 631E. *Recto*, head of a child, in profile to the right. Red chalk, 24.6 x 17.6. Fig. 107. *Verso* (see under our catalogue entry no. 69).

Ferri 1893, 131 associated this sheet with the Madonna for Ottaviano de' Medici. Jacobsen 1898, 273 for the *Holy Family*, Pitti 62. Guinness 1899, 77 as Ferri. Berenson 1903, no. 90 without identification. Knapp 1907, 134 as Ferri. Di Pietro 1911, no. 58 makes the correct identification, for the St. John of the Borgherini *Holy Family* (of which he knew the copies only). Fraenckel 1935, 175 makes no identification, but gives a mistaken date c. 1516–1518. Berenson [1938] no. 90 as Ferri. Marcucci 1954, no. 23, with further bibliography.

——— no. 653E. Head of a woman almost in profile to the left. Red chalk on pink-tinted paper, 13.6 x 11; badly rubbed. Fig. 108.

Ferri 1893, 133 as a study for a portrait of Lucrezia. Jacobsen 1898, 273 as a study for the Virgin of Pitti 62. Berenson 1903, no. 98 possibly Lucrezia, and suggesting the St. Catherine of the Pitti *Pietà*. Di Pietro 1911, no. 71 for the St. Catherine of the Pitti *Pietà*. Fraenckel 1935, 192 not by Andrea, perhaps a copy of a lost drawing; she properly compares the attitude of the head with that of the Madonna of the Borgherini *Holy Family*. Berenson [1938] no. 98 retains his former suggestion and adds to it that of Fraenckel.

Explicitly for the head of the Madonna of the Borgherini *Holy Family*. Maria, rather than Lucrezia, would appear to the the model for this study.

——— no. 6444F. *Recto*, lower part of a female torso, partly draped; part of the body of a child, lightly sketched. *Verso*, upper part of a clothed female, facing toward the left. Red chalk on pink-tinted paper, 19 x 13.7; the corners repaired. Figs. 109, 110.

Knapp 1907, 134 identifies both recto and verso with the (lost) altar in Berlin. Berenson 1903, no. 127 without identification. Di Pietro 1911, nos. 88, 89 for the Borgherini *Holy Family*, correctly. Fraenckel 1935, 193 as a doubtful drawing, perhaps a copy from a lost original, for the Borgherini *Holy Family*. Berenson [1938] no. 127 accepts this identification; so also Marcucci 1954, under no. 23.

——— no. 6445F. *Recto*, head of a bearded older man, three-quarters to the right; a draped arm. *Verso*, legs of children, lightly sketched, one standing, one kneeling on a sack; inscribed "turpilio." Red chalk on pink-tinted paper, 15.3 x 22.5. Badly stained. Figs. 111, 112.

Di Pietro 1911, 75n3 as a copy, and Fraenckel 1935, 194 as a *ricordo* from a lost drawing for the Madonna Borgherini. Catalogued as a copy in the Cabinet. Marcucci 1954, under no. 23, correctly indicates this should be considered an authentic study for the Borgherini *Holy Family*; so also Shearman 1959, 127.

PARIS, Louvre no. 1714/1. *Recto*, a left hand supporting part of a child's arm; three studies of a right hand, one holding a piece of drapery; a right hand in foreshortening resting on a curved surface. *Verso*, two studies of drapery, with manuscript notes. Red chalk, 16.2 x 23.9. Fig. [178], verso not illustrated.

Reiset 1866, no 49. Berenson [1938] no. 154, describing the recto only, states that it contains (mainly) studies of hands for the fifth Apostle from the right of the *Last Supper*. Fraenckel 1935, 183 identifies the sketches on both recto and verso: on the recto for the left hand of the Madonna, for her right hand, and for the left hand of St. John; on the verso for the drapery across the background, all in the Borgherini *Holy Family*.[3]

For further drawings on this mount see under Preparatory Studies for the *Last Supper*, S. Salvi, our catalogue entry no. 65.

COPIES AND DERIVATIONS

BURGOS, Don Isidro Plaza.

Of the late sixteenth or seventeenth century.

FLORENCE, Galleria Corsini no. 159 (cat. 1886). Panel, 112 x 89.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 194 by a pupil, but they note that it contains the figures described by Vasari in the painting for Borgherini. Guinness 1899, 93 and subsequent writers as a copy of the Borgherini picture.

——— S. Salvi, no. 4645. Panel.

Early and of good quality.

LONDON, Dowdeswell Collection.

A free variant rather than a copy. At earliest of the seventeenth century.

MADRID, Unidentified Collection.

A free and clumsy pastiche from the Borgherini design, but excluding the St. Joseph.

Sold NEW YORK, Parke-Bernet, J. Aldred sale, 6–7 December 1940, no. 19. Panel, 89 x 81; omitting the Joseph. Previously sold from the J. W. Lane Collection in 1924.

Attributed in the sales catalogue to Puligo, wrongly.[4]

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[1] It should be observed, in connection with our discussion of the iconography of Andrea's countenance under *Assunta*, Pitti 191, (our catalogue entry no. 52), that though Vasari singles out this head of St. Joseph for mention it is not identified by him as a portrait of the artist.

Mr. J. F. O'Gorman has suggested that the subject of the picture should be interpreted as a reference to Christ's kingship over Florence, officially promulgated after the Gonfaloniere Niccolò Capponi's speech, February 9, 1528. The interpretation and the association are both possible, on grounds of subject and of the approximate date we would assign to the painting. It should be noted, however, that the idea of the theocracy of Florence was no new one, but a commonplace of Savonarolesque politics. Nerli, *Commentarii de' Fatti Civili* . . . (Augsburg [printed in Florence] 1728) 170, tells us that Capponi "quasi di parola in parola recitò una delle prediche di fra Girolamo" on the occasion that Christ was proclaimed King of Florence. Savonarola's ideas, this one included, had achieved a vigorous revival after the expulsion of the Medici in May 1527, so that the apparent theme of the Borgherini picture need not be associated in time with the formal proclamation of the Consiglio Maggiore.

[2] The three documents unpublished. The notice in A.S.F. 79 on c. 46 kindly called to the author's attention by Professor James Holderbaum; that in A.S.F. 41 on c. 102 by Mr. Edward Sanchez.

[3] The sheet now pasted down, but Fraenckel 1935, pl. xii reproduces the verso.

[4] The following are copies in drawing from the painting: Florence, Uffizi 14460F (di Pietro 1911, 71, fig. 62); Turin, Biblioteca Reale 398 (Cat. 1958), from the collection of Thomas Hudson.

Uffizi 274F, now catalogued as a copy after Andrea del Sarto, may be after a lost study by Andrea for the St. John of the Borgherini *Holy Family*; see our remark on this sheet in our Catalogue of Attributed Drawings.

69 · 1527–1528. HOLY FAMILY WITH THE INFANT ST. JOHN. Florence, Pitti no. 62. Fig. [193].

Panel, 129 x 105.

Minor losses, especially to the upper center and left; some abrasion center. The present condition of the painting would seem, in general, very satisfactory, but its execution is not. The deviations from Andrea's personal manner of handling, in quality and in the very shapes of Morellian detail, are pervasively, and in places grossly, evident in this picture. It is possible that the work as it now stands may be the victim of a very old and disfiguring repainting, but more likely its appearance is the result of execution in very considerable part by Andrea's shop.[1]

The Madonna wears a bleaching rose dress with a transparent blue-white scarf; touches of dark blue drapery over her left arm and behind her. She has a blue fillet in her reddish-brown hair. The Joseph is in a muted violet dress. The Christ Child shows a peculiarly greyed flesh; he lies partly on the Virgin's robe, and partly on a yellow-orange cloth. A white sack to the right, under the Christ Child's arm. The foreground brown; the architecture a darkened yellow-green; the landscape right of somewhat acid greenish tone.

Vasari 1550, 755 describes this subject almost precisely as a painting executed for Zanobi Bracci:

". . . una Nostra Donna, che inginocchiata si appoggia a un masso, contemplando CHRISTO, che posato in s'un un viluppo di panni, la guarda sorridendo: Et così v'è ritto un putto, ch'è finto per San Giovanni; che accenna alla Nostra Donna, mostrando quello essere il figliuol di DIO. Et dietro loro è un Giuseppo appoggiato con la testa in su le mani, che le posa in uno scoglio; che pare ch'egli si beatifichi l'anima nel vedere la generazione umana, esser diventata per quella nascità, divina." Substantially the same description is in 1568 [1880] V, 35, and is repeated by Borghini [1807] II, 222.[2]

Manuscript references in A.S.F. Guardaroba 91 and 79 probably refer to this painting. The reference in Guardaroba 91, c. 101: "Adi p^{mo} di luglio 1579. Da mons^{re} Antonio Bracci o da Donativi uno quadro di Pittura di mano d'Andrea del Sarto, d'altezza di b^{a} 2½ et largo b^{a} 2 incirca, portò Parugio Giandonati, quale disse che detto Mōna l'haveva donato a SS. Ill^{ma} [*Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici*] .... al invent^{o} car 46.

Adi 6 detto. Far debitore la G^{ba} [*Guardaroba*] di Roma dal appiè roba mandata a Roma porto Piero del Barna ò suo mandato:

U^{o} quadro di Pittura sopdetto."

That the picture referred to is the present Pitti 62, and not the "second" Bracci *Holy Family* now in Rome is indicated by the note of receipt in Guardaroba 79, in which it is specified that the picture contains a St. John (as the "second" *Holy Family* does not): "Un quadro intavola dipinto la nostra Dona co Xro in braccio e sa' Giovanni e S. Giuseppo dipinto da Andrea del Sarto venuto di firenze [*to Rome*] da m. Antonio Bracci senza or^{to} [*ornamento*] alto palmi 5¼ e largo palmi 4 adi 17 di luglio 1579 al qua^{no} [*quaderno*] F, c. 146 e fattovi far ladornamento di pero da Ms [*blank in ms.*] e fatto dipigner nero e arabescha d^{o} da m Jacopo Zucchi pittore."[3] It may be presumed the picture was returned to Florence with the other property in Rome of the Cardinal Ferdinando.[4]

Vasari's citation of the picture occurs in a section of his text where the chronology is particularly confused: pictures of the first half of the twenties are cited before this one, but it precedes the description of the work at Poggio. It is on account of this conjunction that the dating given to Pitti 62 in the literature is most often c. 1521. Reumont 1835, 130–131 and *Verz.* accepts that this is the painting done for Bracci, and gives the date 1521; so also Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 192 and Burckhardt-Bode 1879, 635. Reumont 1835, 132n1 notes that the present Pitti 62 was engraved from the collection of the Grand Duke Pietro Leopoldo. Guinness 1899, 77 takes this as Bracci's picture, but gives no date. Knapp 1907, 98, 129 as Bracci's picture, c. 1521, but of lesser merit. Venturi 1925, 613–614 as Bracci's painting, but with the observation that it is a work of bad quality and of Andrea's latest period, done with assistance. Berenson [1932] 17 accepts the work without remark. Fraenckel 1935, 105, 164, 238n94 regards Pitti 62 as the work of a Sarto imitator of the later sixteenth century, apparently not admitting the existence of an original like it by Andrea: an unlikely proposition if only in view of the fact that this is one of the most copied works in Sarto's *oeuvre*, and the copies are uniformly attached by tradition to his name.

Precise comparison of this work with works that are entirely Andrea's own is made difficult by the amount in it of assistant's intervention. However, it may be remarked at once that the drapery style in the Madonna, at first sight somewhat unexpected, is close to the most complicated passages of drapery in the S. Salvi *Supper*; compare especially the drapery of the Apostle farthest right (presumably the latest painted). There is analogy also for the drapery of the Madonna, though in a less fussy variation, in the two kneeling saints in the foreground of the altarpiece of the *Madonna and Six Saints* Pitti 307, by our account conceived at about the same time. The type of the children also finds close analogy in that altar, but compare especially the upturned head of Christ and that of the cherub underneath the Madonna's left foot in Pitti 307. The Joseph, as a type, has much affinity with the Abraham in the Dresden version of the *Sacrifice*, though the manner of description of the Joseph is more labored. The St. John of the *Holy Family*, in his smoothed anatomy, suggests the Isaac of the Dresden painting somewhat, and the angel more. Most of all, however, there are resemblances of type and motive with the Borgherini *Holy Family* and with the *Caritas*, adapted from the former c. 1528. In the latter picture, compare the anatomy and gesture of the two St. Johns, and the upper posture and the countenance of the Christ Child, also the hard, stressed manner in the painting of hair. The type of the Madonna and her expression are particularly close in the *Caritas* and in the Bracci painting.

There is evidence in the sparse preparatory material that would link the Bracci *Holy Family* with the Borgherini painting and the *Caritas*. Uffizi 631E, of which the recto is most likely for the work for Borgherini, has a study on its verso that may be for Pitti 62. On the verso of Uffizi 6445F, for the Borgherini *Holy Family*, the children rest on a sack, the neck of which is tied and projects to the right front; abandoned in the Borgherini picture, the idea persists in the painting made for Bracci. On the recto of the same sheet, the study for the head of Joseph is related to an idea that appears in a copy (Uffizi 332Fr) from a lost study by Andrea. The fact that the drawings for the Borgherini *Holy Family* are connected in this way with Andrea's preparation for the Bracci painting, but that the motives and the manner of the Bracci painting more suggest the *Caritas*, may permit us to situate the invention of Pitti 62, and probably much of its execution, in between those two.

PREPARATORY STUDIES

FLORENCE, Uffizi no. 631E. *Verso*, the lower torso of an infant leaning to the right, the left leg repeated; a left arm, part of a torso and part of a right arm, the hands holding a scroll in the manner of a young St. John. Red chalk. Fig. 113. *Recto* (see under Preparatory Studies, Borgherini *Holy Family*, our catalogue entry no. 68).

Ferri 1893, 131 for the hands of John the Baptist in Pitti 265 (wrong reference) and for the lower part of the Christ Child in Pitti 62. Guinness 1899, 77 for part of Pitti 62. Berenson [1938] no. 90 for the *Caritas* in the Louvre; so also Fraenckel 1938, 175. The verso is not associated by the other critics who discuss the recto.

The closest resemblance of the motive for the legs of the child on this sheet is for the Christ of Pitti 62, but it was not precisely used. The hands of the St. John, but also the posture of the (presumed) Christ Child's legs suggest another possibility: that the whole verso, despite the connection with Pitti 62, may rather be a thought, sketched on the back of a Borgherini study reused in the *Caritas*, for that latter picture. The thought was discarded in this specific form; however, the posture indicated for the Christ Child on this sheet is a conceivable preliminary to that in the *Caritas* as much as in Pitti 62. From the posture in the drawing he must be lowered to take that in Pitti 62, and raised to take that in the *Caritas*. The hands of the St. John in the drawing are conceivably related to those of the figure in the *Caritas*, but not to the St. John of Pitti 62. It may be that the verso of this drawing served for both preparations: in any case, it seems a confirmation of the close relation we assume between the pictures.

——— no. 299F. Head of a woman almost in profile to the right, looking downward. Red chalk, 15.6 x 12.2; badly rubbed. Inscribed lower left in a later hand "Lucretia d'Andrea del Sarto." Fig. 114.

Ferri 1893, 135 as Andrea's, without identification. Knapp 1907, 133 for the head of the Madonna in Pitti 62, correctly; so also di Pietro 1911, no. 14. Fraenckel 1935, 187 as a copy, rather from the picture than from a lost drawing by Andrea. Not in Berenson. Catalogued in the Cabinet as a copy.

A damaged sheet, but of high quality; the model more certainly Lucrezia than in Uffizi 653E, related in its style, for the Borgherini *Holy Family*.

COPIES AFTER LOST PREPARATORY STUDIES

FLORENCE, Uffizi no. 280F. Head of an infant looking upward to the left. Red chalk, 8.4 x 6.5, oval.

Knapp 1907, 133 and di Pietro 1911, no. 3 as an authentic drawing, for the head of the Christ Child in Pitti 62. Fraenckel 1935, 186 by Empoli? Berenson [1938] no. 110A (but not in 1903) as original, without identification.

Catalogued in the Cabinet as Empoli, correctly.

——— no. 332F. *Recto*, two studies of the attitude of Joseph as in Pitti 62; the lower torso of the Child, as in the picture. *Verso*, a rougher sketch of the Joseph; the legs of the Child very lightly and roughly done. Red chalk, 24 x 13. Figs. 115, 116.

Ferri 1893, 137 by Andrea and for Pitti 62; so also Jacobsen 1898, 273; Guinness 1899, 77; and Knapp 1907, 134. Di Pietro 1911, 56 first described the drawing as a copy. Fraenckel 1935, 190 also as a copy, with the tentative attribution to Boscoli, which has been accepted by the Cabinet.

Fraenckel's attribution of the sheet to Boscoli is more than dubious, and a caution must be made about accepting absolutely di Pietro's assertion that the drawing is a copy. The draughtsmanship is weak in places and uneven, but in other places almost convincingly Andrea's. Furthermore, the extreme roughness of style, especially on the verso, and the disorder of arrangement on the sheet do not seem characteristic of a copy. The watermark, only partly visible, is the same as that on the authentic drawing for this picture, Uffizi 299F. It is not to be excluded that this sheet may be an abnormally defective, but still an original, study.

——— no. 6450F. The head of Joseph as in Pitti 62, red chalk; two studies of an infant's outstretched left arm, black chalk. 25.6 x 19.3.

By Naldini, and so now catalogued in the Cabinet. The infant arm may be more convincingly related to the St. John of the Kress *Caritas* than to any motive in Pitti 62; this copy may be another indication of the connection we assert between the two pictures.

COPIES AND DERIVATIONS

BERLIN, Unidentified Collection.

A pastiche (Photograph Kunsthistorisches Institut, Florence 112357).

BUDAPEST, Museum of Fine Arts.

Not catalogued, but cited in Cat. Cook Collection, 1913–1914, under their no. 38.

FLORENCE, Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni no. 1791E. Canvas, 120 x 99 monochrome. Without the Joseph.

From the Florence Academy before 1884. In Cat. Academy 1872, no. 17, where it is described as a copy of a smaller "original" in the Panciatichi Collection. Guinness 1899, 77 as a copy.

Sold FLORENCE, Panciatichi Collection, 3 April 1902, no. 44. Canvas, 130 x 100, monochrome. Omitting the Joseph.

Biadi 1829, 283 as an original. The model for the further copy now Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni 1791E.

Sold LEIPZIG, Boerner, Ehlers sale, 5–6 May 1930. The head of the Madonna only. 32.4 x 23.8.

Belvedere 9 (1930) 150 (ill. facing p. 148).

Formerly LONDON, Dowdeswell Collection.

Attributed to Franciabigio in the collection, but more probably a copy by Bacchiacca.

MADRID, Prado no. 287 (cat. 1920). Panel, 130 x 100. Formerly in the Palace of S. Ildefonso.

Reumont 1835, 131n1 as a repetition or a very fine copy; then in the Royal Collection. Ascribed to Pontormo in the Prado.

The color differs measurably from that of Pitti 62.

MILAN?, Jongoli? Collection.

(Photograph Reali.)

Formerly NEW YORK, Art Market. Panel, 126 x 100.

Sold NEW YORK, Parke-Bernet, Benedict sale, 16 March 1951. Panel 123 x 100. From the Collections Cosens, Harler, Harison, Bush. Exhibited at Leeds 1868.

Sold PARIS, Galerie Petit, Prince A. Orloff sale, 29–30 April 1920, no. 56. Panel, 130 x 98. Bought by Graadt.

POMMERSFELDEN, Schönbron'sche Galerie.

Reumont 1835, 135n1.

Formerly RICHMOND, Cook Collection, no. 38 (Cat. 1913–1914). Panel, 59.7 x 48.2.

An old inscription on the rear of the panel gives a provenience from the Palazzo Pecori, Florence. Later in the collection of the Rev. Sanford, and in his sale London, Christie's, 9 April 1839, no. 118. Nicolson 1955, 210.

By Bacchiacca.

URBANA, Illinois, University Gallery. Canvas, 107 x 82.[5]

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[1] It cannot be excluded absolutely that the present picture may be an old copy rather than the picture that originally emerged from Andrea's *atelier*. However, this possibility seems slight, precisely because the paintings that are exactly identifiable as copies seem surely to derive from this panel, and reproduce its objectionable, un-Andrea-like defects.

[2] Borghini [1807] II, 224 mentions another picture of a "Reina de' Cieli" (probably the second Bracci *Madonna*, now in Rome) in the hands of Antonio Bracci. Biadi 1829, 152n4 attaches to this painting the information that it passed into the Pitti.

[3] Unpublished. The measurements given in the two entries do not agree, either with each other or with the measurements of Pitti 62, but on all remaining grounds the identity must be taken as certain.

[4] In Bottari, *Lettere* (1754–1773) II, 318 there is a reference to an engraving of the subject done in Rome.

[5] The following are copies in drawing after the painting: Uffizi 14434F, pen, bistre and wash; London, British Museum 1869–4–10–2489 (after the Madonna), Wickhoff 1899, 214n2 as an original; London, R.E.A. Wilson (the head of St. Joseph and the head of the Virgin, on two sheets, each 34.3 x 24.1, from the Durazzo Collection).

Bottari in Vasari [1759] II, 231n3 reports that Mariette has a study for the head of St. Joseph in this painting, and behind it [verso?] for the head of a man from the *Gamblers* fresco of the Benizzi series; from Vasari's collection.

70 · 1527–1528. MADONNA WITH SIX SAINTS[1] (*Gambassi Altar*). Florence, Pitti no. 307. Fig. [195].

Panel, 215 x 175.

Minor losses only, except for some areas in the sky upper right. A seam toward the right edge of the panel opened and repaired. A predella formerly attached to the painting has been lost.

The Madonna wears a bleaching light red dress and powdery blue mantle. Onofrio's skin is brownish; he wears a girdle of green leaves. Lawrence in pale brown, with touches of red-violet and blue. John the Baptist wears a light brown skirt, and over it a faded lilac drapery bleaching to white in the light, but darkening to deep red-violet in the shadows. The Magdalen wears a dress of palest greyed violet, with silvery high lights. Her sleeve is yellow, and a transparent gauze scarf over it takes its color. Her mantle a tomato red; her urn dark blue. St. Roch's head a misty brown; St. Sebastian wears a blue mantle with a faint green cast. His flesh is shadowed with blue reflections from his robe. The sky a pale and inky grey-blue, with a faded spectrum behind the Madonna.

The picture is described in an inventory of the Pitti, A.S.F. Guardaroba 525, begun in February 1637, on c. 45r under the date 3 March: "Un quadro in tavola entrovi dipinti la Mad^{na} con Jesus in braccio in piedi, con S. Bastiano, S. Lorenzo, S. Giov ba$\overline{tt}$a S Jacopo et altri Santi di mano d'Andrea dal Sarto, con Adornamen^{to} intag^{to} e dorato tutto alto Br. 4 e ½ largo B 3½."[2]

Vasari 1550, 758–759 had described the picture, done for Becuccio Bicchieraio of Gambassi: "Mentre ch'egli ritornato a Firenze, attendeva a' suoi lavori, Becuccio bicchieraio da Gambassi amicissimo suo, deliberò mandare a Gambassi una tavola di sua mano, per lasciare quella memoria di sè: la quale Andrea gli finì dove è dentro una Nostra Donna in aria, co'l Figliuolo in collo, et a basso son quattro figure, San' Giovan Batista, et Santa Maria Magdalena, et San' Sebastiano, et San Rocco, opera certamente onorevole. Et nella predella ritrasse di naturale Becuccio, et la moglie, che son vivissimi." In the second edition the description is much the same, and the information added that the painting is "oggi a Gambassi, Castello fra Volterra e Firenze nelle Valdelsa."

Vasari's chronology at this point in his narrative is confused. His citation in both editions occurs in sequence just after Andrea's stay in the Mugello; but the next picture mentioned is one which must be dated c. 1528. Biadi 1829, 150–151, citing Vasari's text, but not identifying the painting long since in the Pitti. Reumont 1835, 179–180 as a work of 1528, with the remark that the technique is so quick and thin the painting seems unfinished. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 187 date the picture 1524–1525 (evidently, from the sequence in Vasari's text). Wölfflin [1952] 176 and Guinness 1899, 81 as Crowe and Cavalcaselle. Knapp 1907, 98–99, 130 also takes the date as 1524; he misunderstands the technique of the painting, interpreting it as an evidence of bad condition. He remarks the reuse of types from earlier pictures of Andrea (e.g., the two kneeling saints of the *Disputà*), and observes correctly, and judges unfavorably, the hardening of style he perceives in this work. Venturi 1925, 625: 1524. Fraenckel 1935, 85, 144, 231n79 places the picture in 1527–1528, noting that its style of composition, but not its high-keyed color scheme, is like that of the late works. Fraenckel thinks the posture of the Madonna and Child related to, and perhaps derived from, Raphael's *Foligno* altar (possibly through the prints); she also suggests a comparison with Correggio, with the *Madonna of St. Sebastian* (Dresden), and a possibility of Correggesque influence. Shearman 1959, 129n5 gives a dating c. 1526–1527, and states the prototype of St. Onofrio in this altar is to be found in a work of Signorelli's once in the Cathedral at Cortona (now Perugia). This relation properly observed: Andrea probably knew the Signorelli painting as a result of the visit to Cortona (c. 1525–1526) that we have presumed. Wagner 1959, 435: c. 1528.

We have already indicated, in our discussions of the Borgherini *Holy Family* and the *Holy Family*, Pitti 62, some of the relations to the present picture which require that these three works have been executed within a close community of time. There are pronounced similarities also to the *Sacrifice of Isaac*, both in its prime version and in the Dresden replica: cf. especially the Christ Child of Pitti 307 with the angel of the Cleveland painting, and the head of St. Lawrence with the Isaac there. The manner of painting the anatomies in Pitti 307 especially suggests comparison with the Dresden version. We have observed in our discussion of the Cleveland *Sacrifice* that the verso of Uffizi 626E (a study for the angel of the *Sacrifice*) has a recto done as preparation for the present picture; another indication of close contemporaneity.

There are connections which extend forward to works of a date presumably later into 1528 than that of this altar, and backward earlier in 1527 and into 1526.[3] In 1526, there is the marked connection of type of the Elizabeth of the Scalzo *Naming of the Baptist* with that of the Madonna here, and of the head of the handmaid in profile with that of the Magdalen. In the *Cena* of 1526–1527 the Apostle second from the left is the model also of our St. Onofrio. In 1528, the type and whole anatomy of S. Onofrio in the (lost) Berlin altar, and the head of the saint right rear in that same altar, relate closely to the head of St. Roch (or James) here, and the head of St. Michael in the Vallombrosa altar relates to that of the St. John; in the late *Assunta* Pitti 225 there is a considerable likeness in the types of the Madonna and the children, and the St. James there suggests the use of the same model as that for his counterpart in this altar.

The specific way in which this work is lit and colored — almost unique in Andrea's *oeuvre* — exactly indicates the moment of the crisis between the style of the middle twenties and that which sets in sometime in 1528: the color is high-keyed, even more than in the just preceding works, but at the same time blue-shadowed, of a curious melancholy effect; and the effects of surface are quite hard.

PREPARATORY STUDIES

FLORENCE, Uffizi no. 626E. *Recto*, head of a boy in *profil perdu* to the left. Red chalk. Fig 117. *Verso* (see under Preparatory Studies, *Sacrifice of Isaac*, our catalogue entry no. 66).

Guinness 1899, 87 had identified the recto as a study for the head of the black king in the early *Adoration of the Magi*, in SS. Annunziata; so also Knapp 1907, 134. This notion is quite excluded by the style of the drawing. Berenson [1938] no. 86 made no association, but held the date of the sheet might be c. 1517. Di Pietro 1911, no. 53 believed it for the head of the Magdalen in the *Disputà*, which it in fact resembles, as do the painted figures in the two works. Fraenckel 1935, 175: doubtfully as di Pietro, but still preferring Guinness' association. Berenson [1961] no. 86 reports the verbal opinion of this author, 1957, that this is related to the *Disputà*; we now think otherwise.

The drawing is more specifically connected, in shape of features and in pose, with the Magdalen of Pitti 307 than with the like head in the *Disputà*, and the choice between these two possibilities would seem to be dictated by the association we have made for the verso with the first version of the *Sacrifice of Isaac*, of such close date.[4]

——— no. 319F. *Verso*, faint quick sketch of a male figure in leaning attitude toward the right. Red chalk, 31.6 x 15.3 (pieced out at bottom).[5] *Recto* (see under our catalogue entry no. 72). The presence of a study for Pitti 225 on the recto of this sheet is a fair index of the near-contemporaneity in invention of the two paintings, which we propose.

Knapp 1907, 133 for the S. Onofrio of Pitti 307; so also di Pietro 1911, no 32.[6] Fraenckel 1935, 189 for the youth right in the *Preaching of the Baptist*, Scalzo, but she doubts the attribution to Andrea. Berenson [1938] no. 115 would accept Knapp's association. Shearman 1959, 132n43 an action study from a *garzone* for the S. Onofrio. This association, generally accepted, seems correct.

COPY AFTER LOST PREPARATORY STUDY

LILLE, Musée Wicar no. 500. *Recto* (also numbered 11), two hands, one holding a staff; a male head in profile to the left. Red chalk. *Verso* (also numbered 11 *bis*), two studies of a clothed arm, red chalk; a boy's head looking toward the left, black chalk. 16.5 x 24.2. Figs. 118, 119.

Gonze 1877, 400 authentic but unassociated.

The recto is for the head and hands of the St. Sebastian in Pitti 307. The arms on the verso are studies for the left arm of the Virgin; the boy's head is very probably an early idea, in life-study, for the cherub right.

[1] Sts. Onofrio, Lawrence, Roch (or James?), Sebastian, John the Baptist, and the Magdalen.

[2] Unpublished.

[3] We note of the *invenzione* of the *Madonna del Sacco* of 1525 (British Museum 1912–12–14–2) that one of its ideas has been reused for the posture of the Madonna and Child of Pitti 307.

[4] It is not impossible, but would seem to avoid the simpler and more commonsense explanation, to assume that a sheet drawn in 1518 should, so much later, be reused, and also drawn on its verso for a new picture.

[5] On the bottom piece are two indecipherable sketches in red chalk, of which one may be a head and shoulders.

[6] Jacobsen 1898, 273, apparently in error, describes this sheet as 1319F, a study in the nude for the *Assunta*, Pitti 191.

71 · (1527–) 1528. PORTRAIT OF A LADY. Windsor Castle, H. M. the Queen, inv. no. 146, p. 3, Cat. 1937. Fig. [199].

Panel, 65 x 49. Branded on the rear "W R 115."

Unfinished. Pentimenti in the ear and at the right side of the face. The panel cracked to both sides of the head; discreetly repaired. Pervasive minor losses, retouched. The left side of the face appears to have been abraded through the very lightly applied old paint. The cracks may be in part reglazed; so also the forehead.

The sitter wears a yellow-gold dress and white shirt; her hat, unfinished, dark green. The hair and eyes dark brown; dark brown background.

Probably the "Woman in a Yellow Gown" sold by the Commonwealth from the Royal Collections to Jackson, 23 October 1651, no. 480. In the list of paintings returned to Charles II 1660: "a woman's picture," by Andrea del Sarto, valued at £30.[1]

Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 203 refuse this portrait to Andrea, and describe it as freely done by "Nanaccio or Salviati." Guinness 1899, 69 differs: "a fine but unfinished work, from the master's hand." Berenson [1912] 104 by Andrea. Venturi 1925, 625 by Andrea. Not discussed by Fraenckel.

A work of greater brilliance and delicacy both, in the unfinished execution, than the comparable *Lucrezia* of Berlin. The style here suggests a time of origin not earlier than late 1527, and more probably within 1528. The complex, subtly differentiated indication of the planes of the face and the shifting lights upon the drapery still suggest the manner of the S. Salvi *Cena*; and with the primary version of the *Sacrifice of Isaac*, also unfinished, there are even stronger similarities: cf. the drawing and painting of the head of Isaac, and the angular, quick-accented drapery. The mode of handling and the sensibility of shifting light also suggest the style of the Borgherini *Holy Family*. There are further likenesses in a work that, by our dating, is of 1527–1528: the *Madonna with Six Saints*, Pitti 307; cf. particularly the heads of the Madonna and of the St. Lawrence at lower left. However, perhaps more than that painting, and certainly more than any of the others named above, the Windsor portrait shows the dark-shadowed manner that appears more explicitly in works that date within 1528; compare the Baptist of the Pitti or the Vallombrosa altar.

[1] Cat. Windsor 1937, 3.

72 · 1527–1529. ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN. Florence, Pitti no. 225. Fig. [196].

Panel, 379 x 222.

The panel cracked through its entire length left center; shorter partly open seams center and to the right, but all the boards split at one time in the past. Heavy repainting along all seams. Pervasive damage by paint losses of small to middle size, and by abrasion; and there are substantial losses especially in the draperies of the Apostle standing left, the St. Nicholas, and the St. Thomas. Discolored restoration. Some parts very thinly painted: the head and lower drapery of the Apostle standing foreground left, the heads of the Apostles farthest right, the legs of the flying putti; but these should not be taken as evidence of an unfinished state.[1] Some of this thinness is due to abrasion, but most of it is a frequent habit of Andrea's, evident conspicuously in the chronologically nearby altar of the *Madonna and Six Saints*, Pitti 307.

The Madonna wears a light pink-red dress with a blue cloak and white scarf. The angel's wings are tinted palely, pink or blue. A yellowish suffusion in the sky; the clouds blue-shadowed. In the lower range, the leftmost figure, partly visible, shows red-orange. The Apostle standing before him wears a grey-white shirt and burnt orange skirt. The aged Apostle to his left and rear in dark blue; the nearer Apostle, leaning over the tomb, hands crossed on breast, is in a rose cloak. The St. Nicholas kneeling foreground wears a light red garment, more pink and more bleached than that of the Madonna; the embroidery in gold and color. His underdress a grey-blue white. The two Apostles deepest in the space a shadowed middle green, on the left, and a neutral brown, on the right. Thomas wears a strong blue shirt and a red-orange mantle. St. James shows muted red-orange sleeves. The partly visible figure to James' left in a very neutral dark red; the Apostle farthest right in a very bleached red-violet shirt and dark green skirt. St. Margaret wears a white scarf, blue-shadowed, and a yellow-grey cloak. The tomb and the foreground in shades of tanned grey; the middle distance a very neutralized dark blue at left, dark green at center.

Documentary evidence exists to indicate this picture had been commissioned before April 1526. By the will of the donor of the painting, Margherita Passerini (mother of the Cardinal Silvio), dated 28 April 1526 (A.S.F. Notarile ante-cosimiano V 225) her heirs are bound to provide that a painting by "Magistro Andrea Pictore Florentino" for the high altar of the church of S. Antonio de' Servi in Cortona be completed according to a contract already made with Sarto. The subject is to be the Assumption of the Virgin (with other figures), and the price about 155 florins.[2] The contract referred to in the will has not been found.

The picture remained at Cortona in the church for which it was commissioned until 1639, when it was given by Cav. Cosimo Passerini to the Grand Duke Ferdinand II; it arrived in Florence 8 October of that year.[3]

Not mentioned by Vasari.[4] Biadi 1829, 87, 141 in the Pitti, and noting that there is a copy in the cathedral at Cortona. Reumont 1835, 199 observes that the composition is repeated from the earlier Panciatichi *Assunta*, since Andrea thought the latter, being unfinished, would never see the light. Guinness 1899, 80 knows Milanesi's documentary reference to the commission of 1526; he follows Reumont in considering this *Assunta* the repetition. Guinness correctly identifies the two saints foreground as St. Margaret of Cortona and St. Nicholas of Bari. Knapp 1907, 110, 122, 130 gives the date 1526; he takes *Assunta* Pitti 191 (our catalogue entry no. 52) as the later work than this. It would seem to be Knapp's opinion that gave rise to the chronological confusion about the two *Assuntas* in most of the modern criticism. Venturi 1925, 602 as a school work, and a free replica after *Assunta* 191. Fraenckel 1935, 72, 144, 226n69 finds the dating in terms of style accords with the time, c. 1526, indicated by the documentary evidence of the commission; Fraenckel thinks the picture much related to the S. Salvi *Supper*. She finds much school work in the painting, especially in the angels. She believes the picture has been left unfinished; but see our remarks above, on its condition. Fraenckel points out the Florentine precedents, in Ghirlandaio and Fra Bartolommeo, of the *Assunta* theme, and suggests the influence also of the Dürer woodcut B. 94; she speculates on a possible influence of Titian's Frari altar. Fraenckel, like Knapp, assumes this is the earlier of the two *Assuntas*. Shearman 1959, 124 ff. definitively resolved this chronological confusion; for our recapitulation of his main argument see under our account of Pitti 191. Shearman further observes accurately that the difference between the two *Assuntas* is not due to shop intervention in the painting of the second; and we find Pitti 225, still more explicitly than Shearman, entirely from Andrea's hand. Shearman notes that, in 225, the arrangement of the Apostles in the earlier picture has been changed in order to make place for the two saints here added to the foreground; an irreversible process. He also observes the changes, in the sense of formality of design and dispersion in the patterning of color, from Pitti 191 to Pitti 225. He believes the head rear center (partly obscured by St. Thomas' hand) a self-portrait of Andrea, older than that he identifies in the corresponding place in Pitti 191. For our remarks on this subject, see under Pitti 191. Wagner

1959, 435 appears to follow the datings invented by Knapp and Fraenckel for the two *Assuntas.*

Though commissioned by spring 1526, no part of the painting in Pitti 225 indicates surely that it was begun as early as that year. The few new preparatory drawings made for it that still survive show eccentricities of style that are difficult to reconcile with Andrea's manner of draughtsmanship until toward 1528; and the temper in general of the design, academically classicizing, appears to this degree only in works that may be dated safely in that year. The character of color, mostly heavy and dark-shadowed, is also that of the paintings done in 1528. In a few places only, the handling shows the more energetic touch we associate with a slightly prior time, but these places are exceptional. It would seem that, for the most part, if not altogether, this altar must have been made close to, and in, 1528.

The drapery style of this *Assunta* has the relative simplicity, the heaviness, and the assertion of strong relief that is most apparent in, e.g., the Vallombrosa altar, and is more highly characterized in this sense than in the Pitti altar no. 307. The types have some relation still, obviously, to the same cast of actors in the Panciatichi *Assunta*, but the manner of their painting is quite different; and though there is another necessary similarity of types with the S. Salvi *Cena*, again the manner of description of them is distinct. These faces have, mostly, less complexly differentiated forms than those of the *Last Supper*: they are rendered in a simpler geometry, and modelled with an emphasis of shadow, that compares rather with the heads of the Vallombrosa altar, or with those of the altar formerly in Berlin. Certain heads especially suggest a similarity with these works: the St. Nicholas here compares with the Giovanni Gualberto in the *Four Saints* and with the Peter in Berlin 246; the St. James here compares with the St. John of the *Four Saints* and, less exactly, with the St. Mark in the Berlin; the shadowed heads in the background of the *Assunta* seem, in general, like those in the farther planes of the Berlin altar. The similarity of the putti of Pitti 225 with the *angelini* of the Vallombrosa altar seems even more explicitly convincing. The heavy, rather vacant modelling of the head of the Madonna (almost certainly, again, a portrait of Lucrezia), and that of the anatomies of the children, are like those in the *Caritas* in Washington, which we have placed in 1528. Resemblances can be found also (for the putti, the drapery of Thomas, the head of the fourth Apostle from the left) in the Dresden version of the *Sacrifice of Isaac* — also, by our dating, 1528.

Given the size of Pitti 225, and the other heavy commitments we think Andrea discharged in 1528, some leeway must be permitted in our dating: substantially of that year, it may have been begun in 1527 and its completion may have carried on to 1529.[5]

PREPARATORY STUDIES

FLORENCE, Uffizi no. 319F. *Recto*, a draped male figure, standing frontally, right hand on his breast, looking upward to the right. Red chalk, 31.6 x 15.3, but pieced out at bottom (the feet restored). Fig. 120. *Verso* (see under our catalogue entry no. 70).

Berenson 1903, no. 115 without association. Knapp 1907, 133 thought the recto a study for a figure in the *Presentation of the Head*, Scalzo (presumably for the servingman behind Herod). Di Pietro 1911, no. 31 connected it, no more convincingly, with the St. Lawrence of Pitti 307. Fraenckel 1935, 189 rejects both recto and verso, but suggests a relation to the figure of a young man right in the *Preaching of the Baptist*, Scalzo. Berenson [1938] no. 115 repeats di Pietro's association (attributing it, also, incorrectly, to Knapp). Shearman 1959, 133 and n42 properly connects this study with the Apostle farthest left in Pitti 225. Berenson [1961] no. 115 notes Shearman's observation. Assigned in the Cabinet to Sarto's "ambiente."

Somewhat exceptional in its technique for the head and hands, but satisfactorily comparable to, e.g., Louvre 1675, for the Joseph of the *Madonna del Sacco*. The presence on the verso of this sheet of a study for the S. Onofrio of the Pitti altar 307, which we have dated 1527–1528, may help confirm our dating c. 1528 for this *Assunta.*

MUNICH, Graphische Sammlung no. 11123. *Recto*, clothed model kneeling to the left, in the attitude of St. Margaret in Pitti 225. *Verso*, two hands holding a staff, the right hand restudied. Red chalk, 22.5 x 15.5. Figs. 121, 122.

Berenson [1938] no. 2256B (not in 1903) as Pontormo, c. 1530. Shearman 1959, 133 and n44 properly identifies both sides for the *Assunta* 225, the model study on the recto for the St. Margaret, the hands on the verso for the St. James. Berenson [1961] no. 141C–1 transfers the sheet to Sarto, on the basis of Shearman's identification, but it is still not certain that the author of the kneeling figure may not be Naldini rather than Andrea.

Like Uffizi 319Fr, the style of this sheet is somewhat exceptional in our prior experience of Andrea's drawings. Here, the line is peculiarly dry and sharp, and the hatching seems more than normally schematic. It is not to be excluded that this sheet may be a copy rather than Andrea's original; but we incline to think it genuine. The schematic, overly geometric handling, and the carroty structure of the fingers on the verso may be found on a quite certain study, also for this altar, Louvre 1692.

PARIS, Louvre no. 1692. *Recto*, head and torso of a child in prayer, looking upward to the right. *Verso*, pasted down, but a similar study visible, from which the recto has been traced through. Red chalk, 18.5 x 13.5. Fig. 123, verso not illustrated.

Reiset 1866, no. 48 as Andrea's, but without association. Berenson [1938] no. 153 "in every probability" a study for one of the putti of Pitti 225. This identification is certain. The study is for the second, upper, putto from the left. So Knapp, 1907, 135; Fraenckel 1935, 182; Rouchès 1939, no. 13; Shearman 1959, 131 and n41. Shearman observes that the verso relates also to the first putto farthest right.

ROME, Galleria Nazionale delle Stampe no. 124156. *Verso*, male head in *profil perdu* to the left, looking upward. Black chalk. The paper seems first to have been lightly rubbed with grey chalk before the head was drawn. Fig. 124. *Recto* (see under Preparatory Studies, *Assunta*, Pitti 191, our catalogue entry no. 52).[6]

COPY

CORTONA, Cathedral.

By Baccio Bonetti, in substitution of the original. Also occasionally attributed to one Zabarelli. From the church of S. Antonio; taken to the Cathedral in the eighteenth century.

Biadi 1829, 87, 141n4; Reumont 1835, 201n.

Formerly FLORENCE, Villa Pratolino, Chapel.

Reported by Reumont 1835, 201n.

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[1] As has Fraenckel 1935, 226n69.

[2] Summarized by Shearman 1959, 127 from an unpublished document, A.S.F. V 225, fol. 135 ff. Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 34n1 had previously cited an exact copy of this will, dated 8 August 1526 (A.S.F. V 224, 14) and noted that the altarpiece referred to in it is Pitti no. 225.

[3] Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 34n1.

[4] Shearman 1959, 127 speculates that the painting may have been executed in Cortona, and on this account unknown to Vasari. However, regardless of where the work may have been done, we have ample evidence of Vasari's knowledge of other art in Cortona (a bare 15 miles distant from his native city of Arezzo). His not mentioning the Passerini altar is most mysterious, but may be — most untypically — a sheer oversight.

[5] It is more likely, for the very reason of Andrea's numerous commitments, that the picture was executed in Florence than on a trip especially undertaken to Cortona; but this suggestion (Shearman 1959, 127) is not to be excluded.

[6] Uffizi 648Er, for the *Tribute* at Poggio, q.v., is sometimes associated with the head of the St. James in Pitti 225, and might (but only very doubtfully) have been reused here for that purpose.

73 · 1528. CHARITY. Washington, National Gallery, Kress Collection no. 1483, Cat. 1956. Figs. [197, 198].

Panel, 120 x 92.7.

Some scratches, a few quite minor losses; the condition of the painting is superior. Some curious slight indentations in the surface seem to be explained by the fact that a somewhat different design was initially projected on the panel, much more closely resembling the *Holy Family* for Pierfrancesco Borgherini. The painting cleaned after its acquisition for the National Gallery, and X rays show such a design. Since the cleaning at least one major pentimento, part of this first design, has been made evident to the naked eye: the hand of the child left (the "St. John" of the Borgherini *Holy Family*), resting on the globe as in the Borgherini picture, and traces of the head, to the rear, of St. Joseph.

The Madonna wears a light red dress, bleached out in the upper sleeve; her lower sleeves light yellow. A *changeant* blue sash around her waist; a silvery grey-blue band in her hair. The child left wears a light blue ribbon of drapery. He kneels on a yellow-green swath of cloth, which is a counterpart to the cloak of dark green across the Madonna's lap, to the right. The tablecloth has stripes of orangey dark brown, lavender, and black. The book is yellow-edged, with a brownish cover and an orange tie. The background rock shades from greyish yellow-green to darker green above; a patch of orange fire in the right upper corner.

Vasari 1550, 767–768 recounts that Giovanni Battista della Palla had commissioned, with the *Sacrifice of Isaac*, a *Caritas*, intended also for the King of France. He describes the latter painting only briefly: "Ne l'altro fece una Carità bellissima, con tre putti, simile di bontà allo Abraam suddetto, la quale comprò de la sua donna dopo la morte DOMENICO CONTI pittore, che la vendè poi a Niccolò Antinori . . ." The same account in 1568 [1880] V, 50–51. Because Vasari says ([1880] V, 52) of this painting and the *Holy Family* for Borgherini that they were "quasi simile," it is possible to identify the painting presently in Washington with the *Caritas* for della Palla. Borghini [1807] II, 220 tells us that this *Caritas* had passed, within the family, to Bastiano Antinori.

In 1828 the painting was in England, exhibited at the British Institution from the collection of J. P. Anderdon, Farlay Hall (Berks.). Offered from the collection Anderdon at Christie's 15 May 1847, no. 34, with a provenience from the Rospigliosi Palace, Rome. Bought in for Anderdon by Partridge; offered again in 1851, and once more bought in, by Clarke; and in 1856 offered for a third time but bought in. In 1859 the picture again appeared at auction, sold by one P. Hinds to an unnamed buyer, and in 1860 it was sold anonymously to one Ripp. Before 1878 it was acquired by Mr. H. A. J. Munro of Novar; he sold it in that year, at Christie's.[1] There is no subsequent history of the picture until 1954, when it was purchased from Mr. T. Ward, Chaltenham, by the vendor to the Kress Collection; acquired by the Kress Collection in the same year.

The present picture was not mentioned in the critical literature, nor were any of the extant copies after it identified as such, until after its acquisition for the Kress Collection in 1954. Published Cat. Washington, Kress Collection, 1956, no. 2, with the identification as the *Caritas* for della Palla (and the listing of the copies) supplied by this author.

For our discussion of the relation in sequence implied by Vasari between this painting and the Borgherini *Holy Family*, see under the latter. The *Caritas*, the later painting in respect to the *Holy Family*, should still, however, date within 1528. We have remarked a specific similarity of type to Pitti 307 (the head of the Christ-like infant and the cherub right in that picture) and further note the likeness of anatomy between the two paintings; in the anatomy of the child at left the likeness to the Isaac of the Dresden variant of the *Sacrifice* is still more specific. In the lunette *Annunciation* of the Berlin altar, dated 1528, the head of the child at left in the *Caritas* has been almost literally reused, for the angel Gabriel. More generally, the manner of describing form in the *Caritas* — rather simpler, and harder than in the related Borgherini painting — and its depth of color and of shadow, are those we see in the whole ex-Berlin altar, of 1528. The clarity of form is more than in that altarpiece, however, and more than in any of the paintings that may be dated after it, in Andrea's last two years.[2]

COPIES

FLORENCE, Uffizi deposit, from Poggio Imperiale, no. 3601.

——— S. Salvi no. 4641.

NAPLES, Galleria Nazionale, deposit.

ROME, Palazzo Madama.

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[1] Redford 1888, I, 276: II, 251; Graves 1921, III, 140; Cat. Washington, Kress, 1956, no. 2.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 202 and Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 51n4 note the existence of a *Charity* (reported by Waagen in Lord Ashburnham's collection); Guinness 1899, 107 says this painting might answer the description of the della Palla *Caritas*. The Ashburnham picture is, however, a copy of the painting of 1518 in the Louvre.

[2] No preparatory study may be certainly identified as for this painting. See, however, our remarks on Uffizi 631Ev and 6450F, under the *Holy Family* Pitti 62 (our catalogue entry no. 69), and the preparatory studies for the Borgherini *Holy Family* (our catalogue entry no. 68), which may have been in part reused for this *Caritas*. For the head of the infant to the rear, it may be taken that the study for the St. John (Melbourne) of the Pinti fresco was referred to, and perhaps even mostly reused.

74 · 1528. ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST. Florence, Pitti no. 272. Fig. [200].

Panel, 94 x 68.

Gravely damaged throughout by abrasion, due probably to an old over-cleaning. The painting has, in effect, lost its original surface. In addition, there are several losses of small areas of paint, and noticeable larger damages, as in the right part of the torso, the right shoulder and arm. Discolored old restoration on the lower face and neck and along the left shoulder.

John wears a middle brown fur and a greyish-white cloth tied at the neck; his mantle is a strong red-orange, of somewhat vermilion cast. He holds a white paper in his left hand and a dull yellow bowl in his right. His reed cross light brown. The rocks at right and in the lowest foreground green-grey; the background black.

This is one of two paintings of the Baptist that Vasari (1550, 756–757) describes in succession. For the other, see our catalogue entry no. 67, a lost work. This, the surviving version, is reported by Vasari as follows: "Ritornato in Fiorenza [*from Poggio*] Andrea fece in un quadro una meza figura ingnuda di San' Giovan Batista, ch'è molto bella: la quale gli fu fatta fare da Giovan'maria Benintendi: oggi appresso di lui." In 1568 [1880] V, 36, Vasari adds the phrase "che poi la donò al signor Duca Cosimo." The transfer from Benintendi to the Duke — a sale, it would seem from the document, not a gift — is recorded in A.S.F. Guardaroba 30, Inventario Generale a capi entrate e uscita, 1553 ff., c. 55 left, under date 30 October 1553: "Dal Ill^{mo} e Ec^{mo} Sig^{or} Duca addi 30 da X^{bre} 1553. Uno quadro di sāto Giovani di mano d'Andrea del Sarto co' suo ornamēto dorato porto gio. maria buōintendi. Al q^{no} .... 2." [1] A second notice which may refer to this same picture is in A.S.F. Med. Inv. 136, Libro intitolato Magia [Villa Magia di Quarata, assigned by Ferdinando I to Don Antonio de' Medici], 1588–1590, c. 154r, under a date that may be established by collation as March 1587: "Uno quadro in tavola di uno s^{to} Gio: con ornamento di noce profilato d^{o} disse di mano di Andrea del Sarto alto br 1¾ largo br 1¼ inc^{a}." In 1589, the painting was in the Tribuna of the Uffizi.[2]

Borghini [1807] II, 223 says of the picture "oggi credo si ritrovi appresso al Granduca nostro." Biadi 1829, 144 and n5 repeats Vasari's information. Reumont 1835, 129 and n1 identifies the present version as that for Benintendi, and *Verz.* dates it 1521. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 184, on the contrary, describe this picture as the one intended for the King of France; they date it in the middle twenties. Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 37n2 does not know which of the two St. Johns described by Vasari this may be. Wölfflin [1952] 178n1 observes that the same model may be recognized in the Isaac of the Dresden *Sacrifice*, perhaps also in the St. Sebastian of Pitti 307. Guinness 1899, 81 is, like Milanesi, uncertain as to which St. John this one may be. Knapp 1907, 93–96, 130 would date the work c. 1523. Sinibaldi 1925*a*, 25 remarks that the St. John is a Raphaelesque type. Venturi 1925, 618, 625 finds a faint echo of the Michelangelo *David*; his dating, is, like Knapp's, c. 1523. Fraenckel 1935, 69, 143, 224n65 as a work of c. 1525–1526, with her customary reference to Venetian influence. Wagner 1959, 434–435, following Fraenckel as is his habit, c. 1525.

Vasari's implication of the dating for the Benintendi *St. John* (just after the work at Poggio) would seem, even more clearly than in the case of the lost version for the King of France, to be untenable. The Benintendi painting instantly requires to be associated with Andrea's style of c. 1528. The relation of the type of the St. John to that of the Isaac in the Dresden *Sacrifice* has long since been pointed out; the relation to the Isaac of the prime version may be even more apparent. The comparison extends to that of the handling of the anatomies. There may be a relation still more strict, in the torso of St. John, with that of the Sebastian in Pitti 307; in that picture, too, a head very close to that of the St. John occurs (surely from the same model), in the St. Lawrence. The blue-shadowed tone on the light flesh of the St. John is not (as Sinibaldi 1925*a*, 25 and Venturi 1925, 618, 625 have alleged) altogether an effect of the abrasion, though the abrasion has made it more apparent; it has its counterpart in the well-preserved technique of no. 307. For the bold, hard clarity of plastic form, relieved against a close, dark background, there is an obvious parallel between the St. John and the della Palla *Caritas.* With a picture farther still (by our reckoning) into 1528, the Vallombrosa altar, there are other obvious relationships, of tonality, of type, of character of expression, and of form.

PREPARATORY STUDY (COPY?)

LUTON HOO, Lt. Col. Drury-Lowe. Study, improved from the model, for the head of St. John in Pitti 272. Black chalk, 33 x 23. Considerably damaged and restored. Cleaned 1949, but the original state beyond recovery. Our judgment of originality of this sheet is given with reserve. Fig. 125.

Cat. Locko Park 1901, no. 68 as by Andrea. Berenson [1938] no. 130 as an authentic study for Pitti 272.

This sheet copied on British Museum 1860–6–16–92, black chalk, 27 x 19.5; drastically damaged and remade; inscribed by a later hand "Andrea del Sarto." Fig. 126. Wickhoff 1899, 214n2 identified the British Museum sheet as an authentic study for Pitti 272. Berenson [1938] no. 136 stated, apparently in error, that the London sheet was "apparently for the Baptist in the Vienna *Pietà*," but this error is corrected in ed. 1961; the sheet is there described as of the best quality. Knapp 1907, 135 for the head of John Arithmatia in the *Pietà* (unspecified); an incomprehensible reference. Fraenckel 1935, 190 a copy after the painting.

Neither the British Museum nor the Drury-Lowe sheet recommends itself highly. The decision between them must be made not so much in favor of the Drury-Lowe sheet — in its present state grossly accented and clumsily shadowed, and of a proportion unaccustomed to Andrea — as against the still more glaring defects of the British Museum drawing, which is painfully out of perspective. It is not impossible that neither drawing is original. Because one drawing is in a proportion so evidently different from the other, the worse sheet may indeed not be derived from the better, but both from a common source, now lost.

COPIES

BURGHLEY HOUSE, Marquess of Exeter Collection no. 270. 90 x 66.5.

Of the seventeenth century.[3]

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[1] Unpublished. Kindly brought to the author's attention by Professor James Holderbaum.

[2] Cat. 1937, no. 272.

[3] Campori 1870, 435 records the listing of a *St. John the Baptist* by Andrea in a catalogue of paintings for sale in Venice at an unspecified date in the seventeenth century.

75 · 1528. STS. MICHAEL, GIOVANNI GUALBERTO, JOHN THE BAPTIST, BERNARDINO DEGLI UBERTI (with two *angelini*, and predella with four scenes[1]). (*Vallombrosa Altar*). Florence, Uffizi nos. 8395, 8394, 8396, respectively. Figs. 16–18 [201, 203].

Panels. The four saints 183 x 174; the *angelini* 73 x 42; the predella 21.5 x 183, in two pieces. The large panel inscribed lower left, between the legs of Michael, "ANN. DOM / MDXX / .VIII."

The original appearance of this altar is recorded for us, very approximately, in a copy in drawing, Vienna, Albertina, Sc. R. 181, of the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century.[2] The saints stood two on each side of an older picture of a Madonna,[3] and between the saints, below the older painting, stood the putti. From the legends on the cartellino carried by the putti we may assume the old Madonna painting was the door of a tabernacle.[4] The four scenes on the predella are in their original order, each scene corresponding to the saint above. A fifth predella panel, with an *Annunciation* (corresponding to the older painting of the Virgin) once existed.[5] The two panels with the saints now join to make a single picture; the joint between them heavily overpainted. The panel with the *angelini* (Fig. [202]) framed separately.

The main panel much damaged, the surface blotched with old restoration. The worst damages in the lower third of the picture (to about the level of the knees), where there are considerable abrasions and some entire losses, spottily retouched. Elsewhere, there are losses of some size especially in St. John's drapery, in the drapery of Bernardino, and on the upper margins of the picture. The panel with the *angelini* is cracked along its whole length, vertically through the center of the putto on the right; the crack abundantly restored. The entire panel very much abraded, and badly restored by stippling and fudging-in. The panel is, in sum, substantially disfigured by damage and by inept restoration. The predella panels are on the whole in good state; small losses only, and few of these.

St. Michael wears a yellow-orange mantle over his cuirass, of which the lower border is dull yellow-gold. The skirt green, but *changeant* to red-orange by reflection from his mantle. Red-orange stockings; the metal greaves touched with gold ornament; an edging of blue cloth at their tops. Michael's wing is light green; his sword blue with a pale gold handle. S. Giovanni Gualberto in greyed tan. The Baptist wears a madder drapery; a hardly distinguishable light brown tie around his shoulder holds his inner garment. His body of sallow complexion. S. Bernardino in a bronze green garment with gold ornament; white mitre. The *angelini* are both of blondish complexion. The *angelino* left shows a neutral light orange-yellow wing and wears a faded red-violet sash. The *angelino* to the right has drapery of middle blue; his wing shades from light orange to pale rose. The background pale green-grey. In the predella, spots of orangey-red, yellow-gold, blue, and white are relieved against a background of greyed tan.

The altar mentioned in the *Codex Magliabechiano*, 108–109: "Dipinse una tavola d'altare, che è nel romitorio di Valle Ombrosa, et nel mezo d'essa v'è una Nostra Donna picchola, pittura grecha." Vasari 1550, 764 (in sequence just after the Scalzo *Naming of the Baptist*): ". . . fece per ordine del generale di Valle Ombrosa, una tavola, la quale fu messa sopra a Valle Ombrosa, in altezza d'un sasso, dove stavano certi frati, separati da quelli, per fare maggiore astinenzia detto le Celle nella quale son quattro figure lodatissime et belle, l'una è San' Giovan Batista, et San' Giovan' Gualberto lor' frate, et in l'altra un San' Michel' Angelo, con San Bernardo Cardinale et lor' frate oltra ce v'è nel mezo alcuni putti che nel vero non possono essere più vivaci ne più begli." The same information is in 1568 [1880] V, 46. Installed in the church at Vallombrosa (now disaffected) known as the "Paradisino." Borghini [1807] II, 225 records that he saw the picture "l'anno passato con mio grande piacere." Removed from Vallombrosa on the suppression of the convent, 1810, and taken to the Academy in Florence;[6] to the Uffizi 1919.[7]

Reumont 1835, 159 dates the painting 1526; either he overlooked the inscribed date, misread it, or preferred to accept the implication of date in Vasari's sequence. Reumont believes the figures show the influence of Perugino's *Ascension*, in Andrea's time in the same convent. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 191 record the inscription. Guinness 1899, 84: 1528, from the inscription; he states the predella is not by Andrea. Guinness notes the *ricordo* in the Albertina as such, not as an original. Knapp 1907, 110–111, 130 gives the date 1528, and expresses a doubt as to Andrea's execution of all of the predella save for the St. Michael scene. Sinibaldi 1925*a*, 24–25 believes the St. Michael in the main panel is derived from Pesellino. Venturi 1925, 606 thinks this work the least harmonious and the dryest of Andrea's paintings. He reproduces in his figure 467 the Albertina *ricordo* as a study by Andrea for the painting. Fraenckel 1935, 78–79, 155, 229n75 as Andrea's "farbenprächtigste Bild." She sees strong Venetian influence in the color, and only a touch of explicitly Florentine hue, of Mannerist character, in the *changeants* of St. Michael's drapery. She alleges other Venetian comparisons, and analogies with Correggio, all unconvincing.

Despite its deplorable condition, this work makes entirely explicit the change in style that had begun in Andrea's work the year before.

The predella (Figs. 16–18) offers a special problem. As Knapp 1907, 110–11, 130 observed, Andrea's hand is evident in it only in the first scene at the left, with the St. Michael (Fig. [203]). The remaining pieces were left for execution, and no less surely for design, to an assistant in the shop. They almost certainly postdate the main panel of the altar. They consist of imitations or pastiches, in an only fair approximation of Andrea's manner, of whole composition, parts of compositions, or single motives used by him elsewhere. The most obviously imitative is of course the panel with the *Decapitation* derived basically from the Scalzo. In the same scene, this basic derivation is compounded with an adaptation, in the Captain, from the *Payment* of the Orto *Parables*, and — explicitly indicative of a date in 1529 or later — by an adaptation, in the upper portion of the figure farthest right, from the S. Fedele of the Poppi altar (begun only in that year and left unfinished at Andrea's death). The panel that refers to S. Bernardino combines motives from the Scalzo *Arrest of St. John* and the *Dance of Salome*. The *Trial by Fire* of S. Giovanni Gualberto again adapts the outward-gesturing figure from the Orto *Payment*, adds (in the figure farthest right) a parody on the rightmost Apostle of *Assunta* 191, and a figure taken fairly literally from a drawing (Uffizi 306Fv; not from the painting) for the St. Benedict in the Berlin altar of 1528. This last borrowing, specifically from a drawing, indicates the "designer" — if he may be so dignified — was of Andrea's shop and had access at least to Andrea's recent drawings.

PREPARATORY STUDIES

FLORENCE, Uffizi, no. 640E. *Recto*, head of a younger man, in near-profile to the left. Black chalk on pink-tinted paper, 17.7 x 14.8; pieced out lower right. Fig. 127. *Verso* (see under Authentic Unassociated Drawings).

Ferri 1893, 132 for one of the figures in the *Four Saints* altar. Guinness 1899, 84 identified this as a study for the head of the S. Bernardino, correctly. So also Berenson [1938] no. 93; di Pietro 1911, no. 64; Ferri 1916, no. 16; Fraenckel 1935, 176; Marcucci 1954, no. 24, with further bibliography.

——— no. 288F. Male figure standing, partly draped, facing to the right. Red chalk on pink-tinted paper, 25.9 x 18.7. Fig. 128.

Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 46n2 for the St. Michael of the Vallombrosa altar. Ferri 1893, 135 as Andrea's but without association. Jacobsen 1898, 266 perhaps for the St. Michael. Berenson 1903, no. 62, [1938] no. 110C without reserve as for the St. Michael; so also Knapp 1907, 133; di Pietro 1911, no. 6; Ferri 1916, no. 15; Giglioli 1922, 38. Fraenckel 1935, 187 thinks the drawing by a more Mannerist artist than Andrea, and correctly compares its style with two other sheets that she rejects, but which we consider authentic. Presently labelled in the Cabinet as by Federico Zuccari?, but in our estimate a characteristic quick model study in Andrea's later style; compare British Museum 1896–11–18–1, for the contemporary Berlin altar. 288F is a stage in the development of the motive prior to Morgan Library I, 31.

——— no. 297F. *Recto*, two putti standing close together, for the *angelini* of the Vallombrosa altar. Red chalk, 27.8 x 14.6 (pieced out at top, left, and bottom). Fig. 129. *Verso* (see under Authentic Unassociated Drawings).

Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 46n2 identified the sheet as above; so also Ferri 1893, 135; Jacobsen 1898, 265; Berenson 1903, no. 67 [1938] no. 110I; di Pietro 1911, no. 12; Venturi 1925, 608; Fraenckel 1935, 170.

——— no. 306F. *Verso* (see under Preparatory Studies, Berlin altar, our catalogue entry no. 76). Fig. 133.

The sketch for St. Benedict in the Berlin altar reused for the figure left in the predella panel, the *Trial by Fire* of S. Giovanni Gualberto.

NEW YORK, Morgan Library, no. I, 31. Standing figure in the attitude of the St. Michael, the study for the drapery especially. Red chalk on pink-tinted paper, 28 x 17.5. Fig. 130.

Berenson [1938] no. 141F (not in 1903) as a study for the Michael.

Weak in places, but the sheet compares satisfactorily with the manner of other late drawings by Andrea: cf. the *trait* and also the handling of drapery in Uffizi 6444F, for the Borgherini *Holy Family*. The head compares with that in the drawing Uffizi 326F, for a full-length figure of a soldier (conceivably a portrait?), which is related to this sheet in motive, but not a preparatory study for this picture (q.v. under Authentic Unassociated Drawings).

PARIS, Louvre no. 232. *Recto*, quick sketch of a standing male in contemporary dress, looking over his shoulder to the right. Red chalk, and lines to the right of the figure in black chalk. 25.2 x 16.2. Fig. 131. *Verso* (see under Authentic Unassociated Drawings).

Reiset 1866, no. 86 as Fra Bartolommeo; so also Knapp 1913, 316. Gabelentz 1922, 151–152, no. 367 and Berenson [1938] no. 158A (but not in 1903) assign the sheet to Andrea. Bacou 1955, no. 52 catalogues it as "attributed" to Andrea, and suggests it may be contemporary with the studies (Uffizi 661E, 301F) for the London *Portrait of a Sculptor*, "circa 1525." Notes by Pouncey and Shearman on the mount affirm the attribution to Andrea.

This recto is of a somewhat exceptional style for Andrea, bolder, and more pointed in shapes, than is customary to him. The verso of the sheet, however, conforms with instant effect of conviction to the drawing style of Andrea as we know it especially in his later years. Some of the unusual elements on the recto may be justified by comparisons also best found in the later drawings, such as the sheet on which Andrea prepared the kneeling Margaret of the Pisa altar, Uffizi 315F, or the study for the Lucrezia portrait, Uffizi 647E.

The pose of the head and the attitude of the figure in general requires that we take the recto as a first idea for the St. Michael of the Vallombrosa altar.

——— no. 1681. Fig. [114].

(See under Preparatory Studies for the *Dance of Salome*, Scalzo, our catalogue entry no. 49.) Reused here for the figure right in the S. Bernardino scene of the predella, which follows this drawing more closely than the figure taken from it in the Scalzo fresco.[8]

COPY AFTER LOST PREPARATORY STUDY

FLORENCE, Uffizi nos. 10971F and 10972F, two halves of a single drawing. Composition sketch for the main panel of the altar. Brown ink, both halves together 11 x 14.5.

Di Pietro 1911, 80–82 as a *ricordo* of a *primo pensiero* in drawing for the Vallombrosa altar. Berenson [1938] 1757A (but not in 1903) as a *ricordo*, by Naldini. It is not clear from Berenson's language if he means a *ricordo* from the painting or from a drawing.

In our opinion not a *ricordo*, but a true copy from a lost composition drawing, fairly accurately reflecting Andrea's manner in his *invenzioni*. The sheet has borne an uncertain attribution to Federico Zuccari.

COPY

ASSISI, Unspecified Collection. The four saints at bust-length only.[9]

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[1] In the predella, left to right: *St. Michael Wrestling with the Devil*; *S. Giovanni Gualberto Assists at the Trial by Fire of S. Pietro Igneo*; *Decapitation of the Baptist*; *S. Bernadino Seized at the Altar*.

[2] The copy inscribed: "Andrea del Sarto a valle ambrosio 2 agosto." Wickhoff 1891/1892 as a copy; previously identified as Andrea's original drawing for the altar by Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 46n2.

[3] Vasari [1767–1771] III, 385n1: "che credesi di mano di Giotto."

[4] On the left cartellino: "In tabernac-o suo habitare fecit ea"; the right cartellino: "Posuit tabernaclum suum altissimus." Both legends in faded gold.

[5] See Vasari [1767–1771] III, 385n1.

The old catalogues of the Academy, where the altar was before its transfer to the Uffizi, state that the *Annunciation* from the predella was bought by one Charles Scitivaux. This information repeated by Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 46n2. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 191, 199 mistakenly identify, as this lost *Annunciation*, no. 1517 in the Louvre, which is a copy in full scale after the lunette, in the Pitti, of the destroyed Berlin altar. It is this latter picture which was in fact sold by M. Scitivaux to the Louvre, in 1821. See Cat. Louvre 1869, no. 440.

[6] There exhibited first under the numbers 40, 46, 47; then 61, 76, 77.

[7] Cats. Academy, and Cat. Uffizi 1927.

[8] Guinness 1899, 84 gives Uffizi 293F as a study for the hands of Giovanni Gualberto in this altar; the resemblance is very close, but the drawing is actually for the later Poppi altar, restudying the motive as it is used here.

[9] A copy of the St. Bernard only is supposed to be in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich, but is not listed in the catalogue.

Vienna, Albertina, SR 181, after the altar in its original state, is a copy in drawing after the painting; see our earlier remarks on this sheet.

76 · 1528. MADONNA WITH EIGHT SAINTS[1] (*Sarzana Altar*). Formerly Berlin, Staatliche Museen no. 246. Destroyed. ANNUNCIATION, crown piece. Florence, Pitti no. 163 Figs. [205, 207].

Panels, the *Madonna and Saints* 228 x 185; the *Annunciation* 98 x 189 (originally a lunette, pieced out to make a rectangle). Inscribed on the face of the topmost step of the main panel "ANNO DOM / MDXXVIII."

The main panel destroyed in the *Flakturm* fire, Berlin, May 1945. It was before then in extremely damaged state. Cleaned 1867 with such disastrous results that the painting was put in storage in 1868 as a ruin. Restored again in 1887–1888, by A. Hauser. At that time a piece circa 30 cm high, added to the top of the panel in 1845, was removed. Since the width of the main panel did not match that of its lunette (and the figures seem somewhat trimmed at the sides) it would seem that the panel must at one time have been cut.[2] A photo exists of the painting in a stripped condition, taken apparently at the time of the restoration of 1877.[3]

The additions made to the lunette *Annunciation* consist only in the filling-out of the upper sides beyond the limits of the original painting to fit a rectangular frame; the new areas have been painted with illusionistic curtains. There are numerous losses in the original extent of the *Annunciation* panel, mostly in the lower skirt of the Madonna and in the lower part of the angel's dress. A repaired crack to the right.

In the main panel, the Madonna in a light red dress and grey mantle, with a dark blue drapery over her lap; her lower left sleeve a brownish gold. St. Catherine in a light red dress with a bleached yellow-gold scarf; a grey drapery over her right arm. St. Julia in a grey dress with a greyed brown cloak. St. Celsus in a black garment, gold-trimmed, and a vermilion cloak. The remaining figures in neutrals or muted colors: Benedict in grey, Peter in a dull light red, Mark in a neutral blue, Anthony of Padua in grey-brown. The architecture a dull tan.[4]

In the Pitti lunette the angel wears a coat of yellow-orange gold over a blue-white sleeve. The Madonna is in a bleaching light red dress with a dark blue mantle fallen on her lap and behind her; her scarf is *changeant* from green to violet. A paled tan architecture; a white pillow to the farthest right. The sky behind shades from grey to a dull yellowish effulgence.

Vasari 1550, 764, in sequence immediately following on the altar for Vallombrosa: "Aveva avuto commissione Giuliano Scala, di far fare per Serrezana una tavola, qual'allogò a Andrea: nella qual' fece molte figure col solito suo disegno, colorito et grazia, le quali furono una Nostra Donna a sedere col figlio in collo, et due meze figure de la ginocchia in su, San Celso, et Santa Iulia, Santo Onofrio, et Santa Caterina, San Benedetto et Santo Antonio di Padua, et San Piero, et San Marco, la quale fu tenuta et ancora si tiene per cosa molta perfetta delle sue. Rimase un mezo tondo, che vi andava sopra a Giuliano per un resto che gli avevono a pagare quegli huomini, il qual pose ne Servi nella tribuna dov'è il coro a una sua cappella; nel quale vi è dentro una Nostra Donna Annunziata da l'Angelo, molto bella." Substantially the same account is in 1568 [1880] V, 46–47. Vasari's report explains the separation of the lunette from the main panel. The latter remained in the Dominican church at Sarzana apparently until 1788, and thence passed to a collection in Genoa, where it was described by Lanzi [1824] I, 210. From Genoa it came to J. Lafitte, Paris; sold 1834 to Mr. Arrowsmith, and by him, in Paris in 1836, to the Berlin museums.[5] It is not known when the lunette passed into the Medici collections. It was reported in the Cappella Scala by Borghini [1807] II, 225, but according to Bocchi [1677] 446–447 it had been replaced with a copy by Alessandro Allori, which Bocchi describes as "imitata con somma industria da . . . Andrea del Sarto." Cinelli [1677] 448 reports that Allori's copy has in turn been removed, and that the space is now occupied by another work. Bottari [1759] II, 240n2 states Andrea's original is in the Pitti.

Lanzi [1824] I, 210 says the altar was done for the Dominicans at Sarzana, "nel gusto di Fra Bartolommeo," and that it was replaced on its sale to Genoa by a copy. Lanzi admires the effect in the composition as of a stage with actors on it. Lanzi's information repeated by Biadi 1829, 151 and n2. Reumont 1835, 100–101 knows the main panel only from literary references. He cites the *Annunciation* Pitti 163 as its crown piece, with a date in 1526. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 191 note the picture is dated 1528, and that it is ruined; they remark that the lunette is in Florence. Mantz 1877, 343; Guinness 1899, 73, 79; Knapp 1907, 113–115. Knapp places emphasis on the illusionistic intention of the composition. Di Pietro 1911, 70 thinks the St. Peter and the "Baptist" [i.e., the S. Onofrio] were completed after Andrea's death by Sogliani. Friedlaender 1925, 70n1 notes a compositional analogy to Mannerist pictures but considers the design essentially classical nevertheless. Venturi 1925, 604–605 thinks the main panel by Andrea's shop, and the lunette ruined. Fraenckel 1935, 78, 134, 228n74 speaks of a possible Corregesque influence, unconvincingly. She dismisses the lunette as shop work.

The evidence of the original large panel is now lacking to us, but (even taking the painful prior history of damage into account as an extraordinary circumstance) it would seem that there may have been some intervention by the shop in the large panel. The left figures of the painting in general seem to be less in quality than Andrea's customary standard. Considering the weight of Andrea's other business about this time and the provincial destination of this picture, such an economy of his own effort would seem likely.

PREPARATORY STUDIES

BERLIN, Kupferstichkabinett no. 5082. Composition sketch for the Madonna and Saints. Red chalk, 15 x 13; the sheet torn completely across into four parts, repaired. Fig. [204].

Identified by Leporini 1925*b*, no. 4 as Andrea's study for the Berlin altar. Berenson [1938] no. 1754B (not in 1903) by Naldini, after Andrea's painting in Berlin.

Perhaps the finest of Andrea's rare *invenzioni*. For comparisons we have already adduced with other sheets by Andrea in this manner see especially British Museum 5226–86, British Museum 1912–12–14–1 and 2, Uffizi 297F verso, 301F recto and verso, 661E recto and verso, Horne 5543; also Uffizi 630E.

FLORENCE, Uffizi, no. 306F. *Recto*, head and part of the drapery of a female form, the head fully restudied to the right. *Verso*, drapery of a standing monk, facing to the right; on the same sheet a study for the St. John of the S. Salvi *Cena*, q.v. under Preparatory Studies for that fresco, and under Preparatory Studies for the Vallombrosa altar (our catalogue entry no. 65). Red chalk, 21.6 x 28.7. Figs. 132, 133.

Ferri 1893, 136 as Andrea's, without association for the recto, and on the verso identifying the S. Salvi study only; so also Berenson 1903, no. 113. Di Pietro 1911, nos. 19, 20 identifies the recto for the St. Catherine of the Berlin altar and the draped figure on the verso for the St. Benedict. Fraenckel 1935, 171 accepts di Pietro's association for the recto but regards the verso as probably a pupil's drawing, for the predella of the Vallombrosa altar rather than for this picture. Berenson [1938] no. 113 accepts both of di Pietro's identifications, correctly.

LONDON, British Museum no. 1896–11–18–1. A clothed model standing, a nude model kneeling to the right, holding a staff. Red chalk, 28 x 20.1; rubbed. Fig. [206].

Wickhoff 1899, 214n2 by Andrea, for the Berlin altar. Berenson [1938] 133: studies from the model for the Sts. Giovanni Gualberto [i.e. Benedict/Bruno] and Onofrio in this altar. Knapp 1907, 135 (as British Museum no. 5210.33) "perhaps" for the Berlin picture. Popham, Vasari Society ser. 2, 16:5 (1935). Fraenckel 1935, 179 accepts Berenson's identification, which is exact.

PARIS, Ecole des Beaux-Arts no. 352 (inv. 28036). Head of a girl looking downward to the left. Red chalk, 23.3 x 17.8; pieced out 1.2 cm at top and 1 cm at bottom. Fig. 134.

Cat. Exhibition Ecole des Beaux-Arts 1879, no. 87 as a study from Lucrezia for the Luco *Pietà*. Berger 1879, 298n1 gives only the identification as Lucrezia; Mantz 1891, 46 repeats the entire identification as in the Ecole des Beaux-Arts catalogue. Morelli, reported by Habich 1891/92, 489: a probable portrait of Lucrezia. Berenson [1938] no. 159 (as Ecole des Beaux-Arts no. 10): perhaps Lucrezia, and possibly for the Luco *Pietà*. Knapp 1907, 126, 135 first made the correct identification, with the St. Catherine of the painting then in Berlin; so also di Pietro 1911, 54n3, who further observes, also correctly, that the model is not Lucrezia but Maria del Berrettaio. Venturi 1925, 605 as Knapp.[6] Fraenckel 1935, 183 persists in the older association, but also admits the resemblance that Knapp had pointed out. Comandé 1952, 104 and Becherucci 1955, pl. 25, consider that the sheet is for the Berlin Catherine.

The type of headdress and the specific inclination of the head, and the relation of pose also with the study on Uffizi 306Fr for the St. Catherine, make it explicit that this sheet is for the same purpose. However, Maria's features do not appear on 306Fr, nor in the St. Catherine of the picture, who develops instead from the different model used on that Uffizi sheet. Maria's role as model in the altar is more elevated; her face serves as the basis for that of the Madonna: the daughter has supplanted her aging mother.

——— Louvre no. 11.006. An arm bent at the elbow, the hand raised. Red chalk, 9.3 x 7.8. Fig. 135.

First assigned to Andrea by Pouncey; published Bacou 1955, no. 40 with Pouncey's attribution and the observation, tentatively made (but in fact sure) that this is a study for the left hand of the Virgin in the Pitti lunette of the destroyed Berlin altar.

COPIES AND DERIVATIONS (I)

BERLIN, Museums, deposit no. 1507. Panel, 70 x 53.

Cat. Berlin 1931, 642 as a partial copy.

CAPETOWN, Princess Labia. The St. Julia of the altar, transformed into a three-quarter length standing figure, and given the attribute of St. Catherine. Panel, 110.5 x 86.

From the Sciarra Collection, Rome; then on the art market in London where it was reported as a "copy . . . not altogether from the master's hand" by Guinness 1899, 100. Formerly in Sir Joseph Robinson's collection, London.

A late sixteenth-century imitation, by a good hand, suggesting the manner of Alessandro Allori.

PARIS, Louvre no. 1517. After the *Annunciation.* Panel, 94 x 190.

Acquired 1812 from Scitivaux. Cat. Louvre 1841, no. 857 described this as original; but called a copy in Cat. 1869, no. 440 and in all subsequent catalogues.

Reumont 1835, 161n1 as a repetition or copy. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 191 as a copy; so also Guinness 1899, 79.

An exact copy, and of high quality; almost surely to be identified with the copy made by Allori, hung in substitution of Andrea's original in the Cappella Scala of SS. Annunziata, and there described by Bocchi [1677] 446–447. See the history of the original, above. Bottari in Borghini [1807] II, 225n1: "non vi è più." Bocchi's information repeated by Biadi 1829, 140.

SARZANA, S. Francesco. After the main panel. Canvas, 292 x 193 (a piece circa 16 cm added, below, to the original dimension of the canvas, and included in this measurement).

Described by Lanzi [1824] I, 210 as a substitution for the original made at the time of its removal to Genoa. Later transferred from the (destroyed) church of S. Domenico to S. Francesco. Exhibited *Arte a Sarzana*, Sarzana, 1961, no. 23; restored for this exhibition.

Of grossly inferior quality.[7]

DERIVATIONS (II)

This type of derivation takes its origin from an invention made, almost certainly, within Andrea's shop; this invention may be the painting now in the Kress Collection, listed first below. This type extracts the Madonna and Child of the Berlin altarpiece and adds an Infant St. John left to make a small devotional picture.

CORAL GABLES, Florida, University of Miami, Kress Collection no. 449. Canvas, diam. 68. Fig. 19.

So heavily varnished that assessment of condition is obscured, but the painting would seem to have been much remade. Cat. Benson Collection 1914, no. 38 remarks numerous pentimenti, and these are no longer visible.

From an unnamed Russian collection in Florence to the Benson Collection, then to W. R. Hearst; acquired for the Kress Collection 1937. Exhibited Washington, National Gallery, 1941–1958; returned to Kress; Kress gift to the University of Miami 1961–1962.

Berenson 1909, 103; [1932] 17; [1936] 16: by Andrea. So also Cust 1907, 28; Cat. Benson Collection 1914, no. 38; Borenius in Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 191n3; Knapp [1928] 114; Venturi 1931, pl. 339. Fraenckel 1935, 229 as a copy from the Berlin painting.

Despite the parade of favorable opinion, this picture does not in fact show Andrea's personal intervention in any part. The brush work is correct but timid, the drawing conspicuously slack, and the modelling forced and schematic. The color (of the background especially) suggests that of the parts executed by assistants in the Pisa altar of 1529–1530. Obviously, the design is a reuse, almost literally exact, of that of the central figures of the Berlin altar. This picture would have been "authorized" by Andrea — it would be an exaggeration to say "designed" by him — for execution in his shop, probably c. 1529, as an essentially commercial exploitation of an existant cartoon.

FLORENCE, Pitti deposit no. 6294. Canvas, rectangular format.

Later and of worse quality than the other versions.

ROME, Galleria Borghese no. 7 (Cat. 1959; no.

333, Cat. 1893). Panel, 85 x 68; against a rocky landscape background.

First listed in the Borghese inventory in 1883, as a work of the Florentine school. Venturi 1893, 164 and 1925, 426 assigns this to Bugiardini. Longhi 1928, 208 as a copy after Sarto. Cat. Borghese 1959, no. 7 a contemporary copy from the direct circle of Andrea.

By an artist of the Sarto revival, partly copying, partly adapting the picture now at Coral Gables.

[1] In clockwise order the saints are: Celsus, Onofrius, Benedict (or Bruno), Peter, Mark, Anthony of Padua, Catherine, Julia.

[2] Rosenberg 1880, 81 ff; Bode 1889, 608. There is an extensive journalistic literature of controversy about the restorations of this picture.

[3] This photograph shows drastic losses across almost the whole width of the lower center area of the panel, in the lower skirt of the Madonna and in her chest, throughout the figure of St. Catherine, and in the drapery of St. Julia.

[4] An inadequate color reproduction of the painting is in Escher 1922, taf. VI, facing p. 240.

[5] Cat. Berlin 1931, no. 246; Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 46n3.

[6] Cat. Berlin 1931, no. 246 makes a confused identification of this sheet as a study for the Julia of their altar.

[7] R. Soprani, *Le Vite de Pittori . . . Genovesi* (Genoa, 1674) 245, in the biography of Fiasella, reports that this painter, born in Sarzana, as a student drew after Andrea's altar.

77 · c. 1528. PORTRAIT OF LUCREZIA. Berlin-Dahlem no. 240; Cat. 1931. Fig. [209].

Panel, 44 x 37; fragment, unfinished.

The edges of the panel indicate that it has been cut down all around. The panel not finely prepared; there are numerous scratches in the gesso, which are only incompletely covered by the paint. The face brought only partly toward completion, the rest only roughly blocked in. Pentimenti are visible at the top of the right shoulder, the top of the left shoulder, and the lower circumference of the hat. There are minor losses only.

The sitter wears a white shirt, transparent to the skin. The lower bodice dark grey; the sleeves yellow-gold. The turban greenish, shading in the dark to brown. Brown hair and eyes. The background green.

Purchased for Berlin through Rumohr, 1829.

Reumont 1835, 223 implies uncertainty about the attribution, but gives the sitter as Lucrezia. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 175 as Lucrezia, without indication of a date. Guinness 1899, 73 as a "sketch" of Lucrezia; no date. Knapp 1907, 120, 129 as Lucrezia, c. 1528. Di Pietro 1911, 33 describes the picture as explicitly a fragment, and indicates its connection with the preparatory study Uffizi 647E. Alazard 1924, 131 as Lucrezia. Venturi 1925, 596–598 would place the painting near the time of the *Madonna del Sacco*. He thinks the drawing Uffizi 647E need not be precisely associated with the Berlin picture. Cat. Berlin 1931, no. 240 as "study." Fraenckel 1935, 102, 162, 237n90 finds this a work of Andrea's school; almost the most distressing evidence of her lack of visual judgment. Wagner 1959, 435 follows Fraenckel.

An exact determination of this picture's date may not be possible, and that we offer here must be taken with caution. The evidence the portrait offers for judgment on grounds of style is incomplete, corresponding to its state as an unfinished work. The terms of comparison, in the shape of other portraits, are scarce; the three further authentic portraits by Andrea of the twenties all come from the last years of his career. This one tends to seek their company; however, its style may also permit comparison to works, not portraits, executed earlier. The evidence offered by the appearance of the sitter is also incomplete: the sketchlike notation of the head is only of essentials, and lacks the precise details that might inform us more exactly of Lucrezia's age. She need not, necessarily, be taken here as older than when, in 1523, she posed for the *Faith* of the fresco in the Scalzo, and it may be a quality of expression, more than indications of appearance, that make her seem so. It may be the same quality only that makes us see her as older, also, than her image as the Madonna of the *Sacco*. On more objective grounds, of what is actually described, that image, in the *Sacco*, may be the closest to this one in the portrait. In the *Madonna del Sacco*, too, there seems to be much comparable character of painting style: in the strong, pure, and somewhat summary description of the ovoid head, and in the quick shorthand, smooth and luminous, of the upper drapery. However, in the portrait there is an accenting of shadow and a tendency to darker tone that suggest the direction Andrea's style takes only (in our chronology) late in 1527 and, particularly, in 1528.

In the comparative material that we can offer for about this time, there is, first, a transcription of Lucrezia in the role of the Madonna of the *Madonna and Six Saints* Pitti 307, of 1527–1528. Here the appearance of the features is less like that of the Berlin portrait than the *Madonna del Sacco*, but the shadowed painting of the head is more like it. In the later *Assunta*, Pitti 225 (1527–1529), the head of the Madonna, again based on Lucrezia's, may flatter less (or merely describe the effects of age more fully than the sketch); and it may suggest, but not surely, a slightly older person. Again, however, the mode of painting seems more nearly comparable to that in the portrait. Though it is a subjective datum, it must still be recognized that the quality of expression in the Madonna of Pitti 225 is more akin to what the portrait shows. Lucrezia does not figure in the former Berlin altar, dated 1528; but that picture offers a very suggestive purely technical comparison, in the strongly plastic, shadow-accented shaping of the head of Julia. We tend to seek a date for the Berlin *Lucrezia* in 1528, but recognize that this is come to by a weight almost as much of impression as of sound external evidence; the date is therefore proposed with reserve.

PREPARATORY STUDY

FLORENCE, Uffizi no. 647E. Lucrezia, holding a book, seated frontally in three-quarters length. Red chalk, 34 x 20.1. Fig. [208].

Morelli, cited Habich 1892/93, 158: authentic. Ferri 1893, 132 as Lucrezia, but without association with the Berlin portrait. Berenson [1938] no. 95 as "Portrait of a Lady." Knapp 1907, 134 without association. Di Pietro 1911, no. 67 first makes the proper connection with the painted work. Ferri 1916, no. 6 as di Pietro; so also Leporini 1925*a*, pl. 129; Popham 1930, no. 203, with a dating of both painting and drawing c. 1520. Fraenckel 1935, 176 thinks this an authentic drawing of c. 1528–1530, but not used in any authentic painting. Berenson [1961] no. 95 reports this author's verbal opinion, 1957, of the connection of the sheet with the Berlin portrait.

One of Andrea's most beautiful drawings: perfectly assured, and of singular luminosity. The features indicated not by lines but by "values" only. Lines at the edges of the sheet define the frame of the intended picture.

The style of draughtsmanship is possible at any time from 1525 onward, but (as with the painting) finds more convincing and exact comparisons c. 1528: cf. e.g. British Museum 1896–11–18–1, for the two saints left in the Berlin altar.[1]

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[1] Bottari in Vasari [1759] II, 241n1 reports that Mariette owns a red chalk drawing of Lucrezia by Andrea. Ed. de' Giudici of Vasari [1767–1771] III, 387n1 reports a black chalk drawing of Lucrezia in the collection of one "Sig. Long, gentiluomo inglese."

For a portrait drawing of Lucrezia, preparatory to the *Madonna of the Harpies*, see our catalogue entry no. 37, under Paris, Institut Néerlandais, Lugt Collection.

78 · c. 1528. ST. JAMES. Florence, Uffizi, no. 1583. Fig. [210].

Canvas (mounted on panel), 15.6 x 85.5.

The canvas irregularly strained, and loosened in places from its underlying panel mount. Numerous blisterings. The surface is generally much abraded, and in addition shows pervasive small paint losses, as well as some of larger size; almost all the losses clumsily restored. There is a major area of damage in a long strip through the right part of the face and upper body of the child on the left. The hands of the child to the right, St. James' hand, and his face have been heavily reglazed. The condition is, in general, extremely unsatisfactory.

St. James' shirt a flat light green, with shadows tending to browned violet. His skirt a light red-orange. He has a brownish gold halo. The children both in dirtied white; a touch of red shirt shows at the throat of the child on the left. He holds a green book with gold ornament. The landscape shades from yellow-green in the foreground through green-blue in the distance; the horizon blanched.

Vasari 1550, 765 describes this painting in sequence immediately after the *Last Supper* of S. Salvi: "Fece a una compagnia di San Iacopo, che li stava vicino, un segno da portare a processione, dove egli fece un S. Iacopo che fa carezze, toccando sotto il mento a un putto vestito da battuto: oltra che v'è un altro putto, che ha un libro in mano, pittura lodevole per essere ben fatta." The same report, the language varied only slightly, is in 1568 [1880] V, 48. Cinelli [1677] 480: in the church of the Compagnia (called by him "del Nicchio"; under the arch of the Innocenti). The painting was moved to the Academy in 1794, and thence to the Uffizi in 1795.[1]

Biadi 1829, 162n2. Reumont 1835, 170 with a dating in 1528; so also Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 191–192. Guinness 1899, 83 and Knapp 1907, 121, 129 c. 1528. Sinibaldi 1925*a*, 25 remarks the relation to the *St. John the Baptist* of the Pitti, and thinks the *St. John* shortly previous. Venturi 1925, 618 makes the same association, and dates the painting late. Fraenckel 1935, 68, 154, 224n64 would place the work, on grounds of style, between the Luco *Pietà* and the *Madonna del Sacco*, i.e., 1524–1525. She finds, as usual, Venetian associations for the picture. Wagner 1959, 434–435 (again following Fraenckel) dates the *St. James* c. 1525.

The marked relation of type between the child left in this painting and the St. John of Pitti 272 (observed by Sinibaldi and Venturi) is one index of a date c. 1528; another is the resemblance, still closer, between the head of St. James and that of the Baptist in the Vallombrosa altar. The drapery is quite severe, with simple folds set into angular relief; this is most like Andrea's style of drapery in the foreground figures of Pitti 225. It may be noted also that the pose of the infant on the right suggests that of the St. Margaret in that altar, and the pose of the infant on the left is like that St. Nicholas would have if he were turned farther to the front. It may be that this connection of motives indicates a translation of thinking from one picture to the other; presumably from the *Assunta* 225 to the *St. James.*

[1] Cat. Uffizi 1927 and 1949, no. 1583.

79 · 1528 (–1529). HOLY FAMILY. Rome, Galleria Nazionale no. 2332, Cat. 1957. Fig. [211].

Panel, 140 x 104.

A few damages of some size, of which the most marked are in the sky upper center, in the drapery of the right arm of Joseph, in (our) left contour of his head, in the darker drapery of the Madonna's right leg. Irregular minor damages elsewhere in the Madonna's drapery. However, the condition is generally satisfactory.

The Madonna wears a white head-piece over which is a pale lilac scarf. Her shawl is yellow-green with bluish shadows. Her sleeve powder blue. Her dress is a middle red that bleaches in the lights, especially in its lower part. Her mantle, visible across her right knee and behind her left foot, is dark blue. The child wears a light green cloth. Joseph's garment is a neutral violet in the lights, and plum-colored in the darks; his lower left sleeve white; a yellow-gold drapery over the middle of his right arm. Transparent gold haloes. The landscape is in shades of light brown and greyed brown.

From the Barberini Collection, Rome, where it is mentioned by Reumont 1835, 78. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 195 as no. 54 in the collection; Guinness 1899, 96 as no. 94. Purchased 1935, and transferred to the Galleria Borghese, where it was exhibited as no. 577. Returned to the Palazzo Barberini on the opening there of the Galleria Nazionale.

This picture is very probably to be identified with the painting that Vasari 1550, 759 and 1568 [1880] V, 40 described as done for Zanobi Bracci, from whom the commission had also come for the *Holy Family* Pitti 62. The description in ed. 1550 reads: "Fece a Zanobi Bracci un quadro bellissimo per la villa di Rovezzano, per tenere in una sua cappella, dentrovi una Nostra Donna che allatta un putto, et un Giuseppo, che si staccono per il relievo da la tavola, oggi in Fiorenza nella camera di Messer' Antonio suo figliolo . . ." [1]

We believe the following material applies to the history of this picture between the time of its record by Vasari and its appearance in the Barberini Collection c. 1800.[2]

Pisa, Archivio Salviati, serie iii: Salviati di Roma: libro no. 59, Debitori e Creditori (1576–1580), c. 364 (31 October): "E a' di detto F. quindici di m$^{\text{ta}}$ pag$^{\text{ti}}$ si no sotto di 12 di Sette'bre

1575 a Aless^{no} Allori Pittore p^{to} co^{ti} [*porto contanti*] p[er] haver' fatto una copia di una Mado'na d'Andrea del Sarto della grandi alla miglior' maniera p[er] M. Ant^{o} Bracci p[er] in vece del'originale che detto M. Ant^{o} ne dono, alla quale si fece poi un Adornam^{to} debano come a' Usc^{a} c 205 posto C^{a} car 297 .... F. 15."

Same series, filza 100, 1583 (Inventario . . . di tutto ciò che si ritrova il detto Jacopo [*di Alamanno di Jacopo di Giovanni*] Salviati: "un quadro grande co' adornam^{to} d'ebano e corn^{e} dent^{i} [*dentrovi*] u^{a} N. Donna col Bamb^{o} e S. Giuseppe di mano d'Andrea del Sarto." The description of this painting is specified by Bocchi toward the end of the sixteenth century [1677], 373: (in the casa di Duca Salviati) "una Madonna, ed un S. Giuseppe con Christo . . . accostandosi al latte si volta con gli occhi verso che il mira." Bocchi has high praise for the quality of the work.[3] The same picture is mentioned again in the Salviati archives, filza 172, 1609, no. 960, and in ser. iv, filza 316, 1647. In the latter, an inventory of the Salviati palace in Florence, it is noted that the picture has been sent to Rome. Subsequent mentions are in ser. iii, filza 73 (vol. 2), fasc. 6, 1668, etc. In the first decade of the eighteenth century the picture came into the possession of the Colonna family. The catalogue of the Colonna Collection, 1783, no. 198, lists: "Un quadro di 4 e 6 [*palmi*] per alto in Tavola — la Madonna, il Bambino, e S. Giuseppe, opera celeberrima d'Andrea del Sarto."

Vasari's description appears in his text well after his mention (1550, 755; [1880] V, 35) of the previous *Holy Family* commissioned by Zanobi Bracci "per un camera," identified as the present Pitti 62. However, Vasari's system of chronology, with its "leap-frogging" among groups of paintings, makes it possible to construe this second *Holy Family* for Bracci as earlier than the first: it is mentioned very shortly following on the fresco at Poggio. However, the paintings that intervene between the description of Poggio and the second *Holy Family* for Bracci are the two *Sts. John*, Pitti 272 and the lost painting intended to be sent to France. We have dated these c. 1527 and 1528 respectively, and it is close to the latter date that we think, on grounds of style, the *Holy Family* now in Rome, which we identify as Bracci's second picture from Andrea, should be situated.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 195 are uncertain of Andrea's own authorship of this painting; according to them it is by Andrea or done "under his supervision" c. 1526–1527. Janitschek 1879, 48 thinks it authentic but in part overpainted. Guinness 1899, 40, 96 makes the identification of this painting with the [second] *Holy Family* for Bracci, and would date it c. 1525. Knapp 1907, 111–113 gives the date 1527; and p. 132 c. 1526. Venturi 1925, 615 in sequence with the works c. 1528–1529, pointing out the relation to and differences from the *Madonna* for Ottaviano de' Medici, Pitti 81. Not in Berenson [1932] or [1936]. Fraenckel 1935, 104, 167, 237n92 as the work of an imitator, based on the painting for Ottaviano; she protests especially against the color. De Rinaldis, Cat. Borghese 1939, 33 suspects the collaboration of assistants. Comandé 1952, 104 regards the picture as an authentic late work.

The painting conveys, in the original, the most convincing sense of its authenticity. It instantly suggests comparison for its general effect of style, and for the manner and the quality of its working in detail, with the Vallombrosa altar of 1528. Perhaps even more markedly than in the Four Saints of the altar, here there is a strength of angular foldings in the drapery, and an accenting of shadow not only in the draperies but in the faces. The effect of color is more harmonious, but its intensity is much the same. The type of St. Joseph closely resembles that of the Giovanni Gualberto among the Four Saints, and the manner of painting in the head of the Madonna suggests that in the St. Michael. There are, obviously, resemblances to the former Berlin altar (the anatomy of the Child, and in the heads), though these are less pronounced. Some of the vocabulary of the Barberini painting recalls that, also, of the *Caritas* of 1528 (the Infant's anatomy, the smoothed modelling of the head of the Madonna, the foldings at the rear of her skirt). With the putti of Pitti 225, the Christ Child here shows a clear kinship: cf. especially the head of the putto farthest to the right. However, with all these clear suggestions of community to works of 1528, there are also suggestions of relation to paintings that date from the next year: most obviously with the *Madonna, Elizabeth and John* for Ottaviano de' Medici, though the connection is more of motives of design than specifically of effects of style (there much softer); and with elements in the drapery style of the main panel of the St. Agnes altarpiece for Pisa. It is conceivable that the Bracci painting should have come from 1529, but more probable that it was done in 1528.

COPY AFTER LOST PREPARATORY STUDY

PARIS, Institut Néerlandais, Lugt Collection no. J5253. Black chalk, 15.6 x 9.2. Fig. 136.

Unpublished. Identified in the collection as a preparatory study for the Barberini picture, but its quality suggests it is a copy rather than Andrea's original. The contour and the hatchings lack his energy, even in the diminished degree in which it may appear in later sheets, and the modelling is rather fuzzy, and in places inarticulate. Naldini comes to mind as the probable author.[4]

COPIES AND DERIVATIONS

Sold AMSTERDAM, King William of Holland sale, 12 August 1850, no. 180, to Brondgeest. Panel, 100 x 74.

Sold BERLIN, Lepke, 22 November 1932, no. 71. Panel, 132 x 97.

BURGOS, Cathedral.

An infant St. John added to the left.

CORSHAM COURT, Lord Methuen Collection no. 84 (Cat. 1939). Panel, 75 x 62.

Cat. 1939, no. 84 "probably from the Rev. Sanford, but not perfectly identifiable."

Formerly? DUNFERMLINE (County Fife), Broom Hall, Lord Elgin.

Waagen 1857, 443–444 as an early copy.

Formerly FLORENCE, Collection Gaddi-Poggi.

Described by Reumont 1835, 64–65 and n1 as the original from which the "replica" in the Barberini Collection derives, except that the Barberini picture lacks the St. John (similar to that in the *Pinti Madonna*) that was in the Gaddi-Poggi picture. Reumont's description includes a careful indication of color, which agrees with that of a painting now in Rome. Reumont, like Biadi (1829, 153 and n2) identifies the Gaddi-Poggi painting as one Vasari 1550, 742 and 1568 [1880] V, 18 says Andrea did for Giovanni Gaddi. Vasari's description, however, refers only to a "Nostra Donna bellissima," and his mention of it occurs in a sequence (following the *Birth of the Virgin* in the Annunziata) that indicates without doubt it was a work of date well before 1520, probably c. 1515. Vasari's painting could not, therefore, be identified with Reumont's Gaddi-Poggi painting, which evidently was a version of the *Holy Family* for Zanobi Bracci.

From the fact that certain other variants of the design, in addition to that once in the Gaddi-Poggi gallery, have a St. John added to the left, it might be that they take their origin in a design produced within Andrea's shop as a variant on the second Bracci *Holy Family*; such a shop variant would have had exemplary status like that of Andrea's original for the Bracci.

——— Nocchi (dealer).

Without the Joseph, but with the St. John to the left; the St. John adapted from Raphael's *Madonna dell'Impannata.*

From the Casa Pasquale, Florence. Biadi 1829, 148n7. Reumont 1835, 82 as an original by Andrea, 1515, with the observation of its relation to the Gaddi-Poggi painting.

FLORENCE, Tolentino Collection.

Formerly? LONDON, Duke of Westminster, Grosvenor House no. 97.

Reumont 1835, xxi. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 200 as a feeble copy. Guinness 1899, 96 a school copy.

Sold LONDON, Christie's, Lord Lansdowne sale, 7 March 1930, no. 71. Panel, 140 x 109.

Formerly at Bowood. Before that in Lord Radstock's collection. 1935 in Boston, Mass., art market. Said to have been resold Berlin, Lepke, 22–24 November 1938, no. 392.

——— Coesevelt Collection, 1836, no. 20. Panel, 101.5 x 76.2. From the Lucien Buonaparte Collection.

MADRID, Prado no. 335 (Cat. 1949). Panel, 140 x 112. From the Escorial; to the Prado in 1839.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 198 perhaps by Salviati (the suggestion quite without foundation). Guinness 1899, 99 suggests this may be the painting spoken of in Vasari [1767–1771] III, 377n as having been acquired, as an authentic replica, by Bali de Bréteuil, Maltese Ambassador in Rome.

MUNICH, Alte Pinakothek, no. 1071 (Cat. 1900). The head of the St. Joseph only. Oil on paper pasted on panel, 55 x 44. From King Maximilian, 1814.

Reumont 1835, xxii. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 197 "bold and characteristic, but restored." Cat. Munich 1877, no 576 identifies this as a copy from the copy listed below.

Formerly MUNICH, Count Berchem.

Reported in Cat. Munich 1877, under no. 576.

Formerly PARMA, Palazzo del Giardino.

Campori 1870, 247 from the inventory of the Palazzo del Giardino: "Un quadro alto br. 2 on. 5, largo br. 1 on. 10, in tavola. Una Madonna a sedere col Bambino in grembo che le tiene le mani in seno, alla destra S. Giuseppe appoggiato ad un muro con la sinistra sotto il collo. Abbozzo di Andrea del Sarto."

Formerly PROVIDENCE, Rhode Island School of Design. Panel, 143.5 x 110. To the School of Design from Dr. E. M. Harris, 1923. Sold New York, Parke-Bernet, Greenleaf sale, 31 May 1945, no. 92.

Bulletin Rhode Island School of Design 13:3 (1925).

Sold STOCKHOLM, Bukowski sale, 15–17 April 1953.

TUCSON, University of Arizona, Kress Collection. Panel, 140 x 105.

From the Caratozzolo Collection, Paris, to the Cook Collection, Richmond, in 1870. Purchased for the Kress Collection 1948; to Tucson 1952.

Borenius in Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 195n3.

VIENNA, Akademie der Bildenden Künste no. 304. Panel, 135 x 110. From the Counts Lamberg.

Borenius in Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 195n3.[5]

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[1] The identification of this design as the second Bracci Madonna already made by Mariette: Bottari in Vasari [1759] II, 235n3 notes that Mariette believes he has identified the design on the basis of an anonymous Italian engraving, of which the description does in fact conform to that of the present work.

[2] The documentary matter from the Salviati archives kindly brought to my attention by Mr. Edward Sanchez.

[3] It was very probably to this painting that Borghini [1807] II, 224 refers in his mention of a "bellissimo quadro . . . della Reina de' Cieli" in the house of messer Antonio Bracci; though the original had been sold and replaced by a copy in 1575 (see the document, above). Vasari [1767–1771] III, 377 contains a note with a more exact description of this painting, derived from a print, and states that by that time the picture was no longer in the Casa Bracci. Not consistent with this is Milanesi's information in Vasari [1880] V, 40n4 that the painter Luigi Scotti noted in his memoirs that he had restored the Bracci picture in the house on Via dei Ginori in 1818, and that the picture was sold to a French merchant. In any case, the painting that remained in the Casa Bracci could have been the copy only.

[4] Uffizi 14438F, described as a preparatory study by Knapp 1907, 132 is after the painting, by Bandinelli. See Marcucci 1954, 105–107.

[5] The Witt Library at the Courtauld Institute has photographs of two further copies, of seventeenth century or later date, for which there are no indications of place.

Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 40n4 states there is a painting by Andrea of this subject in the Hermitage, acquired under Catherine II, but it would appear that he means to refer in fact to a copy after Louvre no. 1516.

Copies in drawing after the painting are: Chatsworth, Devonshire Collection no. 7, red chalk, 37.8 x 27.2; Uffizi 14438F recto and verso. For the latter, see note 4, above.

80 · 1528–1530. SELF-PORTRAIT. Florence, Uffizi, Galleria degli Autoritratti no. 1694. Fig. [213].

Fresco, varnished, on tile, 47 x 34.

The tile shows a network of bad cracks, including at least four large cracks running through the face; the cracks are broadly repainted. Other losses of small dimension, filled in.

Andrea wears a blue-black hat. His coat is a middle brown of orange cast. Black stripes on the coat; a blued grey sleeve; white collar. Andrea's eyes are light brown and his complexion is ruddy, with the blue shadow of his beard. The background a slightly yellowed grey.

Vasari 1550, 765–766 in a chronological context that is identifiable with 1528 or 1529, tells us of the circumstances in which this portrait is supposed to have been painted: "Era un commesso che stava vicino a Valle ombrosa in una villa, per le ricolte di que' frati; il quale aveva volontà d'esser ritratto d'Andrea per metterlo in un luogo, dove l'acqua percoteva, avendoci acconcio et pergole et altre fantasie. Così Andrea che era molto suo amico, lo satisfece. Avvenne che gli avanzò de' colori, et de la calcina, et un tegolo compagno di quelle. Et Andrea chiamò la Lucrezia sua donna, et li disse: Vien qua che poi che ci è avanzato questi colori, ti voglio ritrarre, acciò si vegga in questa tua età, quanto tu ti sei conservata, et si conosca quanto hai mutato effigie, da i primi ritratti. Non volse ella star ferma, per il che Andrea che li pareva essere quasi vicino al suo fine, tolse una spera: et ritrasse sè medesimo in un tegolo, che è vivissimo et naturale, oggi appresso alla donna sua." The wording of the account in the second edition is slightly different, but the same in substance [1880] V, 48–49: "E perchè finita l'opera avanzò de' colori e della calcina, Andrea, preso un tegolo, chiamò la Lucrezia sua donna, e le disse: Vien qua; poichè ci sono avanzati questi colori, io ti voglio ritrarre, acciò si veggia in questa tua età, come ti sei ben conservata, e si conosca nondimeno quanto hai mutato effigie, e sia per esser questo diverso dai primi ritratti. Ma non volendo la donna, che forse aveva altra fantasia, star ferma; Andrea quasi indovinando esser vicino al suo fine, tolta una spera, ritrasse se medesimo in quel tegolo tanto bene, che par vivo e naturalissimo. Il qual ritratto è appresso alla detta madonna Lucrezia sua donna che ancor vive." Presumably, the portrait remained in Lucrezia's possession until her death. This portrait, or a drawing taken after it, served Vasari for the frontispiece to Andrea's life in the edition of 1568 (Fig. 21).[1] It is not known how or at what date the picture entered the Medici Collections. The index of A.S.F. Inv. Med. 307, Filza d'Ordine della Guardaroba Generale, 1609 contains the following entry: "c. 305 . . . [*Andrea del Sarto*] suo ritratto dipinto da lui stesso sopra un'embrice." The actual entry, however, is not to be found on c. 305. The next notice of the portrait that we know does not occur until the inventory of 1704 (no. 1744); it then reappears, under different numbers, in subsequent inventories.

Biadi 1829, 162 much damaged; so also Reumont 1835, 220–221. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 176 and n2 as in a fresco technique; Guinness 1899, 82 says it is in tempera, and gives a date of 1529. Schaeffer 1904, 52. Knapp 1907, 12, 128, in fresco, but with the only dating that does not accept Vasari's indication of chronology: c. 1516–1517. Alazard 1924, 124–125; Sinibaldi 1925*a*, 25; Venturi 1925, 612–613. Fraenckel 90, 156, 234n86 as the only authentic self-portrait, 1529–1530.

It need not be construed that Vasari's story of this portrait is the account of an eye-witness, though it has that flavor; he could have learned the circumstances from Lucrezia.[2] In the few months Vasari spent in Florence in late summer-early autumn 1529 he was not in Sarto's studio, but engaged in an attempt to learn the goldsmith's trade. It is therefore unlikely that he should have seen what he describes as if he had been present. Nor can we, obviously, accept at face value Vasari's notion of Andrea's premonition of approaching death. The only evidence for dating Vasari's narrative gives us is its general context, 1528 or 1529, and this may be read sufficiently flexibly to include the year 1530. The portrait itself, badly damaged and in an exceptional technique, offers us no good evidence of style for dating more precise than this. Any judgment of age must of course be approximate: this seems an adequately truthful image of a man, of Andrea's temper, in his early forties.

For the other items in Andrea's authentic iconography see our discussion of the *Assunta*, Pitti 191, and also the early *Adoration of the Magi*, SS. Annunziata (our catalogue entries nos. 52 and 14).

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[1] Vasari's account indicates clearly that there was no preparatory study.

[2] It is unlikely that, since Lucrezia was still alive at the time of writing, Vasari would have invented them.

81 · (1528–)1529. MADONNA AND CHILD. Florence, Pitti, no. 476. Fig. [212].

Panel, 87 x 65.

Obscured by old varnish, but the condition is in general good. Minor losses only, and those sparse.

The Madonna wears a paled rose cap and a scarf of faded lilac, with dull gold stripes. A bleached cherry-red dress and a middle blue drapery on her lap. A green curtain left and right of a black background in the center.

Listed in the Medici Inventory of Poggio Imperiale, 1624 (A.S.F. Inv. Med. 479, Inventario della Villa del Poggio Imperiale, c. 24, dated 1624): "Un quadro di Br. 1¼ incirc^{a} con adornam^{to} nero filett^{o} d'oro entrovi dipinto una madonna col bambino in Collo, di mano d'Andrea del sarto di sua propria maniera."[1] It is probably the same picture that is described in an earlier inventory, A.S.F. Inv. Med. 136 (filza, entitled "1588, Magia," etc.), c. 154 v. under date 14 March 1587: "Un quadro in asse di una Vergine con un Christo in collo dissono di mano d'Andrea del sarto con ornamento di Noce intag^{to} e dorato alto Br 1¼ e largo br. 1 incirca."[2]

Reumont 1835, 190 and *Verz.*: 1529. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 192. Guinness 1899, 82 compares the treatment with that in Pitti 81, for Ottaviano de' Medici. Knapp 1907, 120, 130 c. 1529, with small appreciation. Berenson [1932] 17.[3]

In general the character of handling in Pitti 476, and its quality also, suggest comparison to the Barberini *Holy Family*. The light, in this interior setting, is softer and more shadowed; contours of form become more sfumato, but the sense of solidity of surface and power of relief is no less than in the painting done for Bracci. The patterning of drapery is, however, much less artificial. The whole tenor of the picture, in content as well as form, is of an unusual directness and naturalness. The handling seems to stand between the powerful and heavy style of the works of 1528 and the softer mode of form and feeling that are in those that come later.

There are references in this picture both to the works of 1528 and to those of 1529–1530. The pose of the Christ Child is an evident *reprise*, in reverse direction, of his counterpart in the former Berlin altar, but compares also to the pose of the Child in the Barberini *Holy Family*; his specific anatomical type and countenance are most like the *angelini* of Pitti 225. The Madonna is again, quite certainly, Lucrezia, much the same in appearance, despite the different view, as in the late *Assunta*. In the shadowed drawing of her face, however, she suggests the profile of the Madonna in Pitti 81, for Ottaviano, and the quality of her expression, as well as her effects of form, occur in the St. Margaret of the Pisa Cathedral altarpiece.

COPIES AND DERIVATIONS (I)

FLORENCE, Palazzo Vecchio. By Francesco Brina. Venturi IX/5 (1932) fig. 152.

Formerly? FLORENCE, Palazzo Frescobaldi. Panel, 87 x 65.
Guinness 1899, 82.

Sold FLORENCE, Galleria Ciardiello, Tozzi sale, 1928.

LONDON, Art Market, 1930.

Sold LUCERNE, Fischer, Schmidt-Paganini sale, 23–26 October 1946, no. 1184. Panel, 100 x 87.
A free improvisation on the basis of Pitti 476.

ROHANCZ, Thyssen Collection.

ROME, Galleria Doria no. 520 (Cat. 1942). Panel, 82 x 65.

SIENA, Academia.
With architecture in place of the curtains of the original.

SOUTH BEND, Indiana, Notre Dame University.
A free adaptation by a late sixteenth or seventeenth century hand.

DERIVATIONS (II)

We insert the discussion of this composition in this place as an arbitrary matter of convenience. This group of pictures would seem rather to be a set of variant copies after a lost design than a derivation from a picture that survives; and this lost design may well have been invented by Andrea and executed in his shop. We can adduce no proof of this supposition; it is for that reason we prefer to catalogue these pictures under the more cautious, though probably inexact, heading of a "derivation". Even thought of as a derivation, however, its source is not only in Pitti 476 but even more in the second Bracci *Holy Family*. Motives are combined in this composition from the two pictures as follows: from the Bracci painting, the posture of the Madonna's arms and most of the posture of the Child; and in two versions, a St. John appears as he was supposed to be in the so-called Gaddi-Poggi variant of the Bracci design. From Pitti 476: the headdress of the Madonna and her specific facial type, the posture of her lower body, and her lower drapery. The type of sleeve of the Madonna appears in the St. Margaret of the Pisa Cathedral altarpiece. The date of invention of such a synthesis of motives would be presumably, 1529, assuming the invention was Andrea's.

Formerly NEW YORK, Mrs. A. E. Blumenthal. The Madonna and Child only, three-quarters length, in a landscape background. Panel, 60 x 50. From the Zen Collection, Milan, 1913.

Cat. G. Blumenthal Collection, 1926–1930, I, pl. 15.

Perhaps by Bacchiacca, and so identified in Cat. Blumenthal.

STUTTGART, Gallery no. 717. With the St. John at left, and a St. Joseph added to the right; landscape background. 62.5 x 50.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 198 under the Gallery no. 506, as an imitation of Andrea. Guinness 1899, 75 as no. 246, as a copy of a lost original of Andrea's. Now exhibited as "Florentine School."

ROME, formerly Galleria Corsini.

Resembling the painting formerly in the Blumenthal Collection, New York, but in a long octagonal frame.

VENTNOR, I. W., Art Market. With the St. John at left. Canvas, 62 x 49.5.

Apollo 63 (1956) 27 with illustration.

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[1] Cited in cat. Pitti 1937, no. 476, but not published.

[2] Unpublished.

[3] Not catalogued by Venturi 1925 or by Fraenckel 1935.

82 · (1528–)1529. GIRL WITH A PETRARCHINO (Maria del Berrettaio). Florence, Uffizi no. 783. Fig. [214].

Panel, 87 x 69.

The sonnet, on p. 68 of the painted book, is that which begins "Ite caldi sospiri al freddo core . . ."

The panel cracked left of the head; badly repaired. The right hand extremely damaged and disfiguringly restored. Pervasive spotty losses in the drapery, and some in the face, hair, and left hand; retouched. The varnish discolored and partly crystallized, and makes a disturbing granular effect in the shadows. "Cleaned" in the figure only, but the background untouched in this cleaning, so that its color is now quite obscured. Pentimento in the drapery of the right shoulder.

The sitter has middle brown hair with a slight reddish tinge. She wears a soft green fillet in it, and there is a faded red flower over her left temple. Her eyes light brown. The dress middle blue; the shirt and cuffs white. The sleeve of the left forearm a brocade of ivory tone. The belt of neutralized brown with a slight violet cast. The flowers at the opening of the dress are yellow-gold, white, and lavender. The chair a neutral light brown. The book in a dark green binding with a yellow-gold fore-edge. The background now a matt black, but might yield more color with cleaning.

Recorded in the Tribuna in 1589, as a work by Pontormo. Sent to Poggio a Cajano; returned to the Uffizi 1773.[1]

Reumont 1835, 213 cites this painting, without comment, as a work attributed to Andrea. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 194, under Uffizi no. 188, consider this to be Andrea's. Guinness 1899, 82 thinks it genuine and late. Knapp 1907, 120–121, 129 gives a date c. 1528, and compares the portrait for style to the Berlin altar. Di Pietro 1911, 38–39 suggests this is a pendant to the incompleted portrait of Lucrezia, Berlin, noting the close likeness in theme and general design to the preparatory study for the latter, Uffizi 647E. He believes the sitter is probably Maria del Berrettaio, and points out that she occurs as a model in many of the later paintings, e.g. the St. Margaret of the Pisa altar. Di Pietro accepts Knapp's dating. Sinibaldi 1925*a*, 12 thinks the portrait close in date to the *Birth of the Virgin* of the Annunziata, and Venturi 1925, 538 repeats this incorrect opinion. Fraenckel 1935, 89, 152, 233n84 dates the painting, on comparison with the Julia of the Berlin altar, c.

1527–1528. She notes that others have identified the sitter as Maria, but seems unwilling to admit this to be true. She observes the resemblance of the painting in all but the face to the drawing Uffizi 647E. Comandé 1952, 65 believes the sitter is Maria, but would outrage her mother's vanity by dating the portrait of her daughter, here full-grown, c. 1518.

Di Pietro's supposition that this portrait is Maria must be correct. This face appears in Andrea's paintings, first in the Luco altar (q.v.; there as a younger girl, in the role of St. Catherine), and then in works of the last few years; like Lucrezia, this person was a loved, as well as a convenient model. That she was no mere professional model is indicated by the fact that she is the subject of a portrait, and that this portrait (as di Pietro also properly observed) was intended to be pendant to a portrait we can identify, without doubt, as of Andrea's wife. As a probable pendant to the Berlin Lucrezia, this painting of Maria should be at least approximately linked to it in time, and as a matter of family precedence it might be supposed that it is subsequent. There are numerous relations in style for it to works we place in 1528: in the head, to the unfinished pendant, obviously, and like it (as observed by others), to the Julia of the Berlin altar of that year, though that would seem to be more sharp in form; there is some relation in the painting of the head and hands to the Madonna of the second Bracci *Holy Family*, though that is harder and more precise; in the handling of drapery (and in particular of the sleeve on the left forearm) to the *Caritas* for Giovanni Battista della Palla, though that again is harder in effect. This portrait seems to be, more than those works of 1528, in a softer style that we associate with 1529: the veiled look of surface and the sfumato contours of the flesh are those, most particularly, of the *Madonna* Pitti 476, which we would date into 1529. Also like is the Madonna of the painting for Ottaviano de' Medici, Pitti 81, and (though these seem later) the pendant images, again of Maria and her mother, in the guise of the Catherine and Margaret of the Pisa altar.

PREPARATORY STUDIES

PARIS, Ecole des Beaux-Arts no. 289 (inv. 34.163). *Recto*, upper torso and head of Maria, as in this portrait; the dress quickly restudied upper right, with color notes. *Verso*, the upper sketch of the recto repeated, with color notes. Red chalk, 27.4 x 20.6. From the Armand Valton Collection, said to be from Mariette. Figs. [215], 137.

Very likely the sheet mentioned by Bottari in Vasari [1759] II, 241n1, where he reported that Mariette owned a red chalk drawing of Lucrezia by Andrea del Sarto. Fischel 1922, 32–33 as a study for the Uffizi portrait, correctly. Cat. Exhibition Ecole des Beaux-Arts, *Art Italien des XVme et XVIme Siècles*, 1935, no. 103 gives the opinion that the writing on the sheet is Pontormo's, and that the drawing is not Andrea's but a copy after his painting made by Jacopo. There is no basis for this idea. Fraenckel 1935, 184 accepts the association with the Uffizi portrait. Berenson [1938] no. 159A (but not in 1903) would take the drawing as authentic, on Fischel's authority, but he is perplexed by the apparent difference in age between the sitter in the drawing and in the Uffizi painting. Cat. Exhibition Ecole des Beaux-Arts 1958, *La Renaissance italienne et ses prolongements européennes*, no. 48 affirms the attribution of the drawing to Andrea.

——— Louvre no. 1716 *bis*. *Recto*, head of Maria, in a pose variant from that in the painting. Black chalk, 13.3 x 11.1. Old inscription, "Andrea del Sarto." *Verso*, pasted down, but part of a study of drapery is visible. From the Thomas Lawrence and King William II of Holland collections; sold from the latter collection with Louvre 1716, with which it is mounted. Fig. [216], verso not illustrated.

Reiset 1866, no. 52 by Andrea, for the Magdalen of the Luco *Pietà*, as he identifies 1716 also. Guinness 1907, 76 implies the same identification, but his reference is unclear. Di Pietro 1911, 67 and Rouchès 1939, no. 12b describe this together with Louvre 1716. Berenson [1938] no. 156 as Andrea's, but without association. Bacou 1955, no. 51: probably the same model as on no. 1716, and perhaps for the Magdalen of the Luco *Pietà*.

See our remarks on Louvre 1716 under Preparatory Studies for the Luco *Pietà*, our catalogue entry no. 58. The model is, as we have observed, the same as that on 1716, but here at a later age. The headdress is not that of the child in 1716, but is instead that worn by Maria in Ecole des Beaux-Arts 289 and in the painted portrait. It is not wholly sure that 1716 *bis* is specifically a preparatory study for the Uffizi painting, but it takes Maria at the same age, and in an attitude much related to that of the picture.

[1] Cat. Uffizi 1927, no. 783. An entry in A.S.F. Inv. Med. 29, 1553–1561, Debitori al inventario generale della Guardaroba di sua exc., c. 47, under date 7 July 1556, may refer to this portrait: "Uno ritratto di una Donna grande di mano d'Andrea del sarto co ornamento doreto messo nelle cam^{re} nuove."

83 · 1529. MADONNA WITH ELIZABETH AND ST. JOHN. Florence, Pitti, no. 81. Figs. [217, 218].

Panel, 140 x 104.

Some smaller losses; a larger damage under the left arm of the Virgin, ineptly restored. Condition is well above the average. Very thinly painted, in places now become transparent to the panel; underdrawing and pentimenti are visible, cf. especially the left leg of Christ and the right hand of the Virgin. These effects are not the result of any old abrasion.

Elizabeth wears a greyed lilac scarf over a white headband and collar; brown dress, a blue-black sleeve. The Madonna in a faded pink headdress and cool blue-toned scarf that bleaches white in high lights. The dress a pale and bleaching rose; the sleeve of her left forearm a blanched yellow. The Madonna's mantle, fallen around her, is darker blue to our left, lighter blue to our right. A paled yellow-orange loincloth on the Christ Child.

Vasari 1550, 768 in sequence after the *Caritas* (now in Washington) and the Dresden version of the *Sacrifice of Isaac*: "Aveva grandissimo desiderio il magnifico Ottaviano de Medici, di avere un quadro di sua mano in quell'ultimo, vedendo quanto egli aveva migliorato: per il che Andrea che desiderava farli servizio, conoscendo quanto gli fussi tenuto per i benefizii ricevuti, et per avere avuto egli sempre in protezzione l'ingegni buoni nella pittura, deliberò servirlo. Et fatto un quadro molto bello, dentrovi una Nostra Donna che siede in terra, con un putto in su le gambe a cavalcione, svoltando la testa a un San Giovanni anche egli fanciullo, il quale sostenuto da una vecchia, figurata per una Santa Elisabetta, molto viva et naturale, con ogni minuzia, et diligenzia, et arte, disegno, et grazia lo lavorò. Et per lo assedio andato a trovarlo, dicendoli come li aveva finito il quadro, gli rispose M. Ottaviano che lo dessi a chi e' voleva che per essere in que' frangenti, et a pericol della vita, et avendo occupato l'animo a altro che pitture, lo scusassi, et che lo ringraziava. Andrea non rispose altro, se non la fatica è durata per voi, et vostro sarà sempre, se non lo volete ora ve lo serberò. Vendilo et serviti de denari, rispose M. Ottaviano, che so quel che mi dico. Partissi Andrea et lo serbò fin fatto l'assedio, nè per chieste che li fussen fatte lo volse mai dare. Ma ritornati i Medici in Fiorenza, lo portò a M. Ottaviano. Il quale presolo volentieri, et ringraziatolo de l'atto, gnene pagò doppiamente, con lo avergli obligo di continuo. La qual opera è oggi in camera di Madonna Francesca sua donna sorella del Reverendissimo Salviati." Vasari gives the same account in 1568 [1880] V, 51–52.[1]

The picture was inventoried in the Tribuna of the Uffizi in 1635. There may be an earlier notice of its presence in the Tribuna in the inventory of 1589 (Archivio della Soprintendenza delle Gallerie [Florence] Ms. 70, c. 28): "Un simile di una Nostra Donna con N. S. San Gio: e Sant'Anna, in tavola con sua cornice simile, alta br. 2¾ e largho br. 2, di mano di Andrea del Sarto."

The painting must have been commissioned by Ottaviano de' Medici at least a while before October 1529, since he was declared suspect on the 12th of that month and imprisoned from 13 October 1529 to 10 August 1530.[2] The first delivery of the finished picture and its refusal, of which Vasari speaks, should also have occurred before October 1529.

Reumont 1835, 189: 1529; Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 192 circa 1529; Guinness 1899, 77: 1529. Knapp 1907, 115–116, 129 "apparently for Ottaviano," c. 1529; Knapp makes apt remarks on the meaning of the painting for Andrea's development of an essentially coloristic style. Sinibaldi 1925*a*, 25–26 sees the forms as Michelangelesque and the faces as influenced by types of Raphael. Venturi 1925, 614 speaks of distant recall of Michelangelo's Doni tondo in the composition, but properly emphasizes the primary effects of color. Hetzer 1929, 131 asserts the principles of composition may be based on an influence of Dürer, and compares the etching B. 43. Fraenckel 1935, 85–86, 143, 232n80 gives a dating c. 1528–1529; as is the case in her misjudgment of the state of the *Assunta* Pitti 225 she thinks this also an unfinished work. Fraenckel finds antecedents of the compositional idea, in part, in Fra Bartolommeo. Wagner 1959, 435: c. 1528.

Vasari's circumstantial account of the painting of this picture would seem to need no additional support, for purposes of dating, from internal evidence. The most obvious relations of Pitti 81 with just preceding works may be pointed out: for the Madonna, the Virgin of the *Annunciation* in the crown piece of the former Berlin altar; for the St. Elizabeth, the head of St. Peter (in handling only, obviously) in the destroyed altarpiece, or the heads to the rear of Pitti 225, as the St. James in particular; for the children, Pitti 476 and the Barberini *Holy Family*. In all these comparisons with works dateable in 1528, the greater softness of style in the present picture is quite evident. Both in motive and in style, the most intimate associations of Pitti 81 are the St. Margaret of the Pisa Cathedral altar which, also, requires a dating after 1528.

PREPARATORY STUDIES

OXFORD, Ashmolean no. 692 (cat. 1956). Head of an old woman, turned slightly to the right. Red chalk, 25 x 18.6. From the Wicar, Lawrence, and Woodburn collections. Fig. 138.

Once assigned to Raphael, as a study for the *Madonna della Perla;* the correct attribution to Sarto and the association with the head of St. Elizabeth in Pitti 81 by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *Raphael*, 1885, II, 473. So also Knapp 1907, 135 and Fraenckel 1935, 181. Berenson [1938] no. 141G (not in 1903) probably for a St. Elizabeth, in a composition like Pitti 81. Pouncey 1953, 97 reaffirms Crowe and Cavalcaselle's attribution and association. Berenson [1916] no. 141G explicitly accepts the same association.

PARIS, Louvre no. 10959. Head of a boy looking downward to the right. Red chalk, 14.1 x 12. From the Coypel and Robert de Cotte collections. Fig. 139.

Attributed and identified by Pouncey 1953, 97: Andrea's study for the head of the St. John in Pitti 81. Bacou 1955, 48. Berenson [1961] no. 158C (but not in 1903 or 1938) accepts Pouncey's assessment of the drawing.

VIENNA, Albertina, Sc. R. 162B (inv. no. 17627). Head of a child looking up to the left. Red chalk, 12.2 x 10.6. Fig. 140.

Formerly attributed to Correggio. Properly attributed to Andrea and identified by Pouncey 1953, 97 as Andrea's study for the Christ Child of Pitti 81. Berenson [1961] no. 160A (but not in 1903 or 1938), as Pouncey.

COPIES AND DERIVATIONS (1)

DULWICH, Gallery no. 327. With a St. Joseph added. Panel, 142 x 107. From King Stanislas of Poland.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 203 as a possible repetition by Salviati of Pitti 81. Guinness 1899, 68, 77 as a copy.

EAST NORWALK, Connecticut, Christ Church. Canvas, 133.5 x 104. From the Collections Knight, Perry, Foote; acquired by the church in 1920.

FLORENCE, S. Salvi no. 6607. Panel, enlarged from the original.

GENOA, Palazzo Rosso.

Reumont 1835, 190n as Collection Brignole Sale, no. 52. (Photograph Brogi 11543.)

LONDON, B. Poggi. Panel, 109 x 94.

LUCCA, Pinacoteca no. 3. Panel, 139 x 105. On deposit from the Istituto delle Belle Arti, Florence.

MANTUA, S. Andrea.

MALLORCA, Unidentified Collection.

Sold MILAN, Geri sale, 17–23 December 1934, no. 45. Panel, 130 x 100.

Formerly PARIS, Collection Giustiniani. Panel, c. 51 x 46.

C. B. Landon, *Galerie Giustiniani*, 1812, pl. 52.

PERUGIA, S. Pietro. Panel.

Formerly ROME, Alessandro Corti-Lepri.

Engraved by Gaetano Bianchi with the attribution to Andrea.[3]

DERIVATIONS (II)

This design is a pastiche of motives adapted primarily from Pitti 81, and secondly from Pitti 62. The Madonna is taken from the former picture, and the St. John is a compromise between the Sts. John of no. 81 and of no. 62; the Christ Child more favors the model in the latter picture. The Elizabeth of Pitti 81 is dropped, and a St. Joseph (his head imitated from the Abraham of the *Sacrifice*) is placed in sharp perspective in the center background, reaching up to hold St. John on the left. The number of compositions of this kind that we can trace, all attributed to Sarto or his school, would seem to indicate that the design had some authority, like that of a work conceived by Sarto or one that emanated from his shop. However, such a broth of ill-assembled borrowings as this could not have originated within sight of Andrea's studio; furthermore the appearance of the variants suggests their source might be of very late sixteenth- or even seventeenth-century origin.

BERLIN, Unidentified Collection.

FLORENCE, Uffizi deposit no. 436. Panel, 127 x 98.

——— Carter collection.

Sold NEW YORK, American Art Association, Smith sale, 4 January 1935, no. 58. Panel, 133 x 100. Resold New York, American Art Association, O'Reilly sale, 23 January 1936, no. 76, and New York, Parke-Bernet, Schnittjer sale, 10–11 February 1943.

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[1] It may be that Vasari's repetition, in 1568, of the information in the edition of 1550, to the effect that the painting was then owned by Francesca Salviati de' Medici, was incorrect. An entry in the Inventario Generale of 1560 (A.S.F. Guardaroba 65, c. 160r) speaks of "Un quadro di nostra donna grande drentovi una S^{ta} lisabetta et S^{to} Gio: putto di man d'Andrea del Sarto con ornamento di noce intagliato etocco d^{o}." The index of A.S.F. Inv. Med. 29, 1553–1560, Libro di consegne tenuta da Mariotto Cecchi, lists, on c. 17, "un quadro grande di Andrea del Sarto rappresentante la Madonna con S. Elizabetta e S. Giovanni"; however, the entry does not appear on c. 17 or on any nearby page.

[2] Varchi, *Storia Fiorentina*, 1721, 295; Roth 1925, 205, 222n118; Pouncey 1953, 97.

[3] A copy in drawing after Pitti 81 was in the London art market about 1930. Another has appeared on the market recently, black and red chalk, 26.9 x 20.2, at one time in the Richardson Collection; it is at earliest of late sixteenth-century date.

84 · c. 1529. MADONNA AND CHILD. Lost. Cf. Fig. [219].

COPIES

Sold BERLIN, Lepke Gallery, Wellenberg sale, 19 March 1932, no. 184. 76 x 57.

BRAUNSCHWEIG, Magnus Collection. 73 x 54.

DULWICH, Gallery no. 326 (Cat. 1880). Panel, 82 x 64. The head of an infant St. John added lower right.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 198, 203; Guinness 1899, 68.

FLORENCE, S. Salvi no. 1534 (formerly Uffizi no. 1146). Panel, 73 x 55. The head of an infant St. John added to the lower right.

MADRID, Prado no. 337. Panel, 86 x 68. From the collection of Charles II. Fig. [219].

The Madonna in a light red gown and blue mantle; the Child wears a white cloth.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 198 "quite in Andrea's character, but more exaggerated in forms, and not quite up to his level in power." Guinness 1899, 100: probably the original of the Uffizi composition, no. 1146 (the present S. Salvi 1534). Berenson [1932] 18 as a copy.

From its quality an obvious copy, but adequately reflecting a work that may have been designed by Andrea himself, and executed in his shop if not by him, in 1529. The idea of the composition is related (a) to the Madonna and Child of the Berlin altar, and to its derivation in the former Benson tondo and (b) in the posture of the Child, and in his specific facial type, to the second Bracci *Holy Family*. The type of the Madonna is, minus the obvious evidence of age, that of the St. Elizabeth of the painting for Ottaviano de' Medici. In general, what is preserved of the appearance of the (presumed) lost original is in a soft, sfumato technique like that of the latter work of 1529.

Formerly MUNICH, Art Market. 73 x 54. A St. John added to the left, over the Madonna's right shoulder.

85 · c. 1529–1530 (and later?). ANNUNCIATION WITH ST. MICHAEL AND A SERVITE SAINT[1] (*S. Godenzo Altar*). Florence, Pitti no. 97. Fig. [220].

Canvas, 160 x 174, remounted on a newer canvas 184 x 175.

Pervasive and disfiguring losses, of varying size, heavily repainted; the edges all remade. The effect of bad quality conveyed by the picture is in part inherent, and not the result of its condition.

The angel in warm yellow-gold, black-edged, over a white undergarment; his wings in neutralized brown and blue tones. The Michael in blue-black, with a skirt of neutralized brown-gold and brighter yellow-golden ornament on his armor; dulled brown-gold boots. He wears a shadowed brick-red mantle. The Servite saint a very dark brown. The Madonna in a bleached pinky-red dress and dark blue cloak. The Virgin's lectern light brown. A brown house left against a darkening blue sky; the background center dulled dark green, shadowing to an almost wholly neutral brown to the right.

Purchased from the Abbey of S. Godenzo by Cardinal Carlo de' Medici, who substituted a copy (q.v. below).

This painting universally identified, in the modern literature, with a picture of unspecified subject mentioned by Vasari 1550, 742, in sequence immediately following his description of Andrea's frescoes, in the Annunziata, of the *Birth of the Virgin* and the *Adoration of the Kings*: "Fece in questo tempo medesimo una tavola alla badia di San Godenzio benefizio di detti frati, che in vero è molto ben' fatta." Almost the same wording is in 1568 [1880] V, 17. Baldinucci [1770] VIII, 10 states the original is in the Tribuna, and that it has been replaced in S. Godenzo by a copy made by Empoli. Bottari in Borghini [1807] II, 217n1 asserts the original is in the Pitti. Biadi 1829, 163, knowing these assertions, does not identify the present painting as the work for S. Godenzo. Reumont 1835, 73–74 prefers to associate it with a reference in Vasari [1880] V, 18 to a "Nostra Donna" painted for the merchant Giovanni di Paolo; p. 63 Reumont cannot specifically identify the painting from S. Godenzo that Bottari says is in the Pitti. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 194 describe Pitti 97 as originally in S. Godenzo. They state the painting is on panel, and consider it so much repainted that Andrea's hand is "hardly discoverable." Janitschek 1897, 48 with the same identification; he reports the work is wholly overpainted. Guinness 1899, 78 states that Pitti 97 is the S. Godenzo altar much repainted. Berenson [1938] I, 291 no longer questions Andrea's execution of the painting, which he too considers to be that Vasari mentions in S. Godenzo.[2] Di Pietro 1911, 18 thinks the painting authentic but ruined, and would date it (following Vasari's chronology) 1511–1512. Sinibaldi 1925*a*, 8 dates the painting early, 1510–1511; this is the implication also of Venturi 1925, 529–530. Venturi thinks the composition Raphaelesque, but the figures Bartolommesque. Berenson [1932] 17 as Andrea's, without qualification. Fraenckel 1935, 103, 164, 137n91 gives the painting wholly to a Sarto follower, and questions that it is the one for S. Godenzo of which Vasari speaks. She notes borrowings from Andrea's work as follows: the angel, from the *Annunciation to Zachary*, Scalzo, and from the *Annunciation* lunette of the former Berlin altar; the Virgin, from the latter also, as a nearly literal copy; the Michael, freely after the Vallombrosa altar; the gesture of the Servite saint (whom she identifies as Gaudenzio) from the Francis of the *Disputà*. Fraenckel considers these borrowings from works of various date as evidence of a later pastiche. Shearman 1959, 128n15 believes that the painting is a studio product based on studies made in 1528. He points out, accurately, that Vasari is sometimes in the habit of making associations in time between works that in fact have only a circumstantial or a topographical connection. Shearman would, apparently, quite disregard the specific "questo tempo medesimo" with which Vasari tags the S. Godenzo picture in a chronological context of 1511–1514.

The origin of Pitti 97 from the Abbey of S. Godenzo is clear, and the strong presumption is that it must therefore be identified with the painting that Vasari cites, but does not describe, as existing in that place. This presumption requires that we consider as mistaken (as Shearman 1959, 128n15 would) the sequence of its mention in Vasari's text, which implies an early date. The extent to which the Virgin imitates the *Annunciation* lunette, Pitti 163, and the angel almost as much, as well as the connection (less exact but clear) between the two attendant saints and the Vallombrosa altar, require that we place a *terminus post* for this invention in 1528. The character of the whole design, also, is comparable to that of the *Four Saints* altar, and less nearly, to the altar formerly in Berlin.

It is certain that the execution must have been left in great part to an assistant. From what we can now discern, Andrea's own hand may be in the figure of the Annunciate Angel (where there is some deftness in drawing and where the drapery shows a close approximation to Andrea's own latest, most luminous, mode of color), and perhaps also in portions of the Virgin. Andrea is, however, substantially responsible for the design, which though it has been vitiated by assistants' execution, must still originally have been nearly inert: a consequence of the extinction of Andrea's powers of creation on larger scale in a classical style which, by our analysis of Andrea's career, begins in the works of 1528, and is here complete. The two other large-scale works after 1528, the Poppi altar and the *Grazie* altar of the Cathedral of Pisa, show the same vacancy of structure.

Like the former, this painting may be partly posthumous in execution. It may be suggested that the principal executant of this picture and the assistant who completed the male saints of Andrea's altarpiece in Pisa are the same.

If we could prove the reuse in the S. Godenzo design of motives from preceding works it would be an indication of Andrea's lack of concern with the invention of this picture. However, it would appear, from fairly definite grounds of style, that he himself redrew, for use in this painting, a study for the angel Gabriel made originally for the *Annunciation to Zachary* of 1523. Given the authenticity of this sheet, and its association with Pitti 97, which we think certain, there would seem to be no ground to support any assumption that the invention of this painting is not to be credited — discredited, perhaps — to Andrea himself; unlike the predella of the Vallombrosa altar, the design of this one cannot be a shop pastiche.

PREPARATORY STUDY

FLORENCE, Uffizi no. 627E. *Recto,* a heavily draped figure moving in profile to the right. Red chalk, 27 x 14.2 (left lower corner pieced out). Fig. 141. *Verso* (see under Authentic Unassociated Drawings).

Ferri 1893, 131 for the angel of the S. Godenzo *Annunciation,* Pitti 97. So also Jacobsen 1898, 273. Guinness 1899, 90 for the angel in the *Annunciation to Zachary.* Berenson [1938] no. 87 and I, 291 for Pitti 97; Berenson would consider the sheet somewhat after than before 1517. Knapp 1907, 125 as Guinness. Fraenckel 1935, 191 as a study based on the angel in the *Annunciation to Zachary,* but intended for Pitti 97. For her both this drawing and the painting are by a follower.

Opinion is evidently divided as to the proper association of this drawing, with the angel of the Scalzo *Annunciation to Zachary* or with the angel of the later altar Pitti 97. Without question, this study corresponds more exactly to the later picture than to the fresco. An earlier study was surely used as the basis for this one, but the difference in style of draughtsmanship from the certain study, in Madrid, for the Scalzo *Zachary* is made all the more evident on this account. The very shapes in this sheet conform to the squared-off, rather abstracting manner that is in general in the design of Pitti 97. The drawing is, furthermore, in the broader, softer manner, less indicative of fine variations of hand, that appears in Andrea's latest years. For comparisons with the mode of drawing on this sheet see British Museum 1896–11–18–1 and Uffizi 306Fv, for the Berlin altar of 1528, and Uffizi 315F, for the St. Margaret of the Pisa altar.

COPY AFTER LOST PREPARATORY STUDY

STOCKHOLM, National Museum no. 149. Head of a youth in profile to the right. Red chalk, 20.7 x 18.3. Inscribed in a later hand with Andrea's name. Fig. 142.

After a lost study by Andrea for the head of the angel in the S. Godenzo altar; resembling the similar head in the lunette *Annunciation* in the Pitti (no. 103), but sufficiently distinct from it to indicate the original study should have been associated with the S. Godenzo figure.

COPY

FLORENCE, Convento degli Angeli.

By Empoli. Baldinucci [1770] VIII, 10; Biadi 1829, 163n5. Supplied by Cardinal Carlo de' Medici to substitute the original. Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 17n2 in the Casa Visani at S. Godenzo. Given by the Visani family to the Convento degli Angeli.[3]

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[1] Filippo Benizzi?

[2] Not in Knapp 1907 or 1928.

[3] A recent donation, according to information by the late Dott. Carlo Visani of Florence. The picture is in *clausura*.

86 · 1529–1530 (and later?). ST. AGNES ALTAR. Pisa, Cathedral. Figs. [221–227].

Five separate panels: the St. Agnes 142 x 103; Sts. Catherine of Siena, Margaret, John the Baptist, and Peter, each 145 x 62.

The panel with the St. Agnes shows two long cracks center and left and a smaller one to the right; all repaired. Numerous minor losses, and severe losses in the drapery and the background to the lower left. The St. Catherine panel has an old crack through the middle of the figure; repaired. Minor losses throughout the drapery and an area of damage on the right side of the face. The St. Margaret has significant losses in the lower drapery especially; these are heavily restored. The left hand appears to have been reglazed. The panel with St. John has a repaired crack through the middle, and pieces c. 3 cm high have been added top and bottom. Extensive losses in the upper drapery, in the right arm and torso, and in the face. The torso and right arm in particular have been grossly remade. The underdrawing visible through parts of the drapery, especially at lower left. The panel with St. Peter cracked and repaired like that of St. John; the same additions top and bottom. The lower drapery almost entirely remade. Paint flaking.[1]

Except for the intervention of restorers, not disfiguring in any case, the three panels with the female saints are entirely from Andrea's hand, and of particular beauty in drawing, color, and in quality of expression. The two male saints, however, are conspicuously inferior. They would seem to have been drawn on the panel by Andrea, and partly painted by him. The drawing of the drapery in both male saints, and the handling in the right part of the drapery and in the leg of the St. John, are possible to Andrea. Aside from the restoration, in these two panels conspicuous and damaging, the rest of the execution was not even originally by Andrea, but was assistant's work.

Agnes wears a pale orange-pink scarf over a skirt of pale lavender that shades toward pink. Her sleeves light green. Her mantle, fallen to the left, a neutral blue. The landscape a silvery blue. St. Catherine wears a pink scarf and a dress the color of a blood orange. Her lower sleeve is pale beige, gold-banded on the upper arm; a dark green accent in her belt. Margaret's mantle is *changeant* green to violet, over a bleached rose dress. A neutral green drapery to the left, and to the upper right a drapery of dark tan. The backgrounds in both the Catherine and Margaret panels are a neutral brown. St. John in a drapery of which the color resembles that of St. Catherine. Peter in a darker red mantle, of somewhat russet tone, over a middle blue vest.

Vasari 1550, 762 informs us of the original destination of these panels: "Gli fu allogato in questo tempo una tavola per Pisa, in cinque quadri, da porsi alla Madonna di Santa Agnesa, chiesa lungo le mura di quella città, fra la cittadella vecchia, et il Duomo, et egli vi fe' dentro per ciascuna una figura, cioè un San Giovanni Batista, et San Piero che mettano in mezo quella Nostra Donna, che fa miracoli: ne gli altri è Santa Caterina martire, et Santa Agnesa, et Santa Margherita; figure, ciascheduna per sè, che fanno maravigliare per la loro bellezza chiunque le guarda: et son tenute, le più leggiadre et belle femmine, ch'egli facessi mai." The same account in 1568 [1880] V, 44. When the church of St. Agnes was destroyed this altar was dismembered and taken, in 1618, to the Cathedral.[2] In the Cathedral, the panels are shown without regard to their original connection, hung on separate pillars in the choir. Vasari's description, combined with the evidence of perspective situation and the attitudes of the saints in the separate panels, permits us to reconstruct their original order: on a bottom range, the Sts. Catherine, Agnes, and Margaret left to right in that order (the St. Agnes looking upward at the older miraculous image of the Madonna); on an upper range, St. John, the older Madonna image, and St. Peter. The form of the altarpiece is an archaism, but one explained by a special purpose.[3]

Vasari's sequence places the commission ("gli fu allogato in questo tempo"), but not necessarily the execution, of this altar in a context that is dateable 1525. In general, this implication of date in Vasari has caused the older authorities to tend toward a dating earlier than we propose. Reumont 1835, 169 gives the date 1527; Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 187–188 c. 1525. Crowe and Cavalcaselle are reminded of Correggio by the "misty vagueness" in the color; but this soft style is characteristic for Andrea's latest work. Burckhardt-Bode [1879] 637 give the date 1524. Guinness 1899, 95 would date the altar 1525. Knapp 1907, 116–117, 132 is the first to indicate a late date, 1528–1529, remarking particularly the soft style. He sees a relation in design of the St. Agnes to the *Delfica* of Michelangelo, despite the very different personality of the two figures. He regards the two male saints as by an assistant. Fraenckel 1935, 79–81, 160, 229n76 advances Knapp's dating by a year, to c. 1529–1530. Fraenckel would have the Agnes of Andrea's personal execution, but would deny the landscape to him. Fraenckel admits the Catherine as Andrea's, but lacking the last *velature*; she finds the Margaret still less finished. Fraenckel, as in other cases, mistakes the thin technique of Andrea, even more frequently visible in his later works than earlier, for evidence of an incompleted state. In the two male saints Fraenckel finds Andrea's participation only minor. She suggests Sogliani might have been Andrea's assistant here. Fraenckel recalls not only the example of the Sibyls of the Sistine, but, more exactly, of Raphael's Sibyls in S. M. della Pace, which could have been known to Sarto in prints (or in the original). Fraenckel also makes her customary comparison with Venetian works (Palma) and with Correggio. Wagner 1959, 435 also asserts, more positively, the influence of Correggio in the drapery folds, in the color, and in the expressions of countenances in this altar.

The exact analogy in whole effect of style of the best parts of the Pisa altar is, of course, in the *Holy Family* for Ottaviano de' Medici, Pitti 81, dateable with precision in 1529. The sfumato contours, the color, bleached and delicate, the drapery, yielding into soft, small folds are all virtually interchangeable between these two works. There is, also, a common motive in the profile (adapted from Lucrezia) that serves for the Madonna of Pitti 81 and the St. Margaret in Pisa. We have observed elsewhere that the same profile is in the Madonna of Pitti 476, by our reckoning also probably of 1529. In Pitti 81 also, the mantle over the shoulder of the Madonna is most like that St. Catherine wears in this altarpiece. The model for St. Catherine, incidentally, is Maria, who is thus in a double sense a pendant to the Lucrezia-St. Margaret.

To other works of late date there are further resemblances: in the former Berlin altar, cf. the St. Catherine there, in posture and in drapery, with the St. Margaret here, and the head of St. Julia with that of the Pisa Catherine, and cf. also the type (and handling also) of the two Sts. Peter. For this St. Peter there is a further comparison in the St. Nicholas of the *Assunta* Pitti 225, and in that altar the St. Roch also compares with the Pisa John. In the Vallombrosa altar we may again compare the type of the St. John; and he suggests, as well, the Joseph of the second Bracci *Holy Family.*

Vasari's implication of a date for the commission of the Pisa altar may indeed be correct; we may assume only that any business of this kind must have been arranged sometime before the troubles in the neighborhood of Florence that led up to the Siege. Whatever the time of the commission, the design and execution of the Pisa altar were not undertaken until 1529. Given this, and the circumstances of the Siege, it is certain that delivery of the finished work would not have been made until after Andrea's death, which followed shortly on the end of the Siege. Painting on the altar may have gone on intermittently through 1530; and it is not impossible that at Andrea's death the two male saints (for which we have a part of Andrea's preparatory designs) may have remained to be completed by his shop.

PREPARATORY STUDIES

FLORENCE, Uffizi no. 315F. Clothed female figure kneeling to the left, model study. Red chalk on pink-tinted paper, 19.6 x 13.6. Rubbed. Fig. [229].

Ferri 1893, 136 as by Andrea, but without association. Guinness 1899, 95 connects this sheet, correctly, with the St. Margaret of the Pisa altar; so also Knapp 1907. 133; di Pietro 1911, no. 26; Ferri 1916, no. 18; Fraenckel 1935, 172. Only Berenson [1938] no. 1759B (but not in 1903) thinks this may be by Naldini.

An authentic sheet, of which the "defects" (which make Berenson see this as Naldini's rather than as Andrea's) are evident also in other late sketches by Andrea. For the character of draughtsmanship in general cf. the Naples study for the St. Catherine of the Poppi altar. For the hands, seemingly eccentric, cf. Louvre 1712, for the St. Peter in Pisa, as well as Louvre 1692, for an *angelino* of Pitti 225, and Uffizi 6431, for the St. Thomas of that late *Assunta.*

FLORENCE, Uffizi no. 320F. A right hand pointing upward, a left hand holding a staff, two studies of a bent knee. Red chalk on pink-tinted paper, 26.4 x 17.9 Fig. [228].

Ferri 1893, 137 associates the arms with the St. John of the Vallombrosa altar; he does not identify the legs. Berenson 1903, no. 74, [1938] no. 115A for the hands and legs of the Baptist of the Pisa altar, correctly. So also Knapp 1907, 133; di Pietro 1911, no. 33. Fraenckel 1935, 173 admits the association made by Berenson, but says only the legs are surely by Andrea, and she would have the raised hand a copy after the St. John of the Vallombrosa altar. Catalogued as a copy in the Cabinet.

The smooth and even slightly vacant draughtsmanship is another facet of Andrea's latest drawing style. Cf. Uffizi 293Fr, for the Poppi altar, our catalogue entry no. 88.

——— no. 337F. Five studies of hands. Red chalk on pink-tinted paper, 19.7 x 13.4. Fig. 143.

Ferri 1893, 138 as Andrea's, not associated. Guinness 1899, 95 for the hands of Agnes and Margaret in the Pisa altar. Berenson 1903, no. 83 as Andrea's, but feeble; unassociated. Knapp 1907, 134, as Guinness; so also di Pietro 1911, no. 51; Ferri 1916, no. 19; Fraenckel 1935, 174; Berenson [1938] no. 119B. Berenson [1961] no. 119B reports the verbal observation of this author, 1957, that the two hands uppermost are for the St. Margaret.

It should be observed that the shape of St. Margaret's left hand in the painting, somewhat unorthodox for Andrea, is clearly adumbrated in the drawing.

——— no. 6425F. *Recto*, two studies of a bent knee. Inscribed in a later hand with Andrea's name. *Verso*, two studies of drapery across an upper torso. Inscribed "turpilio." Red chalk on pink-tinted paper, 21.6 x 15.7 (the corners repaired). Figs. 144, 145.

Berenson [1938] no. 132 as Andrea's, unassociated. Knapp 1907, 134 identifies the recto with the S. Onofrio of the former Berlin altar. Di Pietro 1911, nos. 84 and 85 makes the correct identification, with the Baptist of the Pisa altar. Fraenckel 1935, 193 admits the association made by di Pietro for the recto but thinks it very likely a copy after Uffizi 320F. Fraenckel finds the verso nearer to the drapery of the St. John of the Vallombrosa alter than of the Pisa altar, but is doubtful of its originality also.

The recto rather slack; the verso thin. Both, however, are authentic examples of Andrea's late, and sometimes fatigued, draughtsmanly style.

PARIS, Louvre no. 1712. Lower drapery and hands of a kneeling figure. Red chalk, 16.4 x 17.6. Inscribed by a later hand with Andrea's name. From the Baldinucci Collection. Fig. 146.

Fraenckel 1935, 245 as a copy from the painting. Bacou 1955, no. 47 as an authentic preparatory study for the St. Peter of the Pisa altar, correctly. So also Berenson [1961] no. 153A (but not in 1903 or 1938).

COPY AFTER LOST PREPARATORY STUDY

FLORENCE, Uffizi no. 6420F. From a study by Andrea for the head of St. Agnes. Red chalk, 25 x 18.9.

Catalogued in the Cabinet as a copy.

Perhaps reused for the head of the Virgin in the *Assunta di Poppi*, contemporary in design.

COPIES

BROOKLINE, Mass., Dr. Frank Shattuck. The head of the St. Agnes only. Panel, 35 x 47.

DRESDEN, Gallery nos. 78, 79 (Cat. 1887). The Sts. Catherine and Margaret, separately. Canvas, each 143 x 63.5.

MONFORTE DE LEMOS (Spain), Collegio del Cardenal. The whole altar. Published as original by Sanchez-Cantón 1947, 20–25. Cited in a will dating from the late sixteenth century.

Sold MUNICH, Helbing, Berger sale, 28–29 April 1925, no. 565. The Baptist only. Panel, 138 x 83.

SEVILLE, Cathedral, Capilla de los Evangelistos. The St. Agnes only. Canvas.[4]

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[1] The whole altar restored in 1835 by Garagalli. Ed. Vasari, Florence [1832–1838] Part III, 596n100.

[2] Morrona [1812] I, 244–246; Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 44n2.

[3] Fraenckel 1935, 79–80 reconstructs the altar falsely, with the Sts. John and Peter as extreme flanking pieces in a single range.

[4] Copies in drawing after the paintings are Uffizi 14443Fr; Oxford, Christ Church Library Z26Av.

87 · 1529–1530. ST. SEBASTIAN. Lost. Cf. Fig. 20.

Vasari 1550, 769–770: "Era Andrea molto famigliare d'alcuni che governavano la compagnia di San Bastiano, dietro a' Servi: i quali desiderosi di avere una testa di San Sebastiano di man sua da'l bellico in su: fu lor' fatta da Andrea con grandissima arte: sforzandosi la natura; et egli quasi indovinando, che quest'opere avessino a essere l'ultime pennellate ch'egli avessi a dare"; the last painting of Andrea's that Vasari describes. Substantially the same information, in the same chronological context, in 1568 [1880] V, 54.

In 1707 Andrea's painting was, with other property of the Company of St. Sebastian, part of the matter of a law suit. A.S.F. Comp. Sopp. 1868, Compagnia di S. Sebastiano de' Laudesi e Marchi, filza prima segnata C., title page, bears the following note: "La Comp^{a} nell'anno 1707 obbligò per via giuridica il Sig^{or} Marchi a li metter La consegna dell' Inventario, ed in specie La Tavola di L'effigia di S. Sebast^{o} dipinto da And^{a} del Sarto, ma non si vede L'esito di tal causa, 1707."[1] The filza contains the papers of the law suit.

Bottari in Borghini [1807] II, 227 knew a picture of St. Sebastian, which he assumed to be Andrea's original, in the Pitti. Piacenza in Baldinucci [1770] II, 432n speaks of this St. Sebastian as in the Pitti. The painting that existed in the Pitti was engraved, after a drawing by Francesco Petrucci, by C. Mogalli (Fig. 20) published in 1778 in the *Raccolta dei Quadri di Pietro Leopoldo*, no. 36. Biadi 1829, 102, 163 notes the picture as a lost work; so also Reumont 1835, 192. All the numerous surviving versions are explicit copies.

Andrea became a member of the Company of S. Sebastiano on 2 February 1529.[2] This date for Andrea's association with the Company, and Vasari's mention of the St. Sebastian as Andrea's terminal work, permit us to assume the picture was done within the last two years of Andrea's life; we are not, however, required to accept as exact Vasari's statement that this was Andrea's last work. The evidence of the engraving by Mogalli, presumably from the original, and of the painted copies, supports a dating in the latest years. Compare the head of the saint, for form and expression, with the St. Agnes of the Pisa altar, and the drapery (especially as it appears in the engraving) with that of the Madonna in the *Holy Family* for Ottaviano de' Medici, Pitti 81. Compare also the type of S. Fedele in the *Assunta di Poppi*. The dating given for the picture in the literature is, universally, 1529 or 1530.

COPIES

BOLOGNA, Bargellini Collection, no. 78.

CAEN, Musée des Beaux Arts no. 403. Panel, 84 x 69. Gift of the State, 1811.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 199 list two copies in Caen, and state that it is "doubtful whether they are of the Florentine school." Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 54n2 and Guinness 1899, 89 refer to one copy only. The museum can account for one copy only in Caen; they catalogue it as an original.

CORSHAM COURT, Lord Methuen Collection, no. 83 (Cat. 1939). Panel, 81 x 64. From the Guidi Collection, Florence, and from the Rev. Sanford.

Purchased by Sanford in Florence, 1831, and attributed by him to Pontormo, hesitantly, rather than to Andrea. Reumont 1835, 192; Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 54n2; Guinness 1899, 90. Borenius in Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 195n1 "formerly" in the Methuen Collection, wrongly. Nicolson, 1955, 209, 213.

FLORENCE, Ginori Collection. Panel.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 195 "not quite certainly by Andrea, having more impasto than is usual for him." Guinness 1899, 89 "does not appear to be the original." Knapp 1907, 131.

——— Ospedale degli Innocenti, Gallery no. 73. Panel, 79 x 63; the saint wears a nearly neutral drapery of greenish cast. There are light red ties around the white-feathered arrow. A slate-colored sky behind.

Of good quality, but of the seventeeth century.

Sold FLORENCE, Bellini, Spinelli Collection, 23–26 April 1934, no. 139. Panel, 87 x 63.

Previously sold, but bought in, Milan, Pesaro Gallery, 11–14 June 1928, no. 198.

GALUZZO, Certosa, Church.

Formerly? LONDON, Humphrey Ward.

Noted by Borenius, Cat. Cook Collection 1913, under no. 36, and Cat. Corsham Court 1939, under no. 83.

Sold LONDON, Christie's, 18 March 1955, no. 76. Panel, 82.5 x 63.5. Bought by Dent.

MALTA, Unspecified Place.

Of the seventeenth century or later.

Formerly NAPLES, Quadreria di Capodimonte.

Filangeri di Candida 1898, 95 reports that a "S. Sebastiano di Andrea del Sarto" is listed as no. 11 in an inventory of paintings taken by the French in 1799.

This is apparently the same painting listed in the inventory of the Palazzo del Giardino, Parma, of c. 1680: "un quadro alto br. 1 on 6, largo br. 1 on 3, in tavola. S. Sebastiano nudo con parte di panno azzurro che li pende dalla sinistra, al quale si tiene la mano che impugne la palma e nella destra una freccia, di Andrea del Sarto." [3]

PRATO, Galleria Communale.

Formerly RICHMOND, Cook Collection, no. 36 (Cat. 1913). Panel, 84 x 68. Sold London, Christie's, 1 June 1956, no. 90. Fig. [230].

Of fair quality and early date; perhaps the best surviving reflection of the original. Berenson [1932] 19 as a school piece.

ROME, Art Market, 1955.

VICENZA, Museo Civico, no. 75.

Borenius, Cat. Cook Collection 1913, under no. 36, and Cat. Corsham Court 1939, under no. 83.[4]

VIENNA, Liechtenstein Collection.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 197 by an imitator, and weak. Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 54n2; Guinness 1899, 89.

Not in available catalogues of the collection.

UNIDENTIFIED PLACE.

Campori 1870, 451 reports a *St. Sebastian* by Andrea del Sarto as listed in a seventeenth-century catalogue among paintings for sale at an unspecified place in Italy.[5]

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[1] Unpublished.

[2] See p. 275 for the document that records his election.

[3] Campori 1870, 238.

[4] Reported by Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 195 as at Verona.

[5] A further copy, place unspecified, is recorded in a photograph in the Kunsthistorisches Institut, Florence, no. 58258.

88 · 1529–1540. VIRGIN IN GLORY WITH FOUR SAINTS[1] (*Assunta di Poppi*). Florence, Pitti no. 123. Fig. [232].

Panel, 308 x 208. Inscribed, on the wheel of St. Catherine, "ADM / DXXXX," presumably by Vincenzo Bonilli da Poppi.

Pervasive losses of varying size, restored; and damage by abrasion especially in the draperies of the two saints left and in that of Giovanni Gualberto. The seams of the panel partly opened and visible.

The Madonna in a cold blue scarf and hat, a bleached red dress, and a dark blue mantle over her left arm and to her lower right side. The angels have dull varicolored wings, of blue-grey, dull gold, and red-orange. A flat yellow-gold suffusion behind the Madonna; blue-grey clouds. The S. Bernardino in a violet-tinged grey dress under a green cloak, gold-ornamented; a vermilion cardinal's hat to his left. S. Fedele wears a red-orange cloak over a neutralized red-violet jerkin; grey-blue gorget, flat light blue sleeves; blue-black stockings. St. Catherine wears a whiteish scarf with yellow lights over a bleaching pink dress of which the high lights turn yellow-gold. Giovanni Gualberto in brown, of faint red-orange cast. The foreground light brown; the landscape greyed blue-green.

Il Calendario Casintenese per l'Anno 1837, 1836,[2] 60–61 reports an entry in a book of "Memorie della Badia di Poppi" to the effect that this altar was begun in 1529, and that in October 1531 the sum of 70 lire was paid to Lucrezia del Fede as the estimated worth of the panel as it had been left at Andrea's death. "A M^{a} Lucrezia, che fu donna di Andreino dipintore, che oggi chiamasi del Sarto, lire settanta. Portò contanti da don Santi, che tanto fu stimata la tavola dell'altare d'accordo: portò il suo procuratore, come apparisce dal contratto rog. ser Bartolommeo Mei."[3] Considering the amount paid to Lucrezia in comparison, e.g., with the agreed price for the *Assunta* Passerini (about 155 florins) it is evident that Andrea could not have carried this work very far toward its completion. Vasari 1550, 766 reports this among Andrea's works of his last years: "Similmente prese una tavola per la Badia di Poppi, da i frati di Valle ombrosa, la quale condusse a un gran termine, dentrovi una Nostra Donna assunta, con molti putti, et San Giovanni Gualberto et San Bernardo Cardinale, con Santa Caterina, et San Fedele. La quale è oggi posta in detta badia, rimanendo molte cose imperfette, per conto della morte . . ." In 1568 [1880] V, 49 the language is somewhat different: ". . . quest'opera così cominciata [*la ringhiera di piazza*] rimase imperfetta per la morte d'Andrea; come rimase anco, ma poco meno che finita, una tavola che fece per i monaci di Vallombrosa alla loro badia di Poppi in Casentino; nella quale tavola fece una Nostra Donna Assunta con molti putti intorno, San Giovanni Gualberto, San Bernardo Cardinale loro monaco, come s'è detto, Santa Caterina e San Fedele: la quale tavola così imperfetta è oggi in detta badia di Poppi." The wording of the first edition is somewhat self-contradictory, speaking at once of near completion ("a gran termine") and "molte cose imperfette"; that of the second edition implies more consistently that much had been done by Andrea. Vasari apparently did not recognize that the painting had been largely completed by another hand. Benci, *Lettere sul Casentino e la Valle Tiberina*, 1821, 17[4] states the painting was finished by Vincenzo di Francesco de' Bonilli, called Morgante Bonilli da Poppi.[5] It would be Bonilli who would be responsible for the inscribed date on the panel, 1540. His touch is thin and conspicuously hesitant, so that in places it appears the picture is, still, unfinished; this would account for Vasari's thinking that the work was much as it had been left by Andrea.

The altar remained in the church of S. Fedele at Poppi until 1818, when it was acquired by the Grand Duke Ferdinand III for the Pitti.[6]

Borghini [1807] II, 226: unfinished at Andrea's death. Biadi 1829, 101 unfinished, and now in the Pitti. Reumont 1835, 201 as an unfinished work, of dry handling that he does not think Andrea's responsibility. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 193–194 with the relevant dates as reported above. They think the upper part Andrea's, and the lower portion by another hand. Guinness 1899, 78; Knapp 1907, 129. Venturi 1925, 622 as a shop piece wholly. Berenson [1932] 17 lists the picture for Andrea, without qualification. Fraenckel 1935, 84, 147, 230n78 regards the painting as unfinished, despite Bonilli's contribution. Fraenckel indicates the close relations of motive with others of Andrea's works (the Madonna with the Agnes of the Pisa altar; the Giovanni Gualberto with the Vallombrosa altar) and suggests these near-literal quotations are Bonilli's fault more than Andrea's intention. She finds parts of the design of the Madonna good enough for Andrea, and considers most of the lower zone as possible, despite later modification, to Andrea.

Given the surviving preparatory studies by Andrea, his responsibility for the design of the altar is unquestionable. Given, further, that one of these studies indicates an almost literal reworking of a detail from a close preceding picture (Uffizi 293Fr, for the hands of Giovanni Gualberto, for which cf. the hands of the same saint in the Vallombrosa altar), the self-quotation of whole forms in this design (accurately remarked by Fraenckel 1935, 84) must also be allowed to be Andrea's personal responsibility. In respect to the actual painting on the panel, as distinguished from the invention, what Andrea did himself before his death is much altered and obscured by Bonilli's additions;

and it may also be that even while he lived Andrea employed an assistant to help him in this large work. It can only be hazarded, more from the shaping of the forms in drawing than from the surface paint, that Andrea partly executed all the saints below, and at least drew the Virgin and the *angelini* on the panel. Contrary to Crowe and Cavalcaselle's estimate [1914] VI, 193–194, it seems to us that the defective quality of execution is much more evident in the upper than in the lower portion of the panel.

PREPARATORY STUDIES

FLORENCE, Uffizi no. 293F. *Recto*, two studies of hands. *Verso*, drapery of a kneeling figure. Red chalk, 29 x 19.9. Figs. [231], 147.

Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 49n5 associates both recto and verso, correctly, with the Poppi altar. So also Ferri 1893, 135; Berenson 1903, no. 66, [1938] no. 110G; Knapp 1907, 133; di Pietro 1911, nos. 10, 11; Ferri 1916, no. 17; Venturi 1925, 622; Popham 1930, no. 206; Fraenckel 1935, 170.

The upper hands on the recto for the Giovanni Gualberto; the lower hands for S. Fedele. The verso is for the drapery of S. Fedele.

MUNICH, Graphische Sammlung no. 2207. Drapery of a standing figure, three-quarters to the right. Red chalk on pink-tinted paper, 22 x 11.5 (sight). Fig. 148.

Published and identified by Weigmann 1909, 8 as for the drapery of S. Bernardino in the Poppi altar. Weigmann gives the actual dimension as 32 x 15.4 cm. Fraenckel 1935, 198 would have this sheet a copy, either after the painting or a lost drawing by Andrea; but it is one of the more brilliant examples of Andrea's latest drawing style. Berenson [1938] no. 141C (not in 1903), I, 293n with Weigman's identification.

NAPLES, Galleria Nazionale, Print Room inv. no. 103227. *Recto*, three studies of a clothed female figure, kneeling to the left. Inscribed in a later hand "Jacopo da Pontormo." *Verso*, single study of the same figure, the features of the head indicated (by Andrea?) sketchily in ink. An inscription at bottom partly cut off, in a later hand, seems to say this is a copy by Pontormo from Andrea. Red chalk, 26.5 x 20.5; the upper corners cut. Figs. 149, 150.

Published and identified by Ricci 1905, 142–145 as studies for the St. Catherine of the Poppi altar. Knapp 1907, 135 accepts the attribution and association; so also di Pietro 1911, 90; Fraenckel 1935, 180; Berenson [1938] no. 141D (but not in 1903).

The hand less flexible than in earlier drawings, but still firm and precise in its indications of the form.

COPY AFTER LOST PREPARATORY STUDY

NEW YORK, Janos Scholz. From a study by Andrea for the head of S. Fedele. Black chalk, 38 x 23.5. Inscribed by a later hand "Anibal Carachi." Fig. 151.

An old attribution to Bronzino. Pouncey (letter to the owner) identifies this sheet as above.[7]

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[1] S. Bernardino degli Uberti, S. Fedele, St. Catherine of Siena, and S. Giovanni Gualberto.

[2] Published Arezzo, Bellotti; no author indicated.

[3] Reprinted by Milanesi in his list of documents in Vasari [1880] V, 72.

[4] Cited Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 49n5.

[5] This information repeated in Reumont 1835, 202n2, in the *Calendario Casintense*, 1836, 60–61 and by Milanesi in Vasari (1880) V, 49n5.

[6] Cat. Pitti 1937, no. 123.

[7] A lost study for the St. Agnes of the Pisa Cathedral altar, copied on Uffizi 6420F, may have been reused for this painting.

89 · 1530. IMPICCATI, frescoes. Lost.

Varchi 1721, 343 narrates that on the 2nd day of February 1530 [st. c.] three of the Florentine Captains, Cecco Orsini, Iacopantonio Orsini, and Giovanni da Sessa, deserted with their companies to the enemy who were besieging Florence. Most of the soldiers returned, but the Captains were declared rebels and a price put on their heads. ". . . contrafatti di cenci furono impiccati per un piè sul puntone dell'Orto di San Miniato, colla faccia volta verso Giramonte." A placard gave the name of each of the Captains thus hanged in effigy, and another bore the legend "Per fuggitivo, ladro, e traditore." Varchi continues: ". . . e oltre questo furono fatti dipingere nella facciata della Mercanzia vicino alla Condotta, dove si vede ancora il bianco, e lo scancellato, in nome di Bernardo del Buda discepolo d'Andrea del Sarto, ma in fatto da esso Andrea, il quale non si voleva acquistare, ne nemistà di persone, ne soprannome di dipintore d'impiccati, e furono dipinti così, e naturali, che chiunque gli aveva pure un sol volta veduti, gli riconosceva subitamente." P. 356, also under the date 1530, Varchi goes on to describe a further similar *mostra,* unveiled on Easter morning: ". . . si scoprirono tre Cittadini dipinti nella facciata del Palagio del Potestà; Alessandro di Gherardo Corsini in mantello, e cappuccio; Taddeo di Francesco Guiducci, cieco da un occhio nel medesimo abito, e Pierfrancesco di Giorgio Ridolfi impiccato per un piè, ognuno de' qual aveva scritto a piè il nome, e casato suo in un breve, il quale diceva a lettere di speziali, Per Traditori delle Patria."[1]

Vasari 1550, 769: "Erano per lo assedio fuggitisi alcuni Capitani con le paghe i quali fu richiesto Andrea che dovessi dipingere; ancora certi Cittadini fuggiti et fatti ribelli al palazzo del Podestà: i quali Andrea ordinò, et disse di farli fare a uno suo garzone, chiamato Bernardo del Buda; non volendo acquistare come Andrea del Castagno, il cognome delle impiccati. Et così fatta una turata grande, v'entrava di notte, et usciva similmente che non fussi veduto: et li condusse di maniera: che quelli vivi et naturali parevano. I soldati furono dipinti alla piazza nella facciata dov'è la mercanantia vecchia vicino alla condotta, oggi fatti bianchi per che non si veggino; simile furon' guasti quelli del Palazzo del Podestà, i quali finì egli: et ne dette il nome a Bernardo che il dì a tutte l'ore saliva et scendeva, per chè e' fosse veduto." The same account, with altered language, in 1568 [1880] V, 53–54.[2] In the life of Tribolo [1881] VI, 63 Vasari informs us that Tribolo made wax models from which Andrea worked: ". . . per Andrea del Sarto suo amicissimo tre figure di cera tonde, della quali esso Andrea si servì nel dipignere in fresco e ritrarre di naturale in piazza presso alla Chondotta tre capitani, che si erano fuggiti con le paghe, appiccati per un piede."

Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 53n2 gives further information on Bernardo del Buda. 54n1 Milanesi cites the following document of payment to Bernardo for the figures of the three Captains: "E deono dare addi iiij d'aprile scudi diciotto d'oro di sole per loro, a Bernardo di Girolamo dipintore per aver dipinto per traditori tre capitani alla Chondotta per commissione de' nostri signori X, cioè Lucha Giovanni da Sessa, Jachopantonio Orsino e Ceccho Orsino." Milanesi states this document is to be found in the Libro di Stanziamenti e Condotte de' X di Balia, 1529–1530, c. 72, under the year 1529 (this indication of the year must, obviously, be in error). The document cannot be traced in any conceivably applicable book now in A.S.F.

Biadi 1829, 100–101; Ruemont 1835, 191–192; Guinness 1899, 51. For other bibliographical references see under Preparatory Studies, below.

PREPARATORY STUDIES

CHATSWORTH, Devonshire Collection, no. 710. Two studies of a figure in military costume, hanging upside down. Red chalk, 20.8 x 19.3. Fig. [235].

Identified by di Pietro 1911, 93 as a study for the *Impiccati.* Fraenckel 1935, 174 as the most likely of all the drawings in this series to be a copy. A note by Popham on the mount of the drawing approves di Pietro's association. Not in Berenson or Knapp.

FLORENCE, Uffizi no. 328F. A single figure, as above. Red chalk, 26.7 x 19.6; torn across and repaired. Fig. 152.

Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 54n1 identified the five drawings of this theme in the Uffizi as studies for the *Impiccati.* Berenson 1903, no. 78, [1938] no. 118A and I, 294; Knapp 1907, 134; di Pietro 1911, no. 43. Fraenckel 1935, 174 as the best of the series of *Impiccati,* but she entertains a doubt as to the originality of all; an unjustified caution.

——— no. 329F. A nude male figure, hanging upside down by one foot. Red chalk, 24.5 x 11.5. Fig. [233].

Ferri 1893, 137 accepts this, with nos. 330F and 331F, as studies for the *Impiccati.* Berenson 1903, no. 79, [1938] no. 118B; Knapp 1907, 134; di Pietro 1911, no. 44; Ferri 1916, no. 21; Fraenckel 1935, see under no. 328F.

——— no. 330F. A single figure, clothed, hanging upside down. Red chalk, 24.5 x 11.7. Fig. [234].

Berenson 1903, no. 80, [1938] no. 118C; Knapp 1907, 134. Di Pietro 1911, no. 45 specifies that this is a study for the drapery to go on the nude sketched on no. 329F, correctly. Ferri 1916, no. 22. Fraenckel 1935, see under no. 328F.

FLORENCE, Uffizi no. 331F. *Recto*, two studies for a figure hanging upside down, wearing a short cape. *Verso*, a single, slighter study of the same. Red chalk, 28.1 x 20. Figs. [236], 153.

Knapp 1907, 134; di Pietro 1911, no. 46, both as an authentic study, correctly. Fraenckel 1935, 174 positively rejects this sheet as a copy. Not in Berenson. Catalogued in the Cabinet as a copy.

It should be observed not only that the style is precisely comparable to Andrea's in his late sheets, but that the paper is identical with that used in the other studies of this series.[3]

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[1] A further pair of "rebels" so treated, Andrea Giugni and Piero Orlandini, are described by Varchi 1721, 369; but the painting of these may not be credited to Andrea.

[2] Andrea's behavior in this affair, according to both Varchi's and Vasari's reports, is so equivocal as to require no comment. It may be one of the better indices we possess of his character, or absence of it.

For further background on the *ribelli* of 1530 see Roth 1925, 246–247.

[3] Berenson [1938] no. 125 feels that Uffizi 6433F, a study for a soldier moving to the left, must also be associated with this set, but it is not associated in motive with the *Impiccati*. See under Authentic Unassociated Drawings.

90 · 1530 and later. MADONNA WITH STS. FRANCIS, JEROME, BARTHOLOMEW, AND THE INFANT ST. JOHN (*Madonna delle Grazie*). Pisa, Cathedral. Fig. [237].

Panel, 232 x 191.

The panel cracked at left, center, and right; a lesser crack toward the lower right side; the cracks unrepaired. Other damage is insignificant, though the surface is obscured by imbedded dirt.

The Madonna in bleached rose-pink; a blue mantle over her left arm. The Infant St. John to her left wears a blue-grey and brown skirt. St. Francis left in grey, of somewhat blue cast. Jerome in pale red; his dull vermilion cardinal's hat at center. St. Bartholomew in a pale red shirt, verging on salmon color, and a slate blue-grey skirt. Bartholomew holds a light green book. The architecture and the pavement in shades of blued grey; the landscape in pale tones of tan and greyed green.

After describing the way in which the *Assunta* for Poppi was left unfinished at Andrea's death, Vasari 1550, 766 continues: "il simile avenne di una tavola non molto grande che finita doveva andare a Pisa." In the life of Sogliani (V, 129) Vasari tells us that the work was given to Sogliani to finish, and provides us with some more information on the picture: ". . . gli fu, dopo la morte d'Andrea del Sarto, data a finire una tavola per la Compagnia di San Francesco, che il detto Andrea lasciò abbozzata: la quale tavola è oggi nella detta Compagnia in su la piazza di San Francesco di Pisa." The panel remained in the church of the Company until it was suppressed in 1785. The painting was then given to the Duomo and set up on the altar of the Madonna delle Grazie.[1]

Biadi 1829, 149 and n1. Reumont 1835, 202–203; not much more than underpainted at Andrea's death; Reumont describes the condition as damaged and restored. Guinness 1899, 94 repeats the information of Vasari and of Reumont. Fraenckel 1935, 97, 167 thinks that the design is Andrea's, comparable to that of the Poppi altar, and sees the evidences of his own touch in the garment of the Madonna, in the drapery of the Jerome, and in the arm especially of the drapery of Bartholomew to the right.

Vasari's statement that the altarpiece had been "abbozzata" by Andrea would seem dependable. However, there is no absolutely certain further evidence to confirm Vasari's assertion of Andrea's responsibility, more or less, for this design. We can identify no preparatory drawings; and the present surface of the picture does not in any place indicate beyond doubt the presence of Andrea's hand (only one passage, among those pointed out by Fraenckel 1935, 97, 167, the sleeve of St. Bartholomew, suggests his handling and color fairly strongly). The design itself is dull to an extent that far exceeds the uninspired scheme invented for the altarpiece for Poppi (but is superior to that of the S. Godenzo *Annunciation*).

It may be the fact that there are derivations from three works at least of Andrea's latest style that is the best assurance that this design was conceived at worst within Andrea's shop, and probably, as Vasari states, by him. The Poppi altar, where Andrea's preparatory drawings guarantee his personal responsibility, betrays the same late inclination to repeat himself. In the Pisa painting, the lower drapery of the Madonna here is closely like that of the Virgin of the Poppi altar, and there is a similarity, less close, between the posture of the legs of the Jerome here and the Catherine of the Poppi painting. There is a more exact quotation, of the motive of the Madonna and Child, from the late altar formerly in Berlin. Much less precisely, Bartholomew suggests the Apostles of Pitti 225. The Francis, however, as Sogliani has made him look, would seem hardly conceivable as an idea of Andrea's own.

The appearance of the altar of the *Madonna delle Grazie* as it is now is Sogliani's; whatever of Andrea was originally in it has been brutalized and denatured in this transcription into the language of a lesser hand.[2]

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[1] Cf. Morrona [1812] I, 205–207. Ed. Vasari [1767–1771] II, 388n3 reports that the painting is still in S. Francesco, and in excellent condition.

[2] Fraenckel 1935, 239n96 has observed that the St. Jerome appears on one of the predella panels associated by Freedberg and Rearick 1961, 7–8 with the Visdomini altar of Pontormo. Fraenckel observes (*ibid.*) the dependence of the St. Apollonia on the St. Catherine of Andrea's altar formerly in Berlin; neither of these connections had been noted by me or by Mrs. Rearick when we wrote our article, but they would affect the argument only in so far as to exclude explicitly the possibility of Pontormo's execution of the Apollonia, and would quite discount his design of at least these panels.

It might also be observed that there is another Andrea-Pontormo relation, of which the direction is unclear, between the prespective setting in the background of the S. Godenzo *Annunciation* and that in the background of the Carmignano *Visitation*.

II. AUTHENTIC UNASSOCIATED DRAWINGS

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BERLIN-DAHLEM, Kupferstichkabinett no. 5507. *Recto*, nude youth seated, leaning to the right. *Verso*, nude youth standing to the left; at lower right, unidentifiable quick sketches. Red chalk, 40.2 x 26.3. Large holes in the paper, repaired; foxed and rubbed. From the von Beckerath Collection, 1902. Figs. [238, 239].

Not in the literature.

Our attribution to Andrea of this sheet is made with maximum reserve, and were it not that we wish particularly to call attention to the possibility of Andrea's authorship, we should catalogue it with the attributed drawings.

The types of face, the anatomy, and the quality of expression are exceedingly akin to those of Andrea's works in painting of c. 1509–1510, and the technique of drawing has close parallels in the model-studies, Louvre 1689 and Uffizi 310F, that prepare the Benizzi frescoes. The touch in some places, especially on the verso, is of utmost refinement and delicacy, but in other places is merely weak. Lacking other terms of comparison for a model-study by Andrea that precedes those for the Benizzi frescoes, we cannot judge whether the deficiencies in quality we observe may be permissible to him at this early time. However, the sheet is not a copy; and we are enough convinced by the analogies of type, technique, and expression that we see to Andrea's certain works of his very early style to propose the Gallery attribution to Andrea be accepted.

This sheet, more than the Benizzi studies, would confirm Andrea's early study of Michelangelo's *Cascina* Cartoon.

CRACOW, Czartoryski Museum. Studies by Andrea after two figures from Dürer's woodcut *Circumcision* (B. 86). Red chalk, 20 x 14. From the E. Desperet Collection. Fig. 154.

Published as Andrea's by Tietze 1928, 55–56 and pl. 58, with the above identification. Fraenckel 1935, 196 denies the attribution. Berenson [1938] no. 55F (but not in 1903) as Tietze.

Exactly characteristic for Andrea in touch, and interesting for his transposition, in this copy, of Dürer's style into his own terms. Related most closely in temper to the figures (some of them also Dürer derivations) in the *Preaching of the Baptist* in the Scalzo. The style of draughtsmanship is possible about this date or slightly later: cf., e.g., Düsseldorf no. 17, for the Francis of the *Madonna of the Harpies*.

FLORENCE, Uffizi no. 627E. *Verso*, a slight sketch of two hands, red chalk. (*Recto*, see under Preparatory Studies, S. Godenzo *Annunciation*, Pitti 97; our catalogue entry no. 85).

The verso not mentioned in the literature.

——— no. 638E. *Holy Family with the Infant St. John*. Black chalk, diam. 25. Repaired at the edges. Badly damaged; rubbed, and the contours partly remade. Fig. [240].

Formerly listed as Andrea (Ferri 1893, 132) but now assigned in the Cabinet to Franciabigio, apparently on the authority of Berenson [1938] no. 749, who makes this attribution. Thiem 1960, 193 as Franciabigio, but he uses as his term of comparison the fresco tondo of *St. Benedict* in S. Salvi, which he thinks Franciabigio's but which is also by Andrea.

There seems to be no valid comparison in the work of Franciabigio for this drawing, which instead offers numerous points of association with Andrea's painting style c. 1511–1512 and with what little we know of his style as a draughtsman about that time. Among the elements that may be cited in favor of Andrea's authorship are the following: cf. the proportions of figure, drapery style, types of children, and character of expression with the *Marriage of St. Catherine* (Dresden), and the head of the Madonna here especially with that of St. Catherine in the Dresden painting and in the preparatory study (Plymouth) for it; also compare the head of the Madonna here with that in Uffizi 270F, for the Benizzi fresco of the *Relics*, and with the Tobias of the Vienna altar of 1511; and cf. the head of the St. Joseph with the S. Salvi of the early fresco in that convent. The figure and drapery style, and the types of the children, again, are also much like those in the (lost) *Madonna and Child with Three Angels* (our catalogue entry no. 18; cf. the Petworth and Toronto copies).

There seems to be sufficient evidence not only to justify a reattribution of this sheet to Andrea (with due reservation as to its originality on account of its condition), but to assign a fairly close date for it, c. 1511–1512.

FLORENCE, Uffizi no. 639E. *Verso,* a left arm, lightly sketched. Red chalk. (*Recto,* see under the lost *Pietà* for Puccini, our catalogue entry no. 26.)

Cited by di Pietro 1911, no. 63.

——— no. 640E *verso,* model-study from a standing nude facing to the right, to the thighs, lightly sketched. Red chalk. Fig. 155. (*Recto,* see under Vallombrosa altar, our catalogue entry no. 75.)

The verso cited by Di Pietro 1911, no. 65 and by Marcucci 1954, no. 24, but not identified by either. Conceivably an early stage of preparation, but not yet specified enough to permit identification, for the St. Bernard at left in the former Berlin altar.

——— no. 297F. *Verso,* two sketches for a composition of the Madonna and Child with St. John, red chalk; fragment of a small note for a design of an altar?, black chalk. Fig. 156. (*Recto,* see under Vallombrosa altar, our catalogue entry no. 75.)

Ferri 1893, 135 by Andrea. Berenson 1903, no. 67, [1938] no. 110I possibly a first idea for a composition like the *Holy Family* for Ottaviano de' Medici or Louvre no. 1515 (but the latter possibility is excluded by the date, 1528, of the recto). Di Pietro 1911, no. 13 authentic but ruined. Fraenckel 1935, 170 regards the verso as very doubtful.

By our estimate, a thoroughly characteristic example of Andrea's quick sketch style. Both compositional ideas on the sheet are in the temper of Andrea's late Madonna paintings, such as Pitti 476 and Pitti 81, but no relation can be specified. There is a suggestion, but no provable indication, of inspiration from both Michelangelo's *Medici Madonna* and Raphael's *Madonna della Sedia.*

——— no. 326F. A standing figure to the left, full-length, in military attitude, holding a broadsword; background of architecture. Marked off as for an alternative format, slightly more than half-length. Black chalk, 28 x 13. Fig. [242].

Ferri 1893, 137 as Andrea's, of a standing soldier. Berenson 1903, no. 77, [1938] no. 117B. In [1938] Berenson notes that Knapp 1907, 133 had compared this figure with the St. Michael of the Vallombrosa altar. Di Pietro 1911, no. 40 speculates this may be a preparatory study for that altar. Fraenckel 1935, 189 wrongly catalogues this sheet among the drawings of doubtful attribution, saying the entire conception belongs to a later moment in the sixteenth-century portrait style.

Andrea's authorship is certain: this is a characteristic drawing in his latest style, but of more spirited quality than most of that time. Almost surely, this is a study for one of the military portraits occasioned by the Siege, but we have no evidence to indicate any painting of this subject ever was executed. The resemblance to the St. Michael of the Vallombrosa altar is justified, but this seems a case of adaptation of the idea for the military saint of the altar to this military portrait.

The conception is in fact extraordinarily advanced. It contains the idea of a full-length portrait (though an execution in this length, as the squaring lines indicate, may not have been meant), at this date of the greatest rarity, and as far as we know unique in Florence at the time; and this full-length figure is in a boldly spatial pose, against a background of architecture. A portrait by the contemporary Moretto (London, National Gallery, dated 1526) is comparable in kind and in apparatus, but not in spirit, and Titian would not accomplish the like until the next decade.

——— no. 6433F. Headless figure, in contemporary soldier's costume, striding to the left. Black chalk with white high lights, 28 x 19.8. Fig. 157.

Berenson [1938] no. 125 as Andrea's, and part of the series (Berenson 118A-C) of studies for the *Impiccati.* Knapp 1907, 134 had preferred to associate the sheet with Poggio. Neither Berenson's nor Knapp's suggestion is plausible. Now assigned in the Cabinet to Andrea's School.

Resembling Andrea's studies for the *Impiccati* in its general style; however, the relation of motive is not to the *Impiccati* but, in the posture of the legs of the figure only, with the bravo in the center of the S. Bernardino scene in the predella of the Vallombrosa altar; but neither is this a convincing association.

A weak drawing, but it seems to show Andrea's touch in the least objectionable passages. Its manner is not unlike, and its quality not much less, than that of Morgan Library I, 31, for the Vallombrosa altar.

——— no. 6454F. *Verso*, upper part of a standing figure facing front, lightly sketched; the left arm of the same figure repeated more strongly to the right, leaning on a pedestal. Red chalk. Fig. 158. (*Recto*, see under *Madonna della Scala*, Prado, our catalogue entry no. 51.)

Di Pietro 1911, no. 91 as Andrea's, but not associated with any painting; so also Berenson [1938] no. 128A (but not in 1903). Not mentioned elsewhere in the literature.

A figure of seeming classical reference, or at least of allegorical character. Could it have been an idea for one of the two later *Virtues* of the Scalzo?

PARIS, Louvre no. 232. *Verso*, study of drapery (for a bent leg or arm); a further study of drapery (a hanging?); an indecipherable figure study. Red chalk, traces of black chalk. Fig. 159. (*Recto*, see under Preparatory Studies, Vallombrosa altar, our catalogue entry no. 75.)

——— no. 1670. *Pentecost*, modello. Black chalk, brush and light brown wash, white high lights. Oval, 18.8 x 12.5. From the Mariette Collection. Fig. [241].

Berenson [1938] I, 291n4: a faithful copy after a lost modello of a composition contemporary with the later Scalzo works. Berenson [1961] no. 141H lists the drawing as Andrea's, reporting the opinions of Pouncey and of this author that it is original.

An original modello by Andrea, associated in time and style with the Luco *Pietà*. See our discussion of the authenticity of this modello in the context of the modello for the *Adoration of the Magi*, Uffizi 634E, and also in connection with the composition study British Museum 1895–15–546, for the Luco *Pietà*; and see our observations on the probable date and possible purpose of this sheet in n13 of our catalogue entry no. 58, the Luco *Pietà*.

——— no. 1683. *Recto*, head of an old man, three-quarters left, black chalk. *Verso*, indecipherable marks (architecture?), red and black chalk. 18.9 x 15.7. Cut vertically through the right part of the sheet and repaired. Fig. 160, verso not illustrated.

The recto suggests a study from the model that might have been used for the grimacing bearded man at the extreme right of the Scalzo *Presentation of the Head*, but the connection cannot be sure. Earlier in style and more flexibly drawn than the study (Ashmolean no. 130) for the Elizabeth of Pitti 81, but still comparable to it.

——— no. 1686. *Verso*, caricature head of a youth in profile to the left. Black chalk. Fig. 161. (*Recto*, see under London, Wallace Collection no. 9, our catalogue entry no. 43.)

Bacou 1955, no. 49. Berenson [1961] no. 150 (the verso not in 1903 or [1938]) reports this author's verbal opinion, 1957, that the verso is authentic.

An important and unnoticed early document for the history of caricature, apparently directly from the life.

——— no. 1710. A right hand holding a fold of drapery. Red chalk, irregularly cut out, height 13.3. Fig. 163.

Of style so close to that of Louvre 1682 (for the hands in the center of the Luco *Pietà*) that the traditional attribution to Andrea would seem justified. The touch is drier than Andrea's normal touch, however, and the contour, especially to the left, seems thin and niggling. Our acceptance of the attribution to Andrea is with some reserve.

——— no. 1724. *Recto*, dragon fighting a serpent. Red chalk, 21.1 x 27.2; originally rectangular, but mounted in a circle diam. 27.3, and pasted back to back with a false verso (presumed to be a St. George, but actually a study for a horseman of the *Procession of the Magi*, Annunziata) Fig. 162. See the "verso" under Preparatory Studies for that picture, our catalogue entry no. 14.

Rather dry in style, but it would seem to agree in general character and date with the false "verso."

——— no. RF 76. Study from the clothed model for the figure of a standing saint, holding a book. Black chalk, 26.5 x 11.7. From the Thomas Hudson and Gatteaux Collections. Fig. 164.

Tauzia 1879, no. 1624 as Andrea; so also Rouchès 1939, no. 7.

In a manner very resembling that of the study for the St. Ambrose of the Neve altar, on Berlin 5133; also close to the *garzone* sketches in Cologne and in the Uffizi (659E) for the Scalzo *Arrest*. It is not impossible that this may be a discarded idea for the Neve altar.

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III. LOST WORKS

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CODEX MAGLIABECHIANO (compiled 1537–1542), 108: "Dipinse, quando era giovane, il palazo de Dei in sulla piaza di Santo Spirito."

——— 109: "una . . . tavola nella chiesa delle monache di Monte Dominj." Paatz [1952] IV, 329: perhaps for the old church outside the Porta Romana.

VASARI 1550, 735, as a work done by Franciabigio and Andrea together while they kept joint shop in the Piazza del Grano: ". . . le cortine che cuoprono l'altare maggiore della tavola de Servi, che allogate gli furono da un sagrestano, ch'era parente strettissimo del Francia. Nelle quali dipinsero in quella che volta in verso il coro una Nostra Donna annunziata da l'angelo et nell'altra dinanzi un CHRISTO deposto di croce, simile a quello che è quivi nella tavola dipinta da Filippo et da Piero Perugino. . . ." Vasari 1568 [1880] V, 8.[1] Paatz [1955] I, 127 reports that the paintings had disappeared certainly by 1546. Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 8n2 (but already earlier in the Le Monnier edition [1853] IX, 111n2) cites Biffoli, *Memorie*, to the effect that this work was painted by Andrea di Cosimo Feltrini in 1510. The reference in Biffoli (A.S.F. Conv. Sopp. 119/59, no. 19, c. 11r) reads: "La facciata di fuori dov'è quella Nuntiata la dipinse M^o Andrea di Giovanni dipintore, e per dipingnere quella e le cortine dell'altare grande hebbe di pagamento L. 329.

Di qui si vede l'errore di quegli che [*missing word*] le cortigine [*sic*] dell'altare le dipingessi Andrea del Sarto, questo Andrea si chiamava Andrea d'Agnolo, e quello che dipinse fu Andrea di Giovanni." Payments are recorded in the original documents of SS. Annunziata (e.g. A.S.F. Conv. Sopp. 119/704) for Andrea di Cosimo's painting on the façade, as Biffoli states, but none, as he alleges, for the painting of the altar curtain. Biffoli's *memoria* does not invalidate the attribution of the lost altar curtains to Andrea and Franciabigio, as Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 8n2 and Paatz [1955] I, 127, as well as Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 164 assume. In any case, Andrea di Cosimo is known to have subcontracted his commissions on other occasions: cf., e.g., that for the *stemma* on the façade of the Annunziata forecourt, painted by Pontormo. Vasari's report is circumstantial, and evidently based on first-hand knowledge.

——— 740, in sequence following the *Annunciation* for Or San Michele: "Fece molti quadri che per Fiorenza et fuori servirono, che non farò menzione di tutti salvo che de migliori: fra i quali fu uno quello ch'è oggi in camera di Baccio Barbadori: dove è una Nostra Donna intera, con un putto in collo: et Santa Anna con San Giuseppo; qual è lavorato di bella maniera. . . ." Vasari 1568 [1880] V, 14. Biadi 1829, 154n1 reports this painting was owned in his time by Cav. Pietro Pesaro of Venice. This information repeated by Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 14n4.

——— 740, in sequence immediately following the above: "Fecene un altro a Lionardo del Giocondo, d'una Nostra Donna, vario da quello di sopra; oggi appresso a Piero suo figliuolo: Et così ne fece a Carlo Ginori due non molto grandi; comperi dal Magnifico Ottaviano de' Medici nella vendita delle sue masserizie: de' quali uno fece portar nella villa sua di Campi, dove egli fece murare un casamento grande con una coltivazione più tosto da Re che da cittadino privato: l'altro tiene in camera in Fiorenza Bernadetto suo figliuolo. . . ." Vasari 1568 [1880] V, 14–15. Biadi 1829, 46 reports the subject of one of these paintings, that which passed from Carlo Ginori to Ottaviano de' Medici and then to his son Bernardetto, as a St. Job. Repeated by Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 15n1. Scott 1881, 125 falsely reports this picture in the Pitti, and gives the same false report for an unspecified one of the two Madonnas for Ginori.

——— 742, in sequence following the *Annunciation* for S. Gallo: "Fece Andrea in questo tempo medesimo un quadro di figure non molto grandi, a Zanobi Girolami, ne'l quale era dentro una istoria di Iosep figliuolo di Iacop, che fu da lui finita con una diligenzia molto continuata: et fu tenuta una bellissima pittura." Vasari 1568 [1880] V, 17. Milanesi (*ibid.* n4) mentions in this connection, as by Andrea, Pontormo's *Joseph and his Brothers*, then at Panshanger.

VASARI 1550, 742–743, in sequence following the S. Ambrogio altar for the Compagnia della Neve: "Aveva preso dimestichezza grande con Andrea per le virtù sue, Giovanni Gaddi, che fu poi cherico di camera . . . Et così piacendoli la maniera di Andrea, gli fece fare per sè un quadro d'una Nostra Donna bellissimo: Il quale per avervi fatto intorno et modegli, et altre fatiche ingegnose, fu stimato la più bella pittura che infino allora Andrea avesse dipinto. Fece dopo questo un altro quadro di Nostra Donna a Giovanni di Paulo merciaio, che per averlo servito benissimo gli restò del continuo con obligo, per quelle lode che sentiva dare a quell'opera; mostrandolo a ogni persona, tanto intendente nel mestiero, quanto a quelli che non se ne'intendevano. Fece ad Andrea Sartini un quadro con la Nostra Donna, CHRISTO, San Giovanni, et San Giuseppo lavorato con diligenzia; che sempre si stimò in Fiorenza per pittura molto lodevole." In the second edition Vasari [1880] V, 18 gives the name Santini in error; Milanesi (*ibid.* n2) corrects this to Sartini. Biadi 1829, 153, followed by Reumont 1835, 64–65, reports the painting for Giovanni Gaddi was at that time owned by Signor Gaddi-Poggi in Florence. This information repeated by Milanesi. However, from the description given of the Gaddi-Poggi picture, it was only a variant or copy of the late *Holy Family* now in the Galleria Nazionale, Rome; see under that painting, our catalogue entry no. 79.

Biadi 1829, 140, followed by Reumont 1835, 73–74, identified the Madonna for Giovanni di Paulo in the S. Godenzo *Annunciation* of the Pitti; an evident error.

In the della Valle edition of Vasari [1792] VI, 145n it is reported that the picture painted for Sartini had been purchased recently by Signor Alessandro Curti-Lepri in Rome, and had been engraved by Morghen. The description of the engraving by Morghen, however, indicates that the Curti-Lepri painting was a copy or a variant of the much later *Madonna della Scala* in Madrid, q.v.

——— 745, in sequence following the *Madonna of the Harpies*: "Fece al NIZZA legnaiuolo, un quadro di Nostra Donna, che fu stimato non meno che l'altre opere sue. Fu deliberato per l'arte de' mercatanti, che si facessino di legname certi trionfi in su li carri, alla usanza antica: i quali dovevano andar' in processione la mattina di San Giovan' Batista . . . Fra questi Andrea fece a olio di chiaro et scuro molte istoriette le quali furon molto lodate . . ." Vasari 1568 [1880] V, 20–21. Milanesi (*ibid.* n1) informs us that Nizza's name was Lorenzo di Pier Francesco. Vasari (*ibid.*) informs us that ten such cars were painted, of which Andrea did "alcuni."

——— 746–747, in sequence following the *Baptism of the Multitude*, Scalzo: "Aveva voluntà grandissima in quel tempo Baccio Bandinelli, ch'era tenuto disegnatore molto stimato, d'imparare a colorire a olio: et conoscendo che nessuno in Fiorenza era meglio di Andrea a doverli mostrare il modo lo pregò che li dovessi fare un ritratto di sè et egli volentieri lo fece che somigliò molto in quella età, il quale è oggi appresso di lui. Et così vede l'ordine del colorire, quantunque egli poi, o per la difficultà o per non se ne curare, cominciasse a colorire, et non seguitassi, tornandoli più a proposito la scultura. . . . Et così ancora fece una testa bellissima a un merciaio che faceva bottega in Roma, ch'era suo amicissimo. Piacque molto l'opera d'Andrea a Giovan' Batista Puccini, et come quello che desiderava avere qual cosa del suo, prese dimestichezza seco: et gli fece fare un quadro di Nostra Donna, per mandare in Francia: che riuscito bellissimo lo ritenne per sè, et non ve lo mandò. . . ." Vasari 1568 [1880] V, 22–23. For our assumption of the identity of the Bandinelli portrait, see under Florence, Uffizi Autoritratti 1486, our catalogue entry no. 30.

——— 747–748: "Venne l'anno MDXV. da Roma Papa Leone X. il quale l'anno terzo del suo pontificato, a' tre di settembre ne'l suo Papato, volse fare grazia di se' di farsi vedere in Fiorenza: nella quale si ordinò per riceverlo, una festa molto magnifica. Et nel vero si può dire che non sia stata mai per pompa di archi, facciate, tempi, colossi, et altre statue, fatto la più sontuosa et la più bella . . . Ma quel che valse più di tutti, fu la facciata di Santa Maria del Fiore di legname et d'istorie, lavorate di mano d'Andrea di chiaro et scuro, che oltre alle comendazioni ch'egli ebbero della architettura fatta da Iacopo Sansovino . . ."

Vasari 1568 [1880] V, 24–25.

See our catalogue entry no. 20 for further information on this decoration, with which the subjects of entry 20 were formerly associated.

——— 748, in sequence after the decoration for Leo X: "Finito questo, fu di nuovo ricerco di far un altro quadro per in Francia, et non molto vi penò, ch'egli lo finì. Nel quale fece una Nostra Donna bellisima, che fu mandato subito, et cavatone da mercanti quattro volte più, che non era il costo." Vasari 1568 [1880] V, 26 states this picture was destined for the King of France. Milanesi (*ibid.* n1) had observed "si crede" this painting is the *Holy Family* Louvre no. 1515; a reasonable but not provable assumption.

——— 751, in France: ". . . ritrasse di naturale il Delfino figliuol' del Re, nato di pochi giorni ch'era nelle fasce, che finito et presentato al Re egli fe' dono di scudi 300. d'oro . . ." Vasari 1568 [1880] V, 30: among the first works in France. Probably rather the Duke of Orleans (later Henry II, born 28 February 1518) than the Dauphin, Francis, born the year before. Cf. Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 30n1.

———752, toward the end of Andrea's stay in France: ". . . lavorava un quadro di un San Girolamo in penitenzia per la madre del Re. . . ." Vasari 1568 [1880] V, 30. D'Argenville [1762] I, 145 refers to such a painting by Andrea in the Galleria Ambrosiana; untraceable.[2]

——— 757, in sequence following the *St. John Baptist* for Montmorency: ". . . due quadri di Nostre Donne ch'egli fece d'una medisima maniera, oggi rimasti in casa sua [*Ottaviano de' Medici*]. Fece mettere mano Zanobi Bracci perchè facessi un quadro, che servì per Monsignor di San' Biause." Vasari 1568 [1880] V, 37. There is no implication of chronology in the mention of the two Madonnas owned by Ottaviano. Milanesi (*ibid.* n2) reports "vuolsi che siano a Napoli," in the palace of the Princes Ottajano. No source is given for this information. Milanesi (*ibid.* n3) indicates that Mons. di San Biause is Jacques de Beaune, Baron of Semblançay, hanged in 1527.

——— 757–758, in sequence following the mention of the plague of 1523: "Lavorò un quadro bellissimo et molto lodato a Giovanni d'Agostino Dini, dentrovi una Nostra Donna bellissima, ch'è oggi molto in pregio, stimata per le sue bellezze. Et dopo questa a Cosimo Lapi fece un ritratto di naturale molto vivo, che ne fu molto lodato." Vasari 1568 [1880] V, 38 cites these just before his mention of the plague. Bottari in Vasari [1759] II, 233n4 says the Dini Madonna is still in the family. Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 38 reports the Dini Madonna was sold toward the end of the eighteenth century to Tatischeff of St. Petersburg; untraceable.

——— 761, in sequence following the copy of Raphael's *Leo X* portrait: "Fece mentre ch'egli faceva questo ritratto per M. Ottaviano sudetto in un quadro solo, la testa di Giulio Cardinal' de Medici, che fu poi Papa Clemente simile a quella di Raffaello, che fu molto bella, et fu poi da esso M. Ottaviano, donata al vescovo vecchio de Marzi." Vasari 1568 [1880] V, 43.[3]

——— 765, in sequence following the St. James banner (Uffizi): "Era un commesso che stava vicino a Valle ombrosa in una villa, per le ricolte di que' frati; il quale aveva volontà d'esser ritratto d'Andrea per metterlo in un luogo, dove l'acqua percoteva, avendoci acconcio et pergole et altre fantasie. Così Andrea che era molto suo amico, lo satisfece." Vasari 1568 [1880] V, 48. Reumont 1835, 160 mentions that the portrait now assigned to Puligo, and identified as of Carnesecchi was sometimes taken for this work; the error recurs in the later literature.[4]

——— 766, in sequence following the self-portrait on tile: "Ritrasse un canonico Pisano, suo amicissimo, che fu una testa molto naturale et ben' fatta, oggi in Pisa. Aveva in questo tempo preso Andrea a fare per la Signoria di Fiorenza, cartoni che si avevano a colorire, per fare le spalliere della ringhiera di piazza, con molte fantasie belle, sopra i quartieri della città, con tutte le bandiere delle Capitudini tenute d'alcuni putti, con ornamento di tutte le virtù, oltra i fiumi et i monti sudditi a quella città. La quale opera egli cominciò et rimase imperfetta per la morte." Vasari 1568 [1880] V, 49. The document of commission of the *Ringhiera* known to Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 49n3 and 71; the commission, from the Signori e Collegi, is dated 30 October 1525. On 14 December (Milanesi *ibid.*) 20 florins were paid to Andrea on account for the cartoon. The documents are to be found in A.S.F. Signori e Collegi, Deliberazioni fatte in forza di ordinaria autorità, 127 (1524–1525), c 123r, and A.S.F. Signori e Collegi, Condotte e stanziamenti, 27 (Libro di stanziamenti, 1521–1527), c 240r. In the document of 14 December (c 240r) the name of the artist is incorrectly given as Andrea d'Arrigho; this had been noticed by Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 188n2, who transcribed the document, but with omissions.

No. 127, c 123r:
[left margin:] Locatio cartonis spalleriarum cum precepto camerario camere armorum quod solvat f. 20 occazione predicta.

Die XXX eiusdem [*October 1525*] Item dicti ex^{si} Domini et Vexillifer Iustitiae simul adunati etc., animadvertentes qualiter spalleriae cum quibus paratur et ornatur aringheria in ingressu Dominationis sunt adeo vetustate corrose ut eis uti non possit, ideo volentes quod de novo pro publico honore reficiantur, et propterea habitis a multis famosis pictoribus pluribus modulis sive designis, et inter alios a Magistro Andrea Angeli Sutoris pictore, quod pre ceteris magis placuit: ideo servatis etc. deliberaverunt et deliberando locaverunt dicto Magistro Andree dictas spallerias, videlicet ad designiandum et pingendum cum coloribus dictas spallerias in uno cartone longitudinis bracchiorum quinquaginta duorum et altitudinis sex, in quo designie[t] et pingat Virtutes et alia secundum modulum sive designium per eum dictis Dominis exhibitum. In quo cartone arbitrati sunt et colloquia inter se habuerunt expendere debere f. 80 usque in f. 100 auri in auro largos. Quod cartone sic, ut prefertur, disegniatum et coloritum postea micti [*repeated*] debeat Flandriam ad hoc ut, secundum dictum designium et cartone, dicte spallerie locentur ad texendum et conficiendum, ut moris est, in dictis regionibus per Magistrum in predictis excellentem. Qui Andreas pro suo labore et mercede propterea habere debeat id totum quod et prout et sicut declarabitur per eorum in officio subcessores vel per habentes vel habituros super hiis auctoritatem. Et quia dicto Andree propterea ad presens opus est aliquibus denariis, ideo prefati ex^{si} Domini deliberaverunt fieri preceptum et precipi Braccio Niccholai de Guicciardinis ad presens camerario camere armorum eorum Palatii [*illegible*] virtute presentis precepti: et cuiuscumque eorum auctoritatis etc. de quibuscunque pecuniis et denariis dicte camere det et solvat statim visto presenti, dicto Magistro Andree pictori florenos viginti auri in auro largos occaxione predicta, pro parte pretii dicti cartonis spalleriarum predictarum, pro scribendo et actando postea ad computum dicti Magistri Andree occaxione predicta, prout stantiatum et deliberatum fuerit per habentes auctoritatem supradictam secundum ordinamenta etc. . . ."

No. 27, c 240r: [*14 December 1525*] "Item stantiaverunt etc. due Massai e cassiere di camera dieno e paghino al Camarlingo della camera dell'arme f. venti larghi d'oro in oro, due sono per dargli e pagare a M^{o} Andrea d'Arrigho dipintore per parte del prezzo del cartone che lui fa del disegno delle spalliere della ringhiera del palazzo de' nostri Excelsi Signori, le quali si hanno a fare di nuovo per ordine de' nostri Excelsi signori, per essere quelle che di presente si adoperono consumate e guaste e disonorevole alla nostra città: in tutto ——— f. 20 larghi d'oro in oro." [5]

A.S.F. GUARDAROBA 28, 1553, c. 15: "Adi 27 d'ottobre 1553 (4^{a} camera). 2 Quadri di Madonna grandi col' loro ornamento uno di noce tocco d'oro et l'altro di tiglio dorato di mano d'Andrea del Sarto."

A.S.F. NOTARILE R 326 (1558–1560), c 524, 13 may 1560. Testament of Ginevra, widow of Angelo di Domenico di Carlo de' Pandolfini, and daughter of Antonio di Salvestro de' Lapi, bequeathes to her brother Giuliano: "pictura S. Hieronimi e S. Marfe e S. Maria Mad^{na} pictos p[er] manu Andrein d̄l Sarto, ecc^{mi} pictori." [6]

VASARI 1568 [citations from Milanesi ed., 1878 —]: IV, 137, Andrea assists Piero di Cosimo in the design of a festival car ("carro della Morte"). Mantz 1876, 475, and Milanesi in Vasari [1880] IV, 135n2 conjecture that this car was done for a festival of 1511.

——— V, 9, "E fra l'altre cose che egli allora fece di quella prima maniera, fece un quadro, che oggi è in casa di Filippo Spini, tenuto per memoria di tanto artefice in molta venerazione."

——— 14, in sequence after the *Annunciation* for Or San Michele: "Uno ne fece similmente [to the Madonna with Saints Anne and Joseph for Barbadori, q.v. ed. 1550, 740, above] molto lodevole, che è oggi appresso Lorenzo di Domenico Borghini. . . ."

——— 34–35, in sequence following the *Dead Christ*, now in S. Salvi: "Dipinse anco in un quadretto a olio un'altra Pietà, e insieme una Natività nella camera di quel convento, dove già stava il generale Angelo Aretino." Biadi 1829, 157n2 identified the *Pietà* with the painting in Vienna, but this seems too large to justify the description "quadretto."

For a tentative suggestion of the identity of the *Nativity*, see modello for an *Adoration of the Magi*, our catalogue entry no. 50.

——— 39–40, during the stay in Luco: "Nel qual tempo, per non si stare, fece non solamente una Visitazione di Nostra Donna a Santa Lisabetta, che è in chiesa a man ritta sopra il Presepio per finimento d'una tavoletta antica, ma ancora in una tela non molto grande una bellissima testa d'un Cristo, alquanto simile a quella che è sopra l'altare della Nunziata, ma non sì finita: la qual testa, che in vero si può annoverare fra le buone cose che uscissero delle mani d'Andrea, è oggi nel monasterio de' monaci degli Angeli di Firenze appresso il molto reverendo Padre Don Antonio da Pisa, amator non solo degli uomini eccellenti nelle nostre arti, ma generalmente di tutti i virtuosi. Da questo quadro ne sono stati ricavati alcuni; perchè avendolo Don Silvano Razzi fidato a Zanobi Poggini pittore, acciò uno ne ritraesse a Bartolommeo Gondi che ne lo richiese, ne furono ricavati alcuni altri, che sono in Firenze tenuti in somma venerazione." See under the *Pietà* for Luco, our catalogue entry no. 58, for the document in which payment is recorded for the *Visitation*. Milanesi (*ibid.* n2) informs us that the picture was a lunette, executed in tempera on canvas, and further that it was removed and restored in 1818 by Luigi Scotti, and then sold to an unknown. Shearman 1959, 133n45 makes the suggestion that a drawing in Besançon,[7] showing the shape of a lunette, is a copy from the lost *Visitation*. Shearman points out that the Zachary in this drawing is close to the rightmost Apostle of the *Assunta*, Pitti 191, invented shortly earlier, while the rest of the composition recurs in the Scalzo fresco of just later date. The suggestion is not provable, but has a high degree of probability.

The *Redeemer* also recorded by Borghini [1807] II, 223 in the church of the Angeli. Cinelli [1677] 493 records the original? in the Cappella Minucci of the church. Richa VIII (1759) 169 refers to the picture in the Cappella della Madonna, but he describes it as on copper. Unless he was in error on this point, the original had by then disappeared. Biadi 1829, 164n3 saw a bad copy only in this place; so also Reumont 1835, 179. Barri 1671, 106 described as an original a painting of this theme then in Parma, Palazzo del Giardino.

Copies that may be after this *Redeemer* are catalogued together with those after the supposedly similar painting for the Annunziata, q.v., our catalogue entry no. 27.

——— 50, as if at the end of Andrea's life: "Lasciò bene finito del tutto un molto bel quadro, che oggi è in casa di Filippo Salviati; e alcuni altri." Borghini [1807] II, 226 gives "alcuni bei quadri in casa gli eredi di Filippo Salviati."

——— VI, 251 (in the life of Pontormo), Andrea is cited among the "architetti" of the festival *carri* for the Company of the Diamante; according to Vasari these were used in the commemoration of Leo X's accession to the Papacy, but actually they served for the Carnival festival of February 1513. See Shearman 1962, 478–483.[8]

A. S. F. MEDICEO, 721, fol. 199, 17 March 1587: "Ser.^{mo} Gran Duca

Dal sindacato di Piero Adimari ci è stato mandato a bandire una tavola d'una Nostra Donna di mano d'Andrea del Sarto entrovi sei figure, con ornamento di noce tocco d'oro, alta con detto ornamento braccia tre e larga due e ⅛, e la tavola solamente alta braccia 2⅛ e larga braccia uno ⅔: e perchè la pittura è tenuta degna di gran consideratione, non habbiamo voluto farne partito alcuno se prima non lo significavamo a V. Altezza Ser.^{ma} Però staremo aspettando che ella ci comandi quel che gli piace che noi facciamo; et humilmente inchinandocele, preghiamo Nostro Signor Iddio che felicissima la conservi.

Di Firenze, alli XVII di Marzo 1578.

D. V. Alt. Ser^{ma}

devotissimi servitori
BENEDETTO BUONMATTEI
e gl'altri Ministri
dello Incanto de' Pupilli."

The only possible association with a known design of Sarto's, of the size indicated here (c. 124 x 94 cm), is with the lost *Madonna with Three Angels* for Corsini (our catalogue entry no. 18); and among the various versions that now in Toronto (124.5 x 91.5) comes closest the dimensions given in the document. This connection remains quite dubious.

BORGHINI 1584 [1807] I, 24, in the house of Ridolfo Sirigatti, in the fifth room, "un bellissimo quadro d'Andrea del Sarto."

——— II, 226, in the house of Baccio Valori, "un bellissimo quadretto [*by Andrea*] entrovi una Natività di Christo con più figurine. . . ."

——— II, 227, "Di sua mano ha Francesco Trosci un quadro bellissimo della prima maniera, entrovi la Vergine col figliuolo, S. Giovanni, e S. Giuseppe." Bottari in Borghini [1807] II, 227n1 "È in palazzo [*Pitti*]." Biadi 1829, 28 repeats this information, and 148n6 states the picture is in the Stanze di Ulisse: a possible confusion with a work by Puligo, no. 294 (Cat. 1937).[9]

A. S. F. CONV. SOPP., 119 (SS. Annunziata di Firenze), 208 (Libro grande rosso segnato M, 1584–1589), c. 113: "E adì 27 di ottobre 1584 £ 1400 piccioli, sono per valuta di un quadro della Madonna di mano di Andrea del Sarto concesso alla Ill.^{ma} S. Duchessa di Urbino, e per sua Ecc.^{a} dal S.^{or} Ercole Inbasciatore del Ducha di Ferrara, recò Lionardo suo agente contanti; a entrata c. 7, cassa c. 138 .... £ 1400."

A. S. F. GUARDAROBA 136, c. 154 left, 14 March 1587: "Uno quadro intavola con più figure drentovi [*sic*] antiche disse di mano di Andrea del Sarto drentovi uno Ercole alto br 1½ e largo br 3 con ornamento di noce profilato d°."

——— same date: "Uno quadro in asse con dua teste una di homo e [*l'altra*] di Donna dissono di Andrea del Sarto ornamento di legno intag^{to} e dorato alto br 1 largo B 1½ inc^{a}." Perhaps to be identified with the painting in the Pitti no. 118, wrongly called a portrait of Andrea and his wife.

ARCHIVIO DELLE SOPRINTENDENZA DELLE GALLERIE, Florence, ms. 70: Inventario delle robe della Tribuna, 1589, c. 28: "Un [*quadro*] simile di una Vergine in asse con sua cornice simile [*di noce tocco d'oro*] alle dette, alto br. uno ¾ e largho br. uno ½ di mano di Andrea del Sarto."

——— c. 29: "Un quadretto simile in tavola con N.S. in croce con altri Santi a piè, con cornice di albero nero miniato di oro, di mano di Andrea del Sarto, alto br. uno e largho br. ⅞."

"Un quadretto simile in tavola ritrattovi una Leda con un cigno e 4 puttini con cornice di legname nero toccho d'oro, alta br. uno ⅛ e largho br. ⅞ di mano di Andrea del Sarto."

Cf., under Attributed Painting, the *Leda* subject now in Brussels.

A. S. F. GUARDAROBA 132, c. 126r, 12 July 1591: "Un quadro di nr̄a Donna con Xr̄o in braccio, dipinto in tavola, di mano di Andrea del Sarto, grande, senza ornamento, mandata S.A.S. [Grand Duke Ferdinand] in Ispagna questo di 12 di luglio 1591, come al quaderno segnato *A* 2°, c. 103."

——— 190, c. 41, 26 September 1595: "quadretto [*illegible*] di br. ⅔ rittrattovi Il Duca Lorenzo cornice di noce solam^{te} la testa di mano d'Andrea del sarto."

A. S. F. MEDICEO 882, fol. 157: letter from Baccio Rinieri to the Grand Duke Ferdinando de' Medici, Perugia, 12 November 1597:

"Quando io mi parti' da Firenze, che sono 30 anni per venire qui a Perugia in questa Tesorerìa, lasciai a una mia villa a Castello, luogo detto via di mezzo, cinque quadri d'Andrea del Sarto antichi di casa mia, appiccati al muro, con le sue cornici da levare e porre, e ne lasciai la cura ad Alessandro Rinieri mio cugino insieme col podere. Quale (per quanto mi scrisse) li fece levare dal muro senza le cornici, lasciandole appiccate al muro, come prima, e li fece condurre a casa sua a Castello per farli retrarre et haverne copia . . . [but the creditors of Alessandro took those pictures as belonging to him: therefore Baccio asks the Grand Duke] non vogli permettere che de fatto io sia privo di quelli quadri per il debito d'Alessandro. E perchè nel volergli recuperare spende il nome di Vostra Altezza Ser.^{ma} (quasi che gli vogli per quella) io riceverò per singularissima grazia e favore che quella si degni accettargli da me . . ."

———fol. 158: "Adì 14 di sectembre 1597: Inventario delle robe lassate nella villa di Alessandro Rinieri nel populo di Santo Michele a Castello, luogo detto al terrio. E prima:

Cinque quadri senza cornice, entrovi la storia di Tubbìa et altre, disson essere di Agniolo et Baccio Rinieri."

A. S. F. GUARDAROBA 307, c. 838v–839r, 1 August 1607: "All' Imperatore [*from the Grand Duke Ferdinand*] . . . un quadro della medesima grandezza [*lungo br. 3, alto br. 1½*] entrovi un villano che mette le mani sotto a una villanella che dorme in sur un fascio di grano, di mano d'Andrea del Sarto."

———304, c. 113, 1611: "Un' quadro in tavola con adornamento di noce filettato doro dipintovi in detto quadro la mad^{na} santiss^{ma} a sedere con suo fig^{le} in collo, e san' Giuseppe a sedere che si appoggia su un sacho con suo paesino di mano dand^{a} del sarto alto Br 3½ e largo Br 2¼." An altered copy of the *Sacco* fresco?

———320, c. 34, 1612: "Un quadretto alto Br 1 incirca con cornice inverniciate con un filetto doro dipintovi una testa di una donna di mano d'And^{a} del sarto."

———373, c. 276, 1622: "Un quadro in tavola d'una carità dicono di m^{o} di And^{a} d Sarto con adornamento di noce . . . alto Br e largo 1½ . . . h^{to} [*havuto*] dall' heredità del Marchese botti a 29 di settembre . . ."

———c. 323, 1622: "Dua quadri lunghi br 4 e larghi Br 1¼ sono con adornamento di noce . . . entrovi due paisini di m^{o} d And^{a} del sarto. . . ."

———525 (Inv. Generale, Palazzo Pitti) 1637, index, lists "La Madonna con Gèsu Bambino e S. Giovanni, Quadro di Raffaello copiata da Andrea;" but the item cannot be found in the inventory.

———628 (Inv. Villa Petraia), c. 12v., 12 May 1649: "Tre quadri chi uno su l'asse, entro una Donna fino a mezzo di mano d'Andrea del Sarto alto Br 1½ largo Br 1⅜."

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[1] Reumont 1835, 14n1 makes a confusion between this work and the lunette (now Pitti) of the Sarzana altar, copied by Alessandro Allori and described by Bocchi [1677] 446.

[2] L. Bosseboeuf, in *Réunion des Sociétés des Beaux Arts des Départements*, 1896, published (without illustration) a painting of this subject, assigning it to Andrea, at Oiron. Now untraceable.

[3] Scott 1881, 129 falsely lists this picture as being in the Gallery of the Archbishop of Milan.

[4] Scott (*ibid.*) falsely lists this as in the Convent of Vallombrosa.

[5] Not previously published in full.

[6] Kindly called to the author's attention by Mr. Edward Sanchez.

[7] For us, by a hand resembling Naldini's.

[8] A.S.F. Guardaroba 91, c. 115 left, 11 April 1580? records a copy by Andrea di Mariotto Menghi after a *Madonna* by Andrea del Sarto in the Granducal Collection. A.S.F. Guardaroba 79, c. 125 left, under date 12 April 1580 records the same copy, and under date 15 April 1581? there is note of a copy by Girolamo Mazei after a *Holy Family with the Infant St. John* by Andrea.

[9] Scott 1881, 84 has made a confusion between this painting and the *Holy Family* for Sartini; cf. Vasari 1550, 742–743.

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IV. ATTRIBUTED PAINTINGS

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Formerly AIX, Boyer d'Aguilles. *Madonna and Child with the Infant St. John.*

Engraved by Coelemans, 1703 and Mariette, 1744. The attribution to Sarto on the engraving.

A seventeenth-century painting.

ALLENTOWN, Pennsylvania, Museum, Kress gift (1946). *Madonna and Child.* Panel, 80.3 x 64.8. From the Baroness Reppi, Rome. Formerly exhibited in the Honolulu Academy of Fine Arts, Cat. 152, pp. 26–37.

By the hand of a pupil or imitator, from the decade of the thirties. The same author is probably responsible also for the Sartesque pastiche (also incorrectly attributed to Sarto) in the Galleria Doria, Rome, no. 157.

Sold AMSTERDAM?, van Marle, De Silla and Baan sale, 15–16 July, 1942, no. 168. *Madonna and Child with St. John.*

Attributed to Sarto in the sales catalogue.

A copy after Puligo.

——— Vries, 14 May 1935, no. 38. *Madonna and Child with St. Anne.* Panel, arched top, 103 x 77. From the Collections Leoncini (Brussels) and Broerman.

Attributed to Sarto in the sales catalogue.

A derivation from the late Titian.

BEECHWOOD (near Boxmoor), Sebright Collection. *Portrait of a Young Man* in black dress and hat.

Waagen 1857, 329 indicates this painting is rather in the style of Franciabigio than Andrea.

BERLIN, Museums. *Scenes from the Life of St. Anthony of Padua.* Two panels, nos. 236 and 241 (Cat. 1931 and earlier), each 19 x 49. Acquired 1841–1842 in Italy.

The attribution to Sarto in the catalogue 1850 and in subsequent editions. The attribution corrected by Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 197, who suggest the brothers Zaganelli. Cat. Berlin 1931: Francesco Zaganelli.

Formerly BERLIN, Dr. R. Gosse. *Portrait of a Young Man,* three-quarters to the right.

Of the third quarter of the sixteenth century, suggesting the manner of Santi di Tito.

Sold BERLIN, Gesellschaft für Kunst und Litteratur, 11–12 November 1908, no. 9. *Madonna and Child with St. John and Two Angels.* Panel, 92 x 71.

A derivation from Puligo. This may be the same as a painting recorded in the Collection Stefanelli, Bologna.

BOSTON, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum. *(Self?) Portrait of Baccio Bandinelli.* Panel 147 x 112.

From the Vivian Collection at Claverton near Bath, where it was described as a portrait of Michelangelo, by Andrea. See Waagen 1854, III, 176; Cat. Gardner Museum 1931, pp. 24–26; and n3 under our catalogue entry no. 30.

BOUGHTON HOUSE, Duke of Buccleuch. *Madonna and Child.* Panel, 100 x 79.

In Cat. Montague House, no. 38, as Andrea.

Resembling the work of Andrea del Brescianino.

BOWDOIN COLLEGE (Maine), Walker Art Museum (formerly Kress Collection nos. 1618–1619). *Apollo and Cupid; Apollo and Daphne.* Canvas, each 66.5 x 28. From the Cook Collection, Richmond, nos. 33, 34, where they were assigned by Borenius (Cat. Cook Collection 1913) to Franciabigio.

Assigned in the Kress Collection to Andrea. A certificate from Longhi 1948, suggests they are by a Tuscan Mannerist of the midcentury or later, but in faithful reflection of two lost works by Sarto. Shearman 1962, 478–483 has attributed these pictures to the youthful Pontormo, proposing their association with the *carri* painted for the carnival of 1513. There is an unquestioned likeness between these canvases and certain panels from the *Carro della Zecca* (or *di S. Giovanni*), which Pontormo had the commission to paint in 1514 or 1515; Shearman's attribution seems correct.

BROMFIELD (Shropshire), Oakley Park, the Earl of Plymouth. *Portrait of a Young Man.* Panel, 117.5 x 87.6. From Col. Ellis and Lord Windsor Collections.

Formerly variously attributed to Sarto or Pontormo, but now universally assigned to Puligo. Cf. Cat. exhibition *European Old Masters,* Manchester, 1957, no. 256 and Shearman 1960*a*, 63.

BRUSSELS, Musée des Beaux Arts no. 415. *Leda.* Panel, 150 x 75. From the collections of Christina of Sweden, Duke of Orléans, Lucien Buonaparte, Nieuwenhuys, Romzé.

The attribution to Andrea in the inventory of Queen Christina of c. 1689 (Campori 1870, 348). Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 199 would suggest Bacchiacca's name. Berenson [1932] 210 as Franciabigio; so generally now taken. So also Freedberg 1961, 480; but I am now less certain this ascription is correct.

Sold BRUSSELS, Giroux, 12 March 1927, no. 11. *Holy Family with the Infant St. John.* Panel, 144 x 102.

The attribution to Sarto in the sales catalogue. Derivative from Puligo's style.

——— 10 March 1930, no. 6. *Holy Family with the Infant St. John.* Panel, 77.5 x 53.5.

The attribution to Sarto in the sales catalogue. By Puligo; a version of one of his familiar compositions.

BUDAPEST, Museum of Fine Arts no. 69. *Madonna with Sts. Sebastian and Roch.* Canvas, 198.5 x 169.5.

A. Venturi 1900, 239 states the picture is dated 1527 and bears Andrea's monogram, but thinks it is a shop piece. Cat. Budapest 1954, 509 (with bibliography) as by a Sarto follower.

In Puligo's later manner. With reservations on the grounds of condition and of photographic evidence only, we should assign the painting to him.

BUDAPEST?, Unspecified Collection. *Portrait of a Young Man.* Canvas, 48 x 35.5.

Cat. exhibition *Old Masters in Hungarian Private Collections,* Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts, 1946, no. 84, pl. XXIII.

A spoiled painting of the early seventeenth century in Florence.

CHALONS-SUR-SAÔNE, Dr. J. Bauzon. *Madonne de Levernois.* Allegedly from the Abbey of Cluny in 1793.

Published by C. Pfeiffer, *Les Madones de André del Sarte* (Paris, 1913) 30 ff. as by Andrea.

A very bad pastiche of Andrea's style, probably of the seventeenth century.

CHANTILLY, Musée Condé no. 41 (Cat. 1896). *Portrait of a Man.* Panel, 61 x 44. Fig. 166.

The traditional attribution to Andrea is denied by Gruyer in Cat. 1896.

Strongly suggestive of Toschi, c. 1530. (Photograph Archives Photographiques 13414.)

——— no. 42 (Cat. 1896). *Portrait of a Bearded Youth,* inscribed "Constantinus de Benedictis." Panel, 23 x 17. From the Reiset Collection.

Gruyer in Cat. 1896 reassigns the picture to Andrea's school.

An old copy of a work originally of Umbrian or Umbro-Florentine origin.

CHATSWORTH, Duke of Devonshire Collection. *Madonna and Child with the Infant St. John.* A Roman painting of the midsixteenth century.

CLEVELAND, Museum of Art no. 44.92, Elizabeth Severance Prentiss Collection. *Portrait of a Lady* in French? headdress. Panel, 82.5 x 62.2. Fig. 165. From the J. S. W. Earle Drax Collection, sold London, Christie's, 26 February 1910, no. 92, to Carfax and Co. (Graves 1921, III, 141). Reproduced Arundel Club Portfolio 1910, no. 5. Borenius in Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 181n1 by Andrea, and probably painted in France. Berenson [1932] 17 as a work of Andrea's shop; [1936] 15 as an unfinished painting. Shearman 1960*a* would affrm the attribution to Andrea.

Hard in surface; schematically emphatic in the planes of modelling of the face; unintelligent in the way in which elements of appearance are reduced to pattern (as in the drapery over the sleeve in particular); the hands ill-drawn, and disproportioned to the body. These are only a few of the qualities — or lack of them — in this picture that deny the presence of Andrea's hand. The composition is not in the vein of any of his portraits; however, like the handling, the composition instantly suggests comparison with works by Toschi, to whom we attribute this portrait without hesitation. Cf. especially the *Portrait of a Youth with a Garland of Flowers,* at one time in the Agnew Collection.

Sold COLOGNE, Lempertz, Rittman-Urich sale, 30 April 1912. *St. John Baptist.* Canvas, 110 x 83.

The attribution to Sarto in the sales catalogue. Almost certainly a work by Bacchiacca, c. 1540.

COPENHAGEN, Museum of Fine Arts. *Madonna and Child with St. John.*

Not in any available catalogue.

By Puligo, though vaguely imitative of Andrea's *Madonna and Child with St. John* in Rome, Borghese no. 334.

——— Kronberg Castle. *Portrait of a Man,* bust length, looking over his left shoulder. Canvas, mounted on panel, 22 T x 16½ T. Formerly in the Royal Picture Gallery, Christiansborg.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 200 state that the picture is so restored no judgment is possible.

CORNBURY PARK, Charlbury (Oxon.), Oliver Vernon Watney Collection. *Portrait,* said to be of Andrea, with still-life. Panel, 84 x 66.6.[1]

General abrasion, especially in the background; some spot losses. The visible hand is much repainted.

Engraved in 1824 by J. Sandres on the design of V. Gozzini as a work by Sarto. Fig. 167. Biadi 1829, 161 and n4, 168 as formerly in the Ricci Collection, Florence, but in his time in the Galleria Dini; Biadi accepts that the painting is Andrea's, but doubts that it is, as asserted, his own portrait. Purchased by the Rev. Sanford in Florence c. 1832, with the provenience from the Ricci Collection. Reumont 1835, 221–222 and n1 knows the picture in Sanford's possession, but does not make a clear judgment of it. Waagen 1857, 396–397 remarked the painting at Corsham Court, accepting it as Andrea's, but not crediting that it is a self-portrait. Sold from the Methuen Collection, London, Christie's, 13 May 1899, no. 88, to Waring. Guinness 1899, 100 repeats Waagen's opinion. In the catalogue of *Pictures at Cornbury and 11 Berkeley Square,* 1915, no. 59. Cf. Graves 1921, III, 140; Nicolson 1955, 214.

A picture of exceptional interest, of which, however, we should prefer to invert the judgment made of it by Biadi and by Waagen: in our estimation this is a portrait of Andrea, but not by him. Compared with Andrea's certain works, we find this handling too smooth and unaccented; and the brushwork too softly melded. The drawing is more fluid than Andrea's, and shows small trace if any of his energy of draughtsmanship. The color, especially in the flesh, seems foreign, at once too reddish in the cheeks and too blued in the shadows. The expression of countenance is also too sweet and soft. The whole conception, indeed, has a prosy *bonhomie* that must be distinguished from the intimacy, but the dignity also, that characterizes Andrea's portraits. The face of the sitter is, however, fairly surely his: it agrees well with the authentic late self-portrait on tile in the Uffizi.

We suggest this is a far posthumous tribute to Andrea by a painter of the Sarto revival of the late sixteenth century. It is not a copy (there is a good pentimento in the shoulder upper left), but a deliberate, and highly skilled, later imitation of Andrea's style.

DETROIT, Mrs. Lillian H. Haas. *Scene from the Life of S. Filippo Benizzi,* predella. In the Toscanelli sale, Florence, 1883.

Attributable to Toschi.

DIJON, Musée des Beaux-Arts no. 68. *St. John Baptist.* Canvas, 62 x 49.

Exhibited in the museum as Sarto, but variously attributed to Andrea, Pontormo, and Rosso. Berenson [1932] 495 as Rosso; so also Kusenberg 1931, 14 and 183n30; but cf. Barocci 1944, 88. Not by Andrea, nor by Pontormo or Rosso; and neither may it be assigned to Puligo in one of his Pontormesque moods. Perhaps the work of one of Andrea's pupils of the younger generation in a juvenile moment of his career. We should date the picture 1525–1530.

DRESDEN, Gallery no. 75 (Cat. 1930). *David and Bathsheba.* Panel, 86 x 172.

As early as the catalogue of 1765 (no. 121) it was alleged this panel was a collaboration of Andrea with Franciabigio. Reumont 1835, 138 and 141n repeated this opinion, and misinterpreted the inscription A. S. MDXXIII F. B. as an indication of Andrea del Sarto's presence in the work. Hirt 1830, 30 had already corrected this mistaken assumption, insisting that the painting was wholly by Franciabigio; it is so now universally accepted. It may be observed that Reumont's erroneous interpretation of the initials "A. S." [*Anno Salvationis*] has recurred more recently in the case of the *Madonna and Child* in Rome, National Gallery no. 580.

——— no. 65. *Holy Family*. Canvas, 145 x 200. From the Ducal Gallery in Modena.

The painting at one time bore the false signature of Andrea. It was listed as Andrea's in the early catalogues of the gallery, and engraved as his work by P. E. Moitte. Reumont 1835, 205 had already remarked on the absence of resemblance to Sarto. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 197 correctly suggested a Venetian hand. Long recognized as a work of Catena, based on a drawing by Giulio Romano (of which one version is at Chatsworth). See Cat. Dresden 1929, with bibliography, and G. Robertson, *Catena*, 1954, no. 33.

——— no. 296. *Pietà*. Canvas (transferred from panel), 25 x 20.5.

In the older catalogues of the gallery as Andrea. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 197 by an artist of the close of the sixteenth century. Now catalogued as Florentine school c. 1550 "richtung des Bacchiacca."

Sold DRESDEN, Fuchs-Nordhoff sale, 1891, no. 14. *Holy Family with St. John*.

The attribution to Sarto in the sales catalogue.

A bad derivation from Correggio's *Madonna della Cesta* in the National Gallery, London.

DUBLIN, National Gallery of Ireland no. 103. Predella, *Pietà and Saints*; two further saints at Alnwick Castle, Collection the Earl of Warwick. Panels; the *Pietà* 21 x 47, the saints each approx. 18 x 18. For provenience see Cat. Dublin 1867, 95.

An old attribution to Andrea is still maintained in the Dublin Gallery. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 204 already doubted the attribution. Reassigned to Pontormo by Sinibaldi 1925*a*, 153–158. Fraenckel 1935, 239 rejected the predella to Andrea and to Pontormo both. She observed that the St. Apollonia is based on the similar figure in Andrea's altar formerly in Berlin, of 1528, and the St. Jerome on the Jerome of the (posthumously executed) design of Sarto for the Pisa altar of the *Madonna delle Grazie*. Freedberg and Rearick 1961, 7–8 establish that this work must have been, originally, designed by Pontormo as the predella for his altar in S. Michele Visdomini, but that it was probably not delivered, and was certainly completed later, and with the aid of an assistant from the Sarto school. The conclusions of this article should be amended in the light of Fraenckel's observations noted above, to assign the Sts. Apollonia and Jerome also to a Sartesque assistant.

DUBROVNIK, Biskupska Pinakoteka. *Madonna and Child with St. John*.

Attributed in the museum to Andrea, but by Puligo.

DÜSSELDORF, A. Fahne Gallery. *Madonna and Child*, the Child holding an apple.

Engraved fig. 19 *Fahne's Gemälde-Gallerie*.

No judgment is possible from the engraving. This may be the same painting sold Paris, anonymous sale, 19 April 1928, q.v. under Untraceable Attributed Paintings.

EMPOLI, Collegiata. *S. Biagio*. From the Pieve at Empoli.

Attributed in the gallery to Andrea, and on Alinari photograph 10464, with a question mark. Giglioli, *Empoli Artistica*, 1906, 101–102 denies the attribution to Andrea. We suggest this may be a Sartesque work by Sogliani. Cf. the *Madonna with Two Standing Saints*, Florence, S. Salvi, also attributed to Andrea, but which we believe by the same hand.

FIESOLE, S. Domenico. *Adoration of the Kings*.

Guinness 1899, 76 believes this painting by Sogliani is "evidently the composition of Andrea del Sarto," one of those left unfinished at his death. The source of the design is, however, in Fra Bartolommeo, not in Andrea.

FIRLE PLACE, Viscount and Viscountess Gage. *Portrait of a Youth with a Letter*. Dated 1523. From the Cowper Collection at Panshanger.

Waagen 1854, III, 11 as Andrea's self-portrait; Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 201 as Andrea's, but not a self-portrait; Guinness 1899, 70 as Crowe and Cavalcaselle. Correctly published by Gamba 1909, 279 as Puligo; so also Alazard 1924, 148–149, and generally since.

——— *Fattore di S. Marco.* From the Cowper Collection at Panshanger.

Waagen 1854, III, 11 as Andrea's, though much damaged; Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 201 also take it as Andrea's, as does Guinness 1899, 70. Correctly published by Gamba 1909, 280 as Puligo; so also Alazard 1924, 147–148, and generally since.

FLORENCE, Academy (ex-Uffizi no. 1445). *Madonna del Pozzo.* Panel, 102 x 79.

Traditionally given to Andrea, as early as Bocchi [1677] 358, though Vasari in [1880] V, 190 had described it as Franciabigio's. Confused in the nineteenth-century literature even with Raphael. There is no dispute in the contemporary literature about the ascription of this painting to Franciabigio. Cf. Freedberg 1961, 81.

——— unnumbered. *Ospedale di S. Matteo.* Fresco, 91 x 155.

Reumont 1835, 118 gives an attribution to Andrea, which is repeated by Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 176n5, by Janitschek 1879, 32, and by Guinness 1899, 85. Corrected by Berenson [1909] 174 to Pontormo; confirmed by Clapp 1916, 115, and accepted for Pontormo by all subsequent critics.

——— Galleria Corsini no. 70. *Apollo and Daphne.* Panel, 130 x 144.

Attributed to Andrea in the gallery. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 194, already dubiously, as "possibly" an early work by Andrea. Guinness 1899, 93: "probably painted when still in the studio of Piero di Cosimo." Sinibaldi 1925*a*, 27n1 assigned the panel to Bacchiacca.

Venturi IX/1 (1925) 471 and Freedberg 1961, 499–500 as a work of Puligo's "small" style. Shearman 1962, 479n22 would prefer an attribution to Franciabigio. Most recently, the correct attribution has been found by Zeri 1962, 234–235: to Antonio di Donnino.

A closely resembling picture, by the same hand, in the W.M.H. Pollen Collection, London; formerly in the Benson Collection. For this variant Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 132n5 accepted Franciabigio as the author.

——— no. 175. *Madonna and St. John with Angels.*

Attributed to Andrea in the gallery.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 194 had observed this was like a Puligo: in fact the correct attribution. Cf. Freedberg 1961, 497.

——— Pitti no. 118. *Portrait of a Man and Wife.* Panel, 62 x 86.

Described in the older catalogues of the gallery as a self-portrait of Andrea with Lucrezia. The attribution has been doubted at least since Reumont 1835, 219, and more often rejected out of hand.

Almost too weak to be credited even to Toschi, but the vocabulary much resembles his in his later moments,[2] about the midcentury.

——— no. 184. *Portrait of Pietro Carnesecchi.* Panel, 103 x 75. Same subject, bust-length, Uffizi no. 1489. Panel, 59 x 39.

In the older literature generally given to Andrea, and doubtfully titled either "Self-Portrait" or "Portrait of a Commesso of Vallombrosa." Cf. Biadi 1829, 161n3, 166; Reumont 1835, 218 and n1; Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 194; Guinness 1899, 80. Knapp 1907, 73–74, 92 decisively refused, for both paintings, the old identification as self-portraits, and considered them copies after a lost original by Andrea of c. 1517–1518. Schaeffer 1909, 411–412 and Gamba 1909, 277–278 both independently made the correct identification of the sitter. Gamba assigned both versions to Puligo, and Schaeffer that in the Uffizi; but Schaeffer, incorrectly, continued to believe that the Pitti version was by Andrea. Gamba's opinion has been universally accepted, and it is certain that Puligo is the author of the Pitti version. The reduced replica in the Uffizi may be only from Puligo's shop.[3]

——— first floor chapel (uncatalogued). *Two Male Saints.*

A traditional attribution to Sarto reappears on Alinari photograph 30633. The pendant pictures to these in the chapel, of a *Virgin Annunciate* and *Angel Gabriel* are assigned to Dolci. It is possible that the whole set should be assigned to Empoli.

——— S. Salvi no. 2149. See under Indianapolis, Thompson Collection.

———no. 8666. *Madonna with Sts. Giovanni Gualberto and Bernardino degli Uberti.* Panel, 133 x 98. From the convent at Vallombrosa. Fig. 168.

Traditional attribution to Andrea, still maintained in the Gallery.

Guinness 1899, 85 denied the attribution to Andrea. Berenson [1932] 540 assigns the picture, correctly, to Sogliani.

The painting depends in part on Andrea's S. Ambrogio altar, and in part on the motive of the *Madonna di Porta Pinti.*

———Uffizi no. 743. *Portrait of the Musician Ajolle?.* Panel, 88.5 x 67.5. To the Guardaroba from Cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici 1675; to the Uffizi 1836.

Carried in the catalogues of the gallery until at least 1920 with the ascription to Andrea.

Gamba 1921, 6 and Alazard 1924, 159 as Pontormo; so now universally accepted. Berti 1956, no. 36. Cf. Freedberg 1961, 530–531.

———no. 1480. *Woman with a Basket of Spindles.* Panel, 74 x 54.

Traditionally given to Andrea; the attribution doubted by Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 194, who suggest a similarity to Bacchiacca. Guinness 1899, 83 would have it a copy. Later (as Alazard 1924, 158) often given to Pontormo. Berenson [1932] 475 to Puligo.

We should like to suggest the possibility that this may be an early portrait by Vasari: cf. the *Portrait of a Young Man* in the Palazzo Bianco, Genoa.

———no. 1489. See Florence, Pitti no. 184.

———Palazzo Vecchio. *Madonna and Child.*

Attributed to Andrea on Brogi photograph 22164.

An adaptation of a composition by Fra Bartolommeo, but of the seventeenth century.

———S. M. degli Angeli. *Presentation of the Virgin with Saints.*

Richa II (1755) 286 gives variant attributions current in his time, to Andrea, Puligo, and Pontormo.

A documented work by Puligo. Cf. Lorenzoni, *Rivista d'Arte* 4:14 (1907) and Cat. *Mostra del Cinquecento Toscano*, 2 ed. (1940) 35.

———S. M. del Carmine. *Legend of S. Andrea Corsini.*

Exhibited *Mostra del Tesoro di Firenze Sacra*, 1933, as a painting by Andrea.

By a minor and *retardataire* painter, c. 1500.

———S. M. Nuova. *Pope Martin V Confirms the Privileges of the Hospital.* Fresco.

A work of 1474 by Gherardo del Fiore, of which the restoration was attributed by Berenson [1932] 18 to the young Andrea, as well as the addition of three figures to the right. See Paatz [1952] IV, 13, 42n36 for the documentary sources that assign the major restoration to F. Brina in the mid-sixteenth century.

———House of Andrea del Sarto. Fresco decorations.

Scott 1881, 90, 101, like some other nineteenth-century writers, considers the surviving fresco decorations in Andrea's house by Andrea and his pupils. The earliest of them, however, date from the time of Federico Zuccari's occupancy.

———Contini-Bonacossi Collection. *Portrait of a Girl.* Panel, 63 x 49. From the Pourtales Collection, Paris, from which it was sold in 1865. Galichon 1865, 9–10 as a portrait of Lucrezia by Andrea.

By Andrea del Brescianino. The picture would seem a derivation from Andrea's early portrait of Lucrezia in the Prado.

Formerly FLORENCE, Rudolf Ergas. *Portrait of a Man in a Black Beret.* Panel, 60 x 50. An alleged provenience from the Piccolomini family. Sold, but apparently bought in, Milan, Galleria Dedalo, 20–23 March 1934, no. 30; resold Lucerne, Galerie Fischer, 21–25 November 1950, no. 2089.

Gronau 1931, 433 and Tinti 1931, 430–434 as a painting by Andrea of c. 1525. Shearman 1960*a*, 63n29 would assign it to Puligo.

A damaged and remade painting, which should in any case not be connected with Andrea. Its origin could have been rather in Ridolfo Ghirlandaio's studio, and in the fourth decade.

———Art Market (1928). *Holy Family.*

A seventeenth-century painting.

FLORENCE (environs), S. Martino a Majano. *Madonna and Child with Sts. John Baptist, Martin, and Benedict.*

Moreni 1795, VI, 98 reports the then current opinion that this altar is by Andrea, despite the date, 1584, that is inscribed on the frame.

By Battista Naldini.

HAMPTON COURT[4] no. 46. *Portrait of a Man holding a Puzzle.* Panel, 56.5 x 43.8.

Attributed to Sarto in the ms. inventory of Charles II Collection, Whitehall (no. 325). Cat. 1929 (Collins Baker) demoted the picture to Andrea's school. Arslan, *Bollettino della Società Letteraria di Verona 11* (1932) 5 gave it to Torbido. Berenson [1936] 265, by the young Lotto; so exhibited London, Royal Academy, *The King's Pictures,* 1946, no. 225.

——— no. 139. *Madonna and Child.* Panel, 57.2 x 43.2. Fig. 170.

The picture bears a traditional attribution to Andrea. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 203 regarded it as a copy after a possible Puligo, of which, according to them, the original was in their time in the Baring Collection.

The Ashmolean Museum possesses a preparatory study (no. 681) for the Child in the Hampton Court painting; this study has been attributed in Cat. Ashmolean 1956 to Salviati, but without making the connection with the picture. It appears that an attribution of the painting also to the young Salviati, in a time before his first trip to Rome, may be justified. Its types resemble those in the (otherwise) earliest (but already Roman) painting of his that survives, the *Annunciation* of S. Francesco a Ripa. However, it should be observed that the compositional idea of the Hampton Court picture is the basis for two later pictures that we believe are close to, or by Jacopino del Conte: a full-length *Madonna and Child with the Infant St. John* (New York, Art Market; formerly Berlin, Cassirer, exhibited Amsterdam 1934, Stedelijk Museum, *Italiaansche Kunst in Nederlandsche Bezit,* panel, 41 x 31; attributed in the exhibition to Pontormo), and a yet more developed painting (elaborated in theme, also, by the addition of a St. Elizabeth) in the Contini-Bonacossi collection, Florence (there also called Pontormo, photograph Alinari 48683). The head of the Madonna in the Hampton Court work, and the posture of the Child, are repeated also in the *Madonna degli Innocenti* (Florence, Innocenti), which may be an early production by Jacopino (verbal communication, I. H. Cheney).

Salviati's apparent authorship of Hampton Court 139 must therefore be taken with reserve. Salviati and young Jacopino were of course in contact during their student years in Florence, and both had contact in turn with Andrea's school. An exchange of motive between Francesco and Jacopino is quite possible; so also is a common derivation of this motive from Andrea. Yet I should exclude the latter: though the Hampton Court design is related to that of the central figures of the lost Berlin altar (and the ex-Benson tondo), neither its precise articulation as a design nor its temper accord with Andrea's latest vein. And the fact that the motive is later reused, on at least three occasions, probably by Jacopino would imply the idea in the beginning had been his.

The version of this painting Crowe and Cavalcaselle thought original, ex-Baring (Northbrook) Collection, sold London, Christie's, 11 June 1927, no. 18 (on slate, 63.5 x 47), is instead a copy. Further copies are at Alnwick Castle (there attributed to Pontormo), Stockholm, E. Johnson-Stampe (53 x 40; cf. Sirén 1933, 109), and Jacksonville (Florida) Art Museum (transferred to glass support, 63 x 45).

——— no. 1168 (ex-Windsor Castle no. 120). *Portrait of a Gardener of the Medici.* Panel, 65 x 48.9.

Attributed to Andrea in the Vanderdoort inventory of Charles I's Collection, c. 1639. Waagen 1854, II, 478; Redford 1888, I, 12. Signed with Franciabigio's monogram, and universally recognized to be his work. The picture is perhaps to be identified with one mentioned by Vasari [1880] V, 197–198; cf. Milanesi, *ibid.,* n1.[5]

HENFIELD, Lady Salmond. Three scenes from the *History of Joseph.* Panels, 35 x 42, 58 x 50, 58 x 50.

From the Cowper Collection at Panshanger. Waagen 1854, III, 11-12 accepts the attribution in the collection to Andrea. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 202 consider the first panel of the series, of predella shape, as Andrea's, but refer the two others to Pontormo; Crowe and Cavalcaselle's opinion is repeated by Guinness 1899, 70.

All three panels are assigned by Clapp 1916, 162–166 to Pontormo, and so appear throughout the modern literature.

Formerly INDIANAPOLIS, Thompson Collection. *Portrait of a Girl.* Canvas (transferred from panel), 85 x 63. From the Marchese Gerini, Florence, from whose collection it was engraved in 1759.

G. M. Richter 1938, 191–192 as an early portrait by Andrea, c. 1511–1514, pointing out that the painting in Florence, S. Salvi (no. 2149) is a copy after this.

By Puligo; to be compared especially with the *Portrait of Barbara* at Panshanger.

KREUZLINGEN (Switzerland), Art Market. *Portrait of a Lady as the Magdalen.* Panel, 76 x 58.5 cm.

Improperly identified by the vendor as a painting reported by Waagen 1854, III, 300 in the Duke of Hamilton Collection, but that painting is now in the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, q.v. The present picture is, however, related to that in Ottawa, and like it is close to Puligo, or perhaps by him. The sitter is not Lucrezia.

LENINGRAD, Hermitage no. 25?,[6] Cat. 1899. *St. Barbara.* Canvas (transferred from panel), 92 x 69.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 179 suggested Bacchiacca as the author, rather than the gallery attribution to Andrea. Guinness 1899, 97 thought the painting more akin to Pontormo. It is, however, a standard production by Puligo or his shop.

LISBON, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga no. 330 (Cat. 1951). Panel, 60 x 42.5. False monogram of Sarto.

Venturi 1925, 625 as Andrea; so also Berenson [1932] 18, [1936] 16 (as no. 274).

An obvious imitation, of uncertain date, from Andrea's *Portrait of a Sculptor?* in the National Gallery, London.

LIVERPOOL, Walker Art Gallery no. 2868. *Madonna and Child with St. John.* Panel, tondo, diam. 62.5.

From the Rev. Sanford Collection, no. 43 (Cat. 1838), where it was attributed to Andrea.

Presently attributed in the gallery to the Florentine school c. 1505, but more likely three decades later, by an unidentified personality dependent more from Puligo than Andrea.

Formerly LLANDUDNO, F. Holland. *Portrait of a Naturalist.* From the Rev. Sanford Collection, no. 96 (Cat. 1839), where it was attributed to Andrea.

In the Holland Collection attributed uncertainly to Bronzino. Cf. Nicolson 1955, 214.

Of Bronzino's school, c. 1550.

Sold LONDON, Art Market (1936). *Portrait of a Woman as the Magdalen.* Panel, 77.5 x 62.2. From the Marquess of Ripon and the McLaughlin Collections; sold London, Christie's, 18 February 1927, no. 41. Exhibited at York in 1879.

A work of c. 1530, deriving from models by Puligo. Compare Ottawa, National Gallery no. 567.

Formerly LONDON, Lord Northbrook. *John the Baptist.* Panel, 71 x 55.8. From Sir Thomas Baring. Sold London, Christie's, 12 December 1919, no. 136, to Colnaghi.

Waagen 1854, II, 175 as Andrea's study for a larger picture.

By a painter of the midcentury, suggesting the mature manner of Michele di Ridolfo.

——— *Madonna and Child.* See under the same subject, Hampton Court no. 282.

——— *Portrait of a Young Man.* Panel. Sold from the Northbrook Collection; resold London, Sotheby's, Ainslee sale, 16 July 1930.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 201 suggest Puligo or Pontormo.

Perhaps by Franciabigio?

LONDON, W. M. H. Pollen. *Apollo and Daphne.* See under the same subject, Florence. Galleria Corsini.

Sold LONDON, Christie's, Rev. Sanford Collection, 9 March 1839. The following attributions to Sarto of pictures in the Sanford Collection that are not accounted for under other headings in our Catalogue Raisonné appear in the above sale. The numbers are those of the sale catalogue.

No. 37. *Confession? of St. Francis.*

No. 38. *Miracle of St. Francis.*

A copy of no. 37 is at Corsham Court, from which it would appear that this picture was in Ridolfo Ghirlandaio's manner.

No. 53. *Portrait* said to be of Lucrezia.

No. 54. *Decapitation of St. John.*

Copies of both no. 53 and no. 54 at Corsham Court, both of which appear to reflect originals by Bacchiacca.

No. 87. *Portrait of a Dominican.* From the copy at Corsham Court this would seem to have been a late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century painting.

Formerly LONDON (and elsewhere), Duke of Sutherland. *Madonna and Child with St. John.* 142 x 122. Sold London, Christie's, February 1908, no. 89, to Partridge.

Waagen 1854, II, 63 is unwilling to attribute this "decisively" to Andrea. *Connoisseur 20* (1908) 288.

Formerly? LONDON, D. C. Thomson. *Ascension of the Virgin.* 26.2 x 21.6. Falsely inscribed "Andrea del Sarto faciebat, 1522.23 [sic]."

A bad pastiche of the late Raphael by a Flemish painter of the late sixteenth century.

Formerly LONDON, Grosvenor House, Duke of Westminster; sold London, Christie's, 4 July 1924.

No. 46. *Portrait of Countess Mattei.* Panel, 59.7 x 43.2. From the Agar Ellis Collection. Resold London, Christie's, 28–29 July 1927, no. 115.

Reumont 1835, xxi, had already denied the attribution to Andrea. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 200 had observed that the picture belonged to Allori's time, or even to Dolci's. Surely of the late years of the sixteenth century in Florence.

No. 47. *The Infant Baptist*; *the Infant St. John* (two pictures). Panels, each 26 x 20.3.

Reumont 1835, xxi, and Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 200 denied the attribution to Andrea.

Sold LONDON, Christie's, St. Maur sale, 10 July 1925, no. 66. *Portrait of a Man holding a Skull.* 65 x 51.4. Damaged.

Attributed to Andrea in the sales catalogue.

A very inferior picture, by an anonymous Tuscan painter of the third decade.

——— Scarsdale of Kedleston sale, 18 July 1930, no. 114. *The Salutation.* On copper, octagon, 24 x 18.

The attribution to Andrea in the sales catalogue.

An inferior seventeenth-century picture.

——— Sir John Ramsden sale, 27–30 May 1932.

No. 116. *John the Baptist,* Panel, 49.5 x 47. Purchased by Crisp. Fig. 175.

The attribution to Andrea in the sales catalogue.

By a painter of a later generation than Andrea's. Perhaps an early picture of Naldini's?

No. 117. *The Resurrection.* Panel, 26.6 x 36.8. Bought by Briscoe.

From the collection of James Dennistoun, 1855, with an earlier provenience from Siena.

By a Florentine c. 1530–1540, deriving from Andrea's school.

——— Loyd sale, 30 April 1937. *Portrait of a Man,* called Jacopo Sannazaro, holding a skull. Panel, 70 x 50.8. From the W. Davenport Bromley Collection.

Related to the school of Ridolfo Ghirlandaio, but by an inferior hand.

——— 28 January 1949, no. 114. *Portrait of a Lady.* 58.4 x 43.2. From the W. Davenport Bromley and Lady Jekyll Collections. Bought by Wengraf.

The attribution to Andrea in the sales catalogue.

An anonymous Florentine c. 1520.

——— 14 November 1952, no. 164. *Madonna and Child with St. John.* 99 x 73.7. Bought by Toncher.

The attribution to Andrea in the sales catalogue.

A good copy of the painting attributed to Rosso in the Staedel-Institut, Frankfort.

Sold LUCERNE, Galerie Fischer, 17–21 June 1958, no. 2531. *Madonna and Child with St. John,* full-length. Panel, 137 x 110.5.

A fine painting that suggests Puligo's late style.

MADRID, Prado no. 579. *Infant Baptist.* Panel, 23 x 16.

Attributed to Andrea in the gallery; accepted for him by Berenson [1932] 19; [1936] 16. Occasionally attributed to Cesare da Sesto.

The painting at once too slack and too sfumato for Andrea, and its specific vocabulary of detail is far from his. Rather of the Emilian school, probably of the fourth decade.

Formerly MILAN, Marchese Malaspini. *Visitation.* 100 x 77.5.

Exhibited London, Saloon of Fine Arts, 1818, and engraved by Vendramini as a work of Sarto.

A late sixteenth-century painting, probably of the Bolognese school.

Sold MILAN, Colbacchini sale, 14–15 April 1888, no. 74. *Supper at Emmaus.* Canvas, 73 x 97.

A seventeenth-century painting.

——— Cenolini Bosai sale, 1898. The *Madonna and Child with Sts. Anne and John the Baptist.*

The attribution to Andrea in the sales catalogue.

Of the school of Bronzino.

——— Rezzonico sale, 1898, no. 19. *Holy Family with St. John.* 95 x 74.

The attribution to Andrea in the sales catalogue.

Imitating Raphael's style.

MODENA, Galleria Estense.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 196 note that eight panels were wrongly attributed to Andrea in this Gallery. Only the two following are listed in the recent catalogues:

No. 196. *St. Joseph of Galizia.* Panel, 50 x 41.5.

Attributed in an early eighteenth-century inventory to Andrea.

By Sebastiano Filippi (Cat. Modena, 1945).

No. 509. *Madonna and Child.* Panel, 93 x 71.5.

Attributed to Andrea in the nineteenth century.

By Puligo (Cat. Modena, 1945).

MONTPELLIER, Musée Fabre no. 123 (Cat. 1926). *Madonna and Child with St. John.* Panel, 54 x 42. From the Bruyas Collection.

Attributed to Andrea in the older catalogues of the gallery, but now doubtfully assigned to Sogliani. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 199 by a tame imitator. Berenson [1932] 475 by Puligo.

——— no. 119 (Cat. 1926). *Sacrifice of Abraham.* Panel, 17 x 14.

Attributed to Andrea in the gallery. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 199: not in Andrea's manner.

A copy of the small painting by Alessandro Allori in the Pitti.

MUNCIE (Indiana), Ball State Teachers College. *Portrait of an Architect.* Panel, 72 x 50. An old inscription on the rear of the panel: "di mano di Andrea dal Sarto comprato dall'eredità del Ser^mo^ Cardinale Giovan Carlo de' Medici 1662." Also an older inscription, with the date 1634. From the collection of a Florentine family; more recently in the Thompson Collection, Indianapolis. Fig. 172.

Gronau 1938, 22–27 published this picture from the Thompson Collection as a work by Andrea. Gronau noted the similarity of the profile of the subject to that in Andrea's authentic drawing, Uffizi 669E (used for the St. Peter Martyr of the *Disputà*, Pitti). Marcucci 1954, 16 thinks the drawing may have served first for this portrait and then for the St. Peter. Richter 1938, 191 repeats the attribution to Andrea.

The resemblance between the profile of the sitter in this portrait and Uffizi 669E indeed exists, but this is no necessary index of the authorship of the painting. The smoothed modelling, with strongly accentuated bosses of high light, is not in Andrea's manner, nor is the sharp-pointed, slow-moving indication of the contours. It may be that this is a work from an early moment of the career of one of Andrea's pupils or imitators, but it is also possible that it is a production of Alessandro Allori's generation, in a deliberately retrospective mood.

Formerly MUNICH, Leuchtenberg Collection, no. 64 (Cat. 1845). *Portrait of a Bearded Man.* 46 x 38 (circa), oval.

Attributed in the collection to Andrea.

A North Italian, or perhaps even a North European painting, of the fourth decade.

Sold MUNICH, Helbing, 14 October 1907, no. 145. *Allegory of Geometry?.* Panel, 68 x 48.

Attributed to Andrea in the sales catalogue.

Related rather to the style of Andrea del Brescianino.

NANCY, Musée des Beaux-Arts no. 2 (Cat. 1897). *Tobias and the Angel.* Panel, arched top, 116 x 77. From the Cabinet du Roi; state gift 1813. In Lepicié's Catalogue 1766, I, 34.

Noted by d'Argenville [1762] I, 145 in the Royal Collection, as Andrea's. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 199 suggest Sogliani's name; this is in fact a good Sogliani, c. 1530. The picture is inspired by Andrea's *Tobias* altar, but is not a copy.

NANTES, Musée des Beaux-Arts no. 381. *Holy Family with St. John.* 103 x 79.

Formerly attributed to Andrea in the Gallery.

By Puligo, c. 1525. Berenson [1932] 475 as Puligo.

NAPLES, Galleria Nazionale no. 91. *Portrait of a Prelate.* Panel, 50 x 39.

Attributed in the inventory of the Palazzo del Giardino, Parma, c. 1680, to Andrea (Campori 1870, 302). Alazard 1924, 149n1 as having the character of Puligo; but wrongly. Given by De Rinaldis (Cat. Naples 1928) to the North Italian school. Berenson thought the picture by Lorenzo Lotto: see Berenson, *Lotto* [1956] 35.

——— no. 142. *Man in black.* Panel, 75 x 63.

Attributed to Sarto in the inventory of the Palazzo del Giardino, Parma, of c. 1680. (Campori 1870, 234). Ascribed since the midnineteenth century to Salviati, correctly (e.g., Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *Raphael,* 1882, II, 326n), and so labelled in the museum.

NEUFCHÂTEL, Collection Ritter. *Portrait* called of Lucrezia del Fede.

S. Reinach, *Repertoire de Peintures* (Paris, 1910) III, 539 illustrates this work in a bad engraving. The picture would appear to be of the later sixteenth century.

NEW HAVEN, Yale University Gallery no. 92. *Madonna and Child.* Fresco, transferred to canvas, 70.5 x 52. Ruined. From the Jarves Collection.

Attributed to Andrea in the Gallery and in Cat. 1916 (Sirén). Berenson 1909, 211 had assigned the picture to Pacchia.

NEW YORK, Art Market. *Portrait of an Artist* seated at a table. Canvas, 183 x 140.

Every index, including that of costume, points to a date toward 1580 in the school of Florence.

Sold NEW YORK, American Art Association, C. Lambert sale, 21–24 February 1916, no. 321. *Madonna and Child with Elizabeth, St. John, and an Angel.* Panel, 125.7 x 98. From the Blakeslee Collection.

Attributed to Andrea in the sales catalogue.

Suggestive of Naldini's style.

——— Marchioness Curzon of Kedleston sale, 22 April 1932, no. 74. *Holy Family with Sts. Anne and John the Baptist.* From H. A. Munro of Novar, 1878.

Attributed to Andrea in the sales catalogue.

A bad pastiche, based mainly on Raphael's *Holy Family of Francis I.*

——— Parke-Bernet, Rovensky sale, 16 January 1957. *Portrait of a Man* holding a *Petrarchino.* Canvas, 67.5 x 51. From the Costantini and Hayward Collections. Fig. 169.

Perkins 1915, 22 by Andrea; so also Berenson 1932, 19; [1936] 16.

A Florentine painting of the later sixteenth century, close to Santi di Tito and perhaps by him.

ORLEANS, Musée des Beaux-Arts. *Portrait of a Woman.*

Attributed to Andrea in the gallery.

From Bronzino's school.

OTTAWA, National Gallery of Canada no. 567 (Cat. 1957). *The Magdalen.* Canvas (transferred from panel), 91.5 x 68.5. From the Duke of Hamilton, Hamilton Palace.

Waagen 1854, III, 300 as Sarto; Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 202 would prefer to assign it to Bacchiacca.

Sold London, Christie's, 1 July 1882; resold Christie's, Charles Butler sale, 25–26 May 1911, no. 79, to Sully.

Now catalogued in the gallery as Puligo's; it is at least of his school. Compare the version in Leningrad.

——— no. 4352 (Cat. 1957). *Madonna and Child.* Panel, 85 x 62.2. From Lord Wenlock and Peyton-Jones Collections, where it was attributed to Andrea. In the Ottawa Gallery as a school piece. Fig. 171.

A work by an independent imitator, probably by one of Andrea's pupils of the Salviati generation, but based fairly consistently in its motive and its manner of handling on Andrea's works of 1516–1517. One would suspect this work to be a copy of a lost original were it not that the drapery style seems not to be reconcilable with any of Andrea himself. The painting apparently acquired the status of a work by Andrea, for it was copied, or *pastiché*, as such, in an inferior picture in the Balbi Gallery, Genoa, and in a painting in the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool (panel, 68 x 48.5), there ascribed to an imitator of Sarto of the mid-sixteenth century.

OXFORD, Ashmolean Museum no. 391 (cat. n.d. [1951?]). *Holy Family with St. John.* Panel, 103 x 84. From the Northwick, Sir T. Phillips, Phillips Fenwick, and A. G. Fenwick Collections. Sold London, Christie's, 21 July 1950, no. 119, as Sarto.

Now assigned in the Gallery to Manzuoli.

PANSHANGER, Lady Desborough (ex-Cowper). *Portrait of Barbara Fiorentina?.*

Formerly attributed in the collection to Sarto. Waagen 1854, III, 11 as a late and authentic work by Andrea; so also Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 201 and Guinness 1899, 70. Gamba 1909, 279–280 established the correct attribution, to Puligo, and tentatively identified the subject as Barbara Fiorentina, a courtesan of musical accomplishments, whose portrait by Puligo is recorded by Vasari. Alazard 1924, 146–147 accepts the attribution to Puligo.

——— *Bust Portrait of a Youth*, oval.

Waagen 1854, III, 12 doubted the attribution to Andrea. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 202 reassigned the painting to Puligo, and are followed in this attribution by Gamba 1909, 280.

PARIS, Louvre no. 1516A. *Portrait of Andrea Fausti.* Canvas, 108 x 88. From Baron Nathaniel de Rothschild. Fig. 173.

The attribution to Sarto carried in Cat. Louvre, 1913.

The portrait is of later date than Sarto, of the fourth decade. The style suggests the possibility that it may be by the early Jacopino del Conte.

Formerly? PARIS, Louvre. *Pietà.*

Attributed to Andrea in the *Galerie du Musée Napoleon*, 1810, no. 475. Not now traceable.

Engraved by Girodet as a work by Andrea's assistant Sguazella. From the engraving, the painting would seem to have enough of Florentine character to justify its attribution to the school, but not to Andrea.

Formerly PARIS, Brunner Gallery (1921). *Portrait of a Lady.* Panel, 95.5 x 68.

Attributed to Sarto in the Gallery.

By Bacchiacca.

——— Demotte Collection. *Portrait of a Man.*

Attributed to Sarto in the collection.

Related to the earlier style of Michele di Ridolfo.

——— Galerie Giustiniani.

The following are engraved by C. P. Landon in *Galerie Giustiniani*, Paris, 1812:

Pl. 41. *Holy Family.* Panel, 114 x 86.5. By a late sixteenth-century painter.

Pl. 61. *The Infant Christ Seated on Clouds.* Panel, 58.5 x 43.

Pl. 65. *Madonna and Child.* Panel, 114 x 86.

The engravings give no evidence that the style of the originals of the two above paintings resembled that of Sarto.

Pl. 66. *Madonna and Child with St. John.* Panel, 76 x 66. The engraving indicates a motive, and may suggest the style, of the early Bacchiacca.

Pl. 70. *Christ Crowned with Thorns.* Canvas, 40.5 x 33. (See comment for pl. 65.)

——— Magnin Collection. *The Pazzi Conspiracy.*

From the Gaddi Collection, Florence, to the Rev. Sanford Collection. Sold from the Methuen Collection, London, Christie's, 14 May 1920, no. 32.

Anciently ascribed to Sarto, this is a tardy version of a painting in the National Gallery, London (no. 3941), variously ascribed to Pontormo or to Rosso (but probably by a later painter than either). Cf. Nicolson 1955, 213.

——— Galerie d'Orleans. *Lucretia.* Canvas (transferred from panel), 134.5 x 99 (dimensions also given as 145 x 104). Supposed to have been earlier in the collection of Christina of Sweden. From the Collection Doret to the Galerie d'Orleans, where it is catalogued from 1737. D'Argenville [1762] I, 145; Biadi 1829, 148. Sold with the Orleans pictures in London, 1800, no. 157, to Mitchell. Sold 1847 from the Solly Collection, and 1850 from an unnamed collection to Barnett. Not traceable since. Cf. Redford 1888, I, 73 and II, 251.

Engraved in the *Galerie du Palais Royal* as a work of Sarto; from the engraving it would appear to be a painting of the Bolognese school of the latest sixteenth or earliest seventeenth century.

PARIS, Schiff Collection. *Madonna and Child with St. John.*

Attributed doubtfully to Andrea in the collection.

A pastiche based on Raphael's *Madonna Esterhazy.*

——— R. H. Ward (1938). *St. Jerome.*

Attributed in the collection to Andrea.

A derivation by Bacchiacca of a painting by Ridolfo Ghirlandaio in Sta. Trinita, Florence.

Sold PARIS, Hôtel Drouot, 25–28 March 1901, no. 288. *Holy Family.*

Attributed to Andrea in the sales catalogue.

A copy after Raphael's *Holy Family of Francis I.*

PHILADELPHIA, Museum, Johnson Collection, no. 81 (Cat. 1941). *Portrait of a Youth.* Panel, 65.4 x 46.3.

Attributed to Andrea by Berenson in Cat. Johnson Collection, 1913–1914, I, 44, and in subsequent editions of the *Lists.*

Almost certainly a work of Toschi. Compare the *Youth with a Garland,* formerly Agnew, London.

Formerly PHILADELPHIA, Widener Collection. *Portrait of a Man.* Canvas, 52 x 41. From the Brunner Gallery, Paris, in 1920 as a work by Sarto.

A restored work of North Italian origin.

POITIERS, Musée des Beaux-Arts no. 117 (Cat. 1884). *Annunciation.* Panel, 48 x 62. From the Campana Collection.

By a painter of the midcentury, working in a manner like that of the later Michele di Ridolfo.

PROVIDENCE, Museum of the Rhode Island School of Design no. 16.464x. *Virgin Annunciate* (fragment). Panel, 145 x 86.4.

Formerly attributed to Sarto in the Gallery; now, on the suggestion of Philip Pouncey, assigned to Alessandro Allori.

ROME, Galleria Borghese no. 66 (Cat. 1959). *Magdalen.* Panel, 59 x 41.

Attributed to Sarto in an inventory of 1833. Morelli [1897] 123 properly reassigned the picture to Puligo; the attribution since universally accepted.

——— Galleria Doria no. 72 (Cat. 1942). *Holy Family with the Infant St. John.* Panel, 97 x 91.

Attributed in the older Doria catalogues to Andrea, but Cat. 1942 gives it to Andrea's shop. Berenson 1932, 19 assigns it to the school. Guinness 1899, 96 would have the composition of Andrea's design.

See our remark under the attributed *Madonna and Child,* Allentown, Pennsylvania.

——— no. 114 (Cat. 1942). *Portrait of Machiavelli.* Panel, 63 x 48.

Attributed in the older Doria catalogues to Sarto, but Cat. 1942 gives it only to the Florentine school of the sixteenth century.

——— no. 485 (Cat. 1942). *Holy Family with St. John.* Canvas, 90 x 83.

The attribution to Sarto withdrawn in Cat. 1942.

——— Galleria Nazionale no. 580. *Madonna and Child.* Panel, 86 x 66. Inscribed on the fore-edge of the book held by the Madonna "A.S.M. DIX." [7] Fig. 174.

Heavily damaged in the face of the Madonna, in the left part especially of the face of the Child, in his left leg, and in the Madonna's left hand; the sky also damaged. Generally rubbed, and there are pervasive minor losses. There are records of a restoration in 1906, and of a second, in 1953, by Vermehren.

Probably, with National Gallery no. 570, one of the two *Madonna* paintings cited by eighteenth-century guides (cf. Titi [1763] 37) in the Corsini Collection, and attributed to Sarto. The antecedent history of no. 580 cannot be definitely established, but there is a high degree of likelihood that this is the same picture to which a series of references is made in the surviving archives of the Salviati family, in documents dating from 1583 into the early eighteenth century, always as a work of Andrea del Sarto.[8]

According to Cat. Galleria Nazionale 1953, 16 this painting was listed in the Fidecommesso Corsini as Andrea's. The attribution to Sarto was first contested by Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914]

VI, 195, who were "reminded" by it of Bugiardini. This suggestion was taken up by Cat. Corsini 1910, 6 where it was assigned to Bugiardini; and the picture appears with this attribution also in Berenson [1932] 119 and in Cat. Corsini 1932. Earlier, Berenson 1896, 111 and Venturi 1925, 430 had given the painting to Franciabigio. Venturi's attribution was followed by Fraenckel 1935, 209 and Freedberg 1961, 222, the latter expressing some disquiet about the place in Franciabigio's chronology required by the inscribed date. Longhi 1927, 86 insisted that the old attribution to Sarto was correct, and his view has been accepted in Cat. Galleria Nazionale 1953.

A repetition of this painting, made from the same cartoon, reversed, and explicitly from Franciabigio's hand, is in the Kress Collection, no. 1110 (on loan to the Birmingham, Alabama, Museum of Art).

The present picture comes from the time Andrea and Franciabigio held common shop, and its attribution offers ample matter for confusion between the two painters. Judgment is not made easier by the condition of the painting, disfigured in parts of which the evidence would be most important for a precise discrimination. Claims may be advanced for the authorship of either Andrea or Franciabigio, but it would appear to us that the grounds that may be advanced for Franciabigio's claim are more compelling, and we assign this work to him. We should observe, to begin with, that the letters of the inscription "A. S." followed by the date (sometimes taken for Andrea del Sarto's initials) are never used by Andrea; instead, this form of inscription, indicating "Anno Salvationis" reappears on Franciabigio's paintings: cf. the portrait in Detroit and the Dresden *David and Bathsheba.*

The arguments in favor of Franciabigio's responsibility for this painting include one important external element of evidence: that the cartoon seems to have remained in his possession. The Kress picture which exactly uses the cartoon in reverse is, as we have observed, unmistakably by Franciabigio, and in a style that we think a few years later than 1509.

In the first version, the Corsini painting, the rather extraordinary type of Christ Child recurs later in Franciabigio's work: cf., in the next year, 1510, the Child of the *Adoration of the Shepherds* (Museo di S. Marco), and in 1516, the Child of the *St. Job* altar. This type of infant influences Andrea near his time of partnership with Franciabigio (as in the children of the Benizzi *Relics*) but there is no sign of this peculiar physiognomy or anatomy in Andrea after 1510.

The Madonna much resembles two at least among Andrea's female types in the Benizzi frescoes, the woman kneeling to the right front of the altar in the *Relics*, and (less strongly) the girls at left in the *Obsessed*, but this again is a passing matter for Andrea, while it is recurrent in Franciabigio: cf. the head of the Virgin's attendant in the *Marriage of the Virgin* (1513), the Madonna in the *Annunciation* of Turin (where the drapery is also similar; c. 1515?), and the Madonna of the *St. Job* altar. The landscape forms are in a vocabulary common to both Andrea and Franciabigio, but the trees at right are most exactly comparable, in their thick lacelike patterning, to Franciabigio's rather than to Andrea's; cf. Franciabigio's works in his earlier style especially, the *Madonna* Uffizi 2178, the *Holy Family* Academy ex-Uffizi 888, and the *Madonna del Pozzo.* Certain details of drawing (as, e.g., the right foot of the Christ Child) invite exact comparison in the latter painting (with the right foot of St. John). In the patterning of the Madonna's hair (close to the head, but with a frizz of loose ends) cf. also the *Madonna del Pozzo.* In general, the character of handling (though this may be falsified by the condition) seems to be harsher than anything we can surely document for Andrea.

The observations above explain, I believe in Francesco's favor, almost all the possible points of confusion with Andrea's style.

I am not disposed, for a painting of this small scale, to assume the likelihood of a collaboration.

Sold ROME, "Antica Casa Romana," 3-14 February 1930, no. 186. *Madonna and Child with Sts. Sebastian and Roch.* 68 x 50.

The attribution in the sales catalogue.

By Antonio di Donnino?

Formerly? ROSSIE PRIORY, Inchture (Perth.), Lord Kinnaird. *Portrait of a Man*, Panel.

Waagen 1857, 447 had described this as one of Andrea's finest portraits.

The Kinnaird Collection sold London, Christie's, 21 June 1946, and this portrait may be the painting then catalogued under no. 58: Sebastiano del Piombo, *Cesare Borgia*, 37½ x 29 inches.

ROVIGO, Galleria Communale, no. 30. *Madonna and Child with St. John.*

Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 196: an imitation of Andrea by a later painter.

SANTA BARBARA (California), Marymount School. *Holy Family with Elizabeth, John the Baptist and Two Puttini.*

Traditional attribution.

By a sixteenth-century Flemish artist; there is no connection with Sarto.

Sold ST. MORITZ, Gagliardi, 3–6 February 1913, no. 1. *Madonna and Child with a young male Saint.* Canvas, 85 x 64.

The attribution to Andrea in the sales catalogue.

By a seventeenth-century Florentine.

SCHLEISSHEIM, Gallery no. 560 (Cat. 1905). *Madonna and Child with a Sleeping St. John.* Canvas, 100.5 x 74.5. From the Palatine Gallery in Düsseldorf, where it was attributed to Sarto. Cf. d'Argenville [1762] I, 145.

Presently assigned to Puligo, but incorrectly. A partial copy of a painting in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, which is by a Florentine of Michelangelesque accent, c. 1550 (much suggesting Macchietti's style).

Sold STOCKHOLM, Berkowski sale, 3–4 March 1926, no. 422. *Cleopatra.* Tapestry, 98 x 74.

The design attributed to Sarto in the sales catalogue.

From a composition by Carlo Maratta, of which versions are in the Palazzo Venezia, Rome, and in the Rhode Island School of Design.[9]

STUTTGART, Museum no. 450. *Portrait* called of Galeazzo Campi.

Formerly attributed in the Gallery to Sarto.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 197 observed that this portrait was not by a Florentine. Borenius (*ibid.* n3) notes that it is in fact a copy after a portrait by Giulio Campi in the Pitti, no. 224.

Sold STUTTGART, Fleischauer, d'Abel sale, 14–20 April 1920, no. 45. *Entombment.* Panel, 40 x 31.

By a seventeenth-century painter.

VERONA, Pinacoteca Communale. *Madonna and Child with Elizabeth and St. John.* Panel, 94 x 69. From the Bernasconi and Lotz Collections.

Attributed to Sarto in the gallery.

By an unidentifiable eclectic of the Florentine school of the midcentury, but of archaic accent.

Formerly VIENNA, Harrach Gallery no. 178. *Holy Family with St. John.* Panel.

Attributed to Sarto in the gallery.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 197: "of the decline of the Florentine school."

VIENNA, Kunsthistorisches Museum no. 48 (Cat. 1907).[10] *Portrait of a Woman,* inscribed "An. Aet. LXXII." Panel, 109 x 82.

Attributed in Cat. Engert, 1881, to Sarto. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 196 had suggested this was a late Pontormo, but neither Voss in *Zeitschrift für Bildenden Künste* (1912) 44n nor Clapp 1916, 236 accepts the attribution to Pontormo.

In any case, a picture of the midcentury.

——— inv. no. 206.[11] "*Holy Family.* Panel, 108 x 87. From the collection of Charles I of England. In the inventory of Leopold Wilhelm 1659, no. 359, as Sarto.

Reassigned by Morelli to Bugiardini; in Cat. 1882 as Franciabigio or Bugiardini. Now properly attributed to Franciabigio. Cf. Berenson [1932] 211; Freedberg 1961, 80.

——— inv. no. 208.[12] *Madonna and Child with St. John.* Panel, 114 x 88. Purchased 1780.

Cat. 1907 as a school piece. Now generally given to Franciabigio, in a moment of Sartesque imitation. Cf. Venturi 1925, 441; Berenson 1932, 211; Freedberg 1961, 479–480, but I am now doubtful of the assignment of this picture to Franciabigio.

——— Liechtenstein Collection. *Head of St. John the Baptist.*

Once attributed to Sarto in the Gallery but later only to his school. Not in Cat. 1931.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 197 had described this picture as being of the close of the sixteenth century. It is not even necessarily an Italian painting. (Photograph Wolfrum 2541.)

Formerly WARSAW, Collection Lachnicki. *Magdalen.*

Attributed to Sarto in the collection.

This would appear to be another version, or a copy, of the painting by Puligo in the Galleria Borghese.

YORK, Art Gallery no. 794 (Cat. 1961). *Portrait of a Youth.* Panel, 49.7 x 38.1. Heavily remade.

From the F. D. Lycett Green Collection (formerly exhibited at the National Gallery, Capetown); earlier in the Rothermere Collection, from which it was sold Christie's, 19 December 1941, no. 98, as Sarto. Cat. Rothermere Collection, 1932, pl. 16, quotes a certificate from Toesca stating this is a very early self-portrait of the artist. Cat. York gives the picture as an "attributed" work, and describes it as a "Portrait of a Youth." J.A.S.I., *Previews* (York Art Gallery) *15* (1962) 544–547 explicitly denies the identification as a self-portrait and regards the attribution to Andrea as "conjecture."

The dress much suggests that in Andrea's portrait of Bandinelli? in the Uffizi, but the face does not bear comparison with Andrea's own, or indeed with any face in an authentic portrait of the time. Perhaps a remade work of the period, but it may be altogether a later imitation.

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[1] The dimensions also reported as 33½″ x 29″, 35″ x 24½″, and 34″ x 26″.

[2] Later, considerably, than the portrait by him wrongly assigned to Andrea in Cleveland.

[3] There are further copies, in bust length, of the painting. Among them: ex-Corsham Court, Methuen Collection, inscribed (but apparently in error) "N [icc]olo di Taddeo di Agn. Gaddi" (panel, 19½″ x 16¼″), exhibited at Burlington House, 1877, as by Andrea; ex-Lord Lansdowne Collection, panel, 25″ x 19″, more recently in the London art market, with an attribution to Puligo.

[4] Our accounting of attributions to Sarto at Hampton Court does not include those made by the various editions of Law's guides to the collection.

[5] A copy, with the attribution to Franciabigio, in Rome, Galleria Nazionale.

[6] The question mark is in the catalogue.

[7] The date reads as originally written, despite doubts that have been expressed of its authenticity.

[8] Mr. Edward Sanchez has very kindly supplied Dr. John Shearman and the author with the results of his research in the Salviati archives, and it is his suggestion that the citations which follow may be applied to Corsini no. 580. Pisa, Archivio Salviati, Serie III, Salviati di Roma, filza no. 100 (Inv. . . . di tutto ciò che si ritrovava il detto Jacopo [*di Alamanno di Jac^{o} di Giovanni Salviati*] di suo pertinenza fino a questo anno): "Un quadro di N. Donna con adornam^{to} di noce intag^{to} e tocco d'oro." *Ibid.*, filza no. 172, Libro d'Inventari: 1609, no. 988, "Un quadro in asse di altezza un br. uno [*sic*] co' una Madonna con Nro Sig^{re} in braccio di mano di Andrea dl Sarto con ornam^{to} e tocco doro." Serie IV, Familigie Diverse, filza no. 316 (Famiglia Salviati), Inventaro del Palazzo di Firenze: 1647: "Una Madonna col Bambino Gesù di mano d'Andrea del Sarto dlla prima maniera, con ornam^{to} di noce tocco d'oro. Mandato a Roma: p^{mo} Giugno 1667. Serie III, filze 73 (tom. 2) fasc. 6: copia del Testamento del Duca Jacopo di Lorenzo Salviati, Roma, 6 Aprile 1672 (original written 26 Sept. 1668): "Una Madonna col figlio in braccio di mezza proporzione in tavola, mano d'Andrea dal Sarto della prima maniera." Serie III, filza no. 62, fasc. 80, Nota de' Quadri sottoposti alla [*illegible*] del Duca Jacopo Salviati e che stavano in Firenze e furono mandate a Roma [copy, the original dated 16 September 1706]: "Un quadro di una Madonna alt. Br. 1½ largo Br. 1¼ [87 x 63] con cornice e tabernacolo intagliata tocco d'oro, entrovi una Madonna con Giesù in tavola mano d'Andrea del Sarto."

The picture passed into the possession of the Colonna family in Rome in the first decade of the eighteenth century.

[9] The identification by the kindness of Dr. Bernice Davidson.

[10] No. 412 in Cat. 1882.

[11] No. 540 in Cat. 1960; no. 46 in Cat. 1907; no. 413 in Cat. 1882.

[12] Not in Cat. 1960. No. 52 in Cat. 1907; no. 412 in Cat. 1882.

V. UNTRACEABLE ATTRIBUTED PAINTINGS

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ALTON TOWERS, Earl of Shrewsbury. *Portrait of Lucrezia.*

Waagen 1854, III, 382 reassigns it from Garofalo (the attribution carried in the collection) to Andrea. Redford 1888, II, 251 sold 1857 to Ratcliffe.

BEECHWOOD (near Boxmoor), Sir T. Sebright. *Young Man in Black.*

Waagen 1857, 329 like Franciabigio rather than Andrea. Perhaps the same as the picture sold London, Christie's, Sir Giles Sebright, 2 July 1937, *q.v.* below.

Formerly BERLIN, Kaiser-Friedrich Museum no. 262 (Cat. 1837). *Fête Galante,* grisaille sketch. Panel, 1 ft. 1 in. x 3 ft. 7½ in. From von Rumohr.

——— no. 266 (Cat. 1837). *Persons Constructing a Building,* pendant to above.

Cf. F. Stock, "Rumohrs Briefe an Bunsen," *Jahrbuch der preuszischen Kunstsammlungen 46* (1925) 37, beiheft. The pictures were not locatable at that time.

BERNE, Unidentified Collection. *Holy Family.*

So listed Benezit 1954, *sub voce* Sarto.

BOLOGNA, Collection Marescalchi. *Portrait,* called of Cardinal Niccolini. Panel.

Reumont 1835, xxiii, 212–213: in dark clothes, one-half length, a letter in his hand. Reumont observed that if the identity of the sitter (Cosimo I's Privy Councillor) is correct, the attribution cannot be.

——— Casa Sanpieri. *Madonna.*

Cf. Campori 1870, 600; the inventory that contains the picture dated 1743.

Formerly BOSTON, Museum of Fine Arts (loan). *Holy Family.*

Masters in Art, II, no 22 (1901); not illustrated. The museum retains no record of the picture.

BRESCIA, Count Tosi. Subject unknown.

Reumont 1835, xxiii reports the existence of a work attributed to Sarto in this collection.

BROOM HALL (Dumfernline, Co. Fife), Lord Elgin. *Holy Family.*

Waagen 1857, 444: "this composition often occurs. I consider this to be an early copy."

BRUSSELS, Archduke Leopold. *Portrait of a Priest.*

In the inventory of 19 April 1649 of paintings being transported from Holland to Brussels.

See Bredius, *Kunstchronik 21* (1885–1886) 218.

——— Prince William of Orange. *Two Monks before the Madonna; an Angel plays the Violin.*

Reumont 1835, 85, citing J. Schopenhauer, *Ausflug an der Niedderrhein und nach Belgien,* 1831.

Sold COLOGNE, J. P. Weyer, 1862. *Bust of a Man* wearing a black hat. Panel, 23 x 17. Mireur VII (1912) 281.

DÜSSELDORF, Prince Palatine. *St. Agnes.*

D'Argenville [1762] I, 145 as an early work by Andrea. Not in the catalogue of 1778. D'Argenville's citation repeated by Biadi 1829, 28 and Scott 1881, 84.

A copy from the Pisa altar?

——— *Holy Family.*

Scott 1881, 127, but without indication of the source of her information.

FERRARA, Roberto Canonici. *Holy Family,* the Infant playing with a cart.

Campori 1870, *sub anno* 1632, inventory of the property of Canonici, destroyed by fire 1638. The detailed description of the painting conforms to that of the painting by Catena in the gallery at Dresden, at one time wrongly assigned to Sarto.

FIVIZZANO, Pieve. St. Roch; St. Sebastian. Over life size.

Reumont 1835, xxii-xxiii, citing *Calendario Lunese* 1835, 255.

FLORENCE, Pitti. *Holy Family.*

Reumont 1835, xx: engraved by Duponchel in

Tableaux, statues, etc., de la galerie de Florence et du palais Pitti, 1789; but it is in neither the Uffizi nor the Pitti, and the picture seems to have little to do with Andrea in any case.

FLORENCE, Casa di Matteo e Giovanni Battista Botti. *Madonna and Child.*

Cited by Bocchi [1677] 172. Cf. under Lost Pictures, document A. S. F. Guardaroba 373, c. 276, 1622.

——— (near), Certosa di Val d'Ema. *Holy Family.*

Moreni II (1791) 113–114: in a small chapel connected with the *Foresteria.*

——— *Madonna.*

Moreni II (1791) 151 reports this in the chapter-house: ". . . si dice o di mano di Andrea del Sarto o del Puligo."

——— Casa di Giovanni Battista Galli. *Portrait of the Musician Ajolle.*

Cinelli [1677] 370–371.

Probably not the portrait by Pontormo, now in the Uffizi; that was already in the collection of Cardinal Leopoldo about the midseventeenth century, and this citation is of later date.

——— Marchese Giugni. "Testa al naturale."

Cinelli [1677] 490.

——— Casa Guasconi. *Madonna and Child* with St. John and two putti.

Cinelli [1677] 184, with high regard. Biadi 1829, 285 reports the picture is in the Palazzo Ferroni. The description suggests a variant of Wallace Collection no. 9.

——— Casa di Giovanni Niccolini. *Madonna,* three-quarters length.

Cinelli [1677] 408, whose citation is repeated by Richa VIII (1759) 48.

——— Signora Anna Donnini Novellucci. *Holy Family.* Panel.

Cited by Biadi 1832, 17.

——— Alessandro Passerini. *Magdalen,* over half-length.

Cinelli [1677] 284.

——— Galleria Panciatichi. Portrait, called a *Self-Portrait* of Andrea.

Biadi 1829, 161n3.

——— no. 109. *Portrait,* bust-length, called Baccio Valori.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 195: feeble and probably not original. Borenius (*ibid.* n2) suggests this may be identical with a portrait by Franciabigio in the Benson Collection which when in the Panciatichi Gallery was assigned to Andrea.

——— Casa di Luigi Pazzi. *Holy Family,* tondo.

Cinelli [1677] 369.

——— (near), Villa Petraia. *Holy Family.*

Piacenza in Baldinucci [1768] II, 434 in the oratorio of the villa. Reported by Moreni I (1791) 83 but not as if the painting were still *in situ.*

——— Prince Poniatowsky. *Portrait,* called Lucrezia.

Biadi 1829, 159 and n4: seated at a table covered by a rug, on which an open book and a small statuette of Eros. Formerly in the Mariette Collection. So also Reumont 1835, 222–223 and n1.[1]

——— Ricci family, for sale from the dealer Dini. Portrait, called Niccolo Machiavelli. Panel, 73 x 53. Half-length.

F. Masi, *Portrait de Niccolo Machiavelli peint par Andrea del Sarto en 1521* (Rome, 1878): the figure, in a black gown, holds a book inscribed "Machiavellus." Andrea's monogram on the book. The painting dated 1521. Not illustrated.

The publication is of interest as an early example of the dealer's "fancy" brochure.

——— Casa del Cav. Niccolo di Cosimo Ridolfi. "Due figure maravigliose."

Cinelli [1677] 174.

——— Marchese Rinuccini. Two Madonna paintings.

Lanzi I [1824] 211; the citation repeated by Biadi 1829, 152n5, 6.

——— Romanelli family. *Portrait of Castruccio Castracane.* Half-length panel, br. 1 x br. ⅔. From the collection Riccardi, Florence.

Cited by Biadi 1832, 13; the citation repeated by Scott 1881, 129.

——— *Madonna with the Infant St. John.* Panel, br. 1⅕ x br. ¾. From the Collection Riccardi.
Biadi 1832, 14.

——— S. Croce. *Madonna* with God the Father, Sts. Roch and Sebastian below.
Biadi 1829, 152 on the altar of the Peruzzi Chapel. Not in Paatz.

——— S. Jacopo in Via Ghibellina. *Madonna.*
Richa IV (1756) 227, in the men's choir; given to the church by the Federighi.

——— S. M. degli Angeli. *Entry into Jerusalem.*
Richa II (1755) 295 states the picture is believed to be in the monastery of the church. Earlier in S. M. dei Candeli? Cf. Paatz [1952] III, 182 and 184n28.

——— S. M. del Carmine. *Madonna.*
Biadi 1829, 149n5.

——— S. M. degli Ughi. *St. Thomas Aquinas.* Canvas.
Del Migliore 1684, 463: covering an older painting of the Madonna, in the *cappella maggiore* of the church. Richa III (1755) 153, lost. Paatz [1952] IV, 73.

——— S.M. e S. Giuseppe sul Prato. *Holy Family.*
Paatz [1952] IV, 84: transferred in 1714 from S. Giuseppe a Pinti. Since 1808 "wohl in den Museen," but it cannot be traced. Richa IV (1756) 251.

——— Or San Michele, vicinity. *Two Angels,* fresco.
Cinelli [1677] 70: in the rooms where it is alleged that Andrea kept shop, above the arch on which the *Annunciation* (now in S. Marco) was painted.

——— S. Pier Maggiore. *Madonna and Child With the Infant St. John.*
Bocchi [1677] 358: in the chapel where the blessed Giovanni da Vespignano is buried. Cinelli (*ibid.*) adds that the painting is no longer there, because it has passed into the collection of the Cardinal Dean [Leopoldo]. The description given by Bocchi of the painting calls Borghese no. 334 to mind, and its appropriation by the exalted patron suggests it was a picture of some merit.

——— S. Salvi, church. *Nativity.*
Moreni VI (1795) 168: said to be by Andrea, but much damaged in the destructions of 1529 and again by flood [in 1557].

——— St. Sebastiano, *St. Sebastian,* three-quarters length.
Cinelli [1677] 480.

——— S. Verdiana. *Madonna.*
Paatz [1952] IV, 401, 403n13.

——— Sarselli Collection. *Portrait of a Young Man,* called a self-portrait of Andrea.
Biadi 1832, 16 gives a description that suggests this painting was a variant of the portrait of Carnesecchi by Puligo, in the Pitti. The background, however, showed the Duomo.

——— Casa de' Tempi. *Holy Family with a Kneeling Angel* (Joseph seated at the left).
Cinelli [1677] 282.

FONTAINEBLEAU, Royal Collection?. *Judith.*
Biadi 1829, 69, 145, for Francis I.

——— *Leda.*
Biadi 1829, 68, 148 and n2: for Francis I, and alleged to have gone to the Empress of Russia.

GENOA, Unspecified Collection. *Cleopatra.*
So listed Benezit 1954, *sub voce* Sarto.

GOTHA, Ducal Palace. Copy after Raphael's *Madonna del Divino Amore.*
Reumont 1835, 206–207, citing G. Rathgeber, *Kunstblatt* 1832, no. 81; but indexed by Reumont as a doubtful work.

KNOLE PARK (Kent), Lord Amherst. *Madonna and Child with St. John.*
Waagen 1857, 340 a good picture of Andrea's school.

LEIGH COURT, J. P. Miles. *Madonna and Child with St. John.*
Waagen 1854, II, 179: larger than life, and powerful in coloring, but not attractive.

LENINGRAD, Princess Kotchoubey. *Judith.* Panel.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] IV, 199–200 an imitation of Andrea by Puligo.

——— *Madonna and Child with the Infant St. John and Two Angels.*

Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 200: very restored, and suggests Puligo.

Formerly LONDON, Lord Castelreagh. *Madonna and Child with St. John.*

Biadi 1832, 15–16: the St. John holds a drapery on his right arm. Life size, half figures seen to the knees [seated?]; a landscape background with a mountain to the left.

——— Hon. C. C. Cavendish. *St. John.*

Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 203: exhibited at the British Institution 1856; of the school.

——— Charles I Collection. *Holy Family,* Joseph leaning on a stick. 109 x 86.5.

Waagen 1854, II, 478, citing Vanderdoort's Catalogue of Charles I's Collection, circa 1639. Redford 1888, I, 12: sold 1649 to an anonymous buyer.

——— Lord de Morley. *Male Portrait.*

Waagen 1854, II, 84 believes this a good work by Franciabigio.

——— ?, Mr. Neeld. *Madonna and Child with the Infant St. John.*

Waagen 1854, II, 244: a late work by Andrea.

——— Earl of Northumberland, Suffolk House. *Head of a Woman.*

Redford 1888, I, 19, citing a ms. diary of 1652.

——— Mr. Parke. *Madonna* (or *Holy Family*), panel, tondo.

Biadi 1829, 151 and n6: a painting originally done for Francis I.

——— Mr. Rogers. *St. John,* bust-length.

Reumont 1835, 130n.

——— Sir Humphrey de Trafford. *Holy Family.* Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 203: a school piece.

Sold LONDON, Bragge, 1750. *Madonna.* From the collection of the Duke d'Auvergne. Bought by Bernard.

Redford 1888, II, 251.

——— Ansell, 1770. *Holy Family,* after Raphael, 183 x 122.

Redford 1888, II, 251.

——— Dr. Martin, 1770 to the Dean of Worcester. *Madonna.*

Redford 1888, II, 251.

——— Charles Alexandre de Colonne, 1795. *Madonna and Child with the Infant St. John,* tondo.

Redford 1888, I, 58.

——— Lord Darnley, 1796. *Holy Family.*

Redford 1888, II, 251.

——— Walsh Porter, 1803, to the Earl of Radnor. *Madonna with Infant Saints.*

Redford 1888, I, 87–88. Graves III (1921) 139.

——— R. Udny, 1804. *Madonna with Sts. John and Elizabeth.*

Mireur VII (1912) 279.

——— anonymous sale, 1804. *Holy Family.*

Benezit 1954, *sub voce* Sarto.

——— Lord Melbourne, 1806, to Thomson. *St. John.*

Redford 1888, II, 251.

——— 1809. *Holy Family and an Angel.*

Redford 1888, II, 251: bought in. Graves III (1921) 139 gives the title as *Madonna and Child and Elizabeth.*

——— W. Campion, 1810, to Blackford. *Holy Family.*

Redford 1888, I, 106.

——— Walsh Porter, 1810, to Buchanan. *Madonna and Child with St. John* (or *Holy Family?*).

Redford 1888, II, 251; Graves III (1921) 139.

——— anonymous sale, May 1810. *St. John Evangelist,* said to be a portrait of Raphael.

Redford 1888, I, 106.

——— 1810. *St. John Writing.*

Redford 1888, I, 106; Graves III (1921) 139: bought in. Perhaps the same picture as that listed immediately above. Perhaps also the same as that listed Graves III (1921) 140, Mme. Murat sale, 12 July 1823, no. 10.

——— 1810. *Holy Family and Saints.*

Redford 1888, I, 107.

——— Lafontaine, 1811, to Higgins. *Madonna and Child with Saints.*

Redford 1888, II, 251.

——— Champernowne, 1820. *Holy Family with Angels.*

Mireur VII (1912) 280. Cf. the history of the *Madonna and Child with Angels,* London, Wallace Collection no. 9.

——— Beckford of Fonthill, 1823, to Hanning. *Holy Family.*

Redford 1888, II, 251.

——— David Garrick, 1823. *Madonna and Child with St. John and Three Angels.*

Redford 1888, II, 251.

A version of the lost work for Alessandro Corsini?

——— Chippendale, 1825, to Noseda. *Madonna and Child with Sts. Elizabeth and John.*

Redford 1888, II, 251.

——— anonymous sale, 1827. *Portrait of Benvenuto Cellini.*

Redford 1888, I, 107 bought in; but Graves III (1921) 140 bought by Carr.

——— R. Udny, 1829, to Lord Landsdowne. *Female Portrait.* 49.5 x 30.5.

Redford 1888, II, 251.

——— Coesvelt, 1837, to Nieuwenhuys. *Madonna and Child with St. John.* From the Lucien Buonaparte Collection.

Redford 1888, II, 251.

——— Rev. Sanford, offered through G. Yates & Son, 1838.

No. 23. *Portrait of a Young Man of the Bellacci Family,* from the Del Nero Gallery.

No. 106. *Canonization of S. Francesco da Paola,* from the *Paradisino* at Vallombrosa through the Tempi family.

——— Sir C. B. Codrington, 1843, to Cunningham. *Holy Family.*

Redford 1888, II, 251.

——— T. Wright, 1845. *Madonna Seated, with St. John.*

Redford 1888, II, 251 to Yates, formerly in the Walsh Porter Collection. Graves III (1921) 140 reports, apparently of the same picture, a different history: Graves gives a sale from Walsh Porter to Yates in 1826, and in 1845 reports its sale from T. Wright to Col. Anderson.

——— anonymous sale, 1850. *Leda Caressed by Jupiter.*

Benezit 1954, *sub voce* Sarto.

——— Lord Northwick, 1859:

Man in a Black Dress, supposed to be a self-portrait. To the Duke of Newcastle.

Portrait of a Man in Black. To Lord Ellenborough.

Portrait of a Lady in Black Dress and Veil. To Pearce.

Waagen 1854, III, 197: of Andrea's school, but too feebly drawn for him.

Holy Family. To Dr. Giles, Oxford.

Holy Family and an Angel with Music. To Drax.

Cf. Redford 1888, II, 251.

——— F. Koncheliff, 1869, to Marshall. *Holy Family with St. John,* the Virgin kneeling, the Infant holding a scroll. 124.5 x 96.5.

Redford 1888, II, 251.

——— Sir W. H. Fielden, 1877. *Holy Family.*

Redford 1888, I, 260.

——— R. C. Barnett, 1881, to Cassello. *Holy Family.*

Redford 1888, II, 251.

——— Mr. W. Russell, 1884. *Portrait of Lucrezia,* larger than life.

Redford 1888, I, 389. Exhibited at Burlington House 1878.

——— Rev. Mr. Thomas, 1886, to Ellis. *Portrait of Savonarola.*

Redford 1888, I, 442.

——— Dudley, 1892. *Holy Family.*

Benezit 1954, *sub voce* Sarto.

——— Cecil Miles, 1899. *Portrait of Andrea.*

Benezit 1954, *sub voce* Sarto.

——— Christie's, Burdett-Coutts, 4–5 May 1922.

No. 121. *Madonna and Child with the Infant St. John.* Panel, 81.3 x 57.1. From the Alton Towers Collection.

No. 122. *Madonna and Child with St. John.* Panel, 94 x 70.

——— Christie's, F. W. Lippmann, 20 April 1923, no. 147. *Man in Red.* Panel, 72.3 x 55.8.

——— anonymous sale, 8 June 1928. *Portrait of Cardinal Altieri.*

Benezit 1954, *sub voce* Sarto.

——— Christie's, Lord Lansdowne, 7 March 1930, no. 84. *Holy Family.* Panel, 139.6 x 113. From Mrs. Jameson's and Lord Radstock's Collections.

——— Christie's, Sir Giles Sebright, 2 July 1937, no. 128. *Portrait of a Young Man in Black Dress and Cap.* Panel, 86.4 x 66.

Cf. Beechwood, Sir T. Sebright, above.

——— Christie's, Kinnaird (from Rossie Priory, Inchture), 21 June 1946.

No. 74. *Madonna and Child with St. John and Angels.* 129.5 x 99.

No. 75. *Madonna and Child.* 62 x 46.

——— anonymous sale, 19 March 1950. *Pietà.*

Benezit 1954, *sub voce* Sarto.

LUTON HOUSE, Marquess of Bute. *Madonna and Child with a Female Saint,* the Child holding a globe.

Waagen 1854, III, 482: of Andrea's latest period, defaced by cleaning.

MILAN, Ambrosiana. *Youthful Savior with Globe in Hand.* 5 on. x 4 on.

In the donation of the gallery of Federico Borromeo, 28 April 1618. See *Itinerario della Biblioteca Ambrosiana,* Milan, 1951, 265.

——— Brera?. *Magdalen.*

D'Argenville [1762] I, 145 as in the Archbishop's gallery. Reumont 1835, 212 describes it as in the Brera: a half figure in green and red, right hand on an urn, left hand on breast. Not in the Brera catalogues as a work of Andrea's, and not traceable in the gallery.

——— Vallardo Collection. *Holy Family.*

Reumont 1835, 84 and *Verz.* as a work of 1515.

MODENA, Ducal Gallery. *Two Heads.*

Barri 1671, 112; d'Argenville [1762] I, 145.

——— *Saint,* half-length. Barri 1671, 112.

MONTPELLIER, Unspecified Collection. *Holy Family.*

Benezit 1954, *sub voce* Sarto.

MUNICH, Canon Speth. *St. Jerome.*

Reumont 1835, xxii, without opinion; a small picture.

MOSCOW, Collection Roumianzeff. *Holy Family*; *Madonna and Child with St. John*; *Madonna and Child with Sts. John, Elizabeth and an Angel.*

Benezit 1954, *sub voce* Sarto.

The last may be a copy after Louvre no. 1515.

NAPLES, Quadreria di Capodimonte. *Double Portrait.* Panel, br. 2 on. 2 x br. 1 on. 8½. Three-quarter length figures, dressed in black; one figure holds a design for a fortification and a compass.

Campori 1870, 231, in the inventory of the Palazzo del Giardino, Parma, c. 1680. Later inventoried as no. 3 in the *Memoria* of paintings taken by the French in 1799. See A. F. di Candida, *Napoli Nobilissima* 7 (1898) 95.

This item removed in 1806 from the Galleria di Francavilla to Palermo. No. 23 in the inventory of paintings so transferred, where it is described as on panel, 4 palmi 6 on. by 3 palmi. See A. F. di Candida, *Napoli Nobilissima 10* (1901) 14.

——— *Man in White.* Canvas (transferred from panel?), 2 palmi x 1 palmo.

No. 18 in the inventory of paintings taken from Capodimonte to Palermo, 1806. See A. F. di Candida, *Napoli Nobilissima 10* (1901) 15.

NOVELLARA, Casa Gonzaga. *Portrait.* 12 on. x 10 on.

Campori 1870, 641 in an undated catalogue of the eighteenth century.

ORWELL PARK (Suffolk), Mr. Tomline. *Portrait of Michelangelo.*

Waagen 1854, III, 443 without opinion.

PARIS, Gatteaux Collection. *Portrait of Lucrezia.*

Duplessis, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* Ser. 2, *4* (1870) 345: damaged, but showed the character of Andrea. The collection was destroyed in the disturbances of 1870.

——— (near) S. Maur-les-Fossés, Mme. de Sévigné. *Holy Family.*

Reumont 1835, 87n, citing *Schoen's Kunstblatt,* 1832, no. 90.

Sold PARIS,[2] Duc de Tallard, 1756, *Last Supper.* Panel, 29 x 54 *pouces.*

——— d'Argenville, 1766. *Holy Family.* Canvas pasted on wood.

——— Le Brun, 1788. *The Virgin with Female Saints*; *Apostles John, Peter, and others* (two paintings). Arched tops, each 21 x 9.

——— Laborde de Méréville, 1802. *Holy Family.* 51 x 38 *pouces.*

——— v. d. Leyden, 1804. *Holy Family.*

——— Le Brun, 1809. *Two Evangelists,* 9½ x 10 *pouces*; *Portrait of a Woman,* bust-length, 24 x 18 *pouces.*

——— Le Brun, 1811. *The Artist's Mother.* Panel, 64 x 50.7.

——— Francotois, 1816. *Madonna and Child with St. John.*

——— Lapeyrière, 1817. *Portrait of Baccio Bandinelli* (full-length), 54 x 41; *Portrait of a Youth,* 25 x 20.

——— Paillet, 1821. *Madonna and Child with Sts. John and Anne.* 50 x 40.

——— LeRoux, 1823. *Madonna and Child with the Infant St. John.*

——— Lapeyrière, 1825. *Madonna and several Saints.* 84 x 68 *pouces.* Resold Lafitte, 1834.

——— Vivant Denon, 1826. *Portrait of a Woman.*

——— Mme. P . . . and Chevalier D . . . , 26 March, 1828. *Portrait of Piero Capponi.*

——— Chevalier Erard, 1831. *Madonna and Child with St. John.* Panel, 25 x 20 *pouces.*

——— Leclerc, 1832. *Madonna and Child with St. John.*

——— La Fontaine, 1835. *Seated Christ.* Copper, 6 x 4.

——— Durand Duclos, 1835. *Holy Family with the Infant St. John.* 96 x 70.

——— Delatre, 1835. *Caritas,* with two infants.

——— Henry, 1836. *Seated Virgin,* 23 x 19 *pouces.*

——— Cardinal Fesch, 1840. *Man between Vice and Virtue,* 38 x 79 *pouces*; *Holy Family* with a landscape background, 42 x 32 *pouces*; *Martyrdom of St. Lucy.*

All resold 1845.

——— Comte de Torcy, 1840. *Holy Family.* 94.7 x 70.4.

——— Dubois, 1840. *Portrait of the Mother of the Artist* in black dress, holding gloves. 91 x 72.

——— Brondi, 1841. *Simeon holding the Body of Christ.*

——— Comte de Perregaux, 1841. *Madonna and Child, with the Infant St. John Kneeling.* Panel, 88 x 64.

Sold PARIS, Magnan de la Roquette, 1841. *Holy Family.*

——— De Forbin Janson, 1842. *Portrait of Piero Soderini.* 64 x 56.

——— Aguado, 1843. *Madonna Nursing the Child*; *Head of a Saint*, 43 x 33; *Sacrifice of Abraham.*

——— Dubois, 1843. *Madonna and Child with St. John*, landscape background to the rear. 98 x 90.

——— Dubois, 1847. *Holy Family.*

——— Giroux, 1851. *Virgin and Child*; the Virgin holds a book. 100 x 77.

——— Sébastiani, 1841. *Holy Family with a Nun.*

——— Callot, 1855. *Madonna and Child*, 36 x 72; *Holy Family*, panel, 100 x 72.

——— Charles I, 1857. *Madonna and Child with an Angel.*

——— De Torcy, 1857. *St. John the Baptist*; *Holy Family.*

——— Martinengo de Wurtzbourg, 1861. *Holy Family.*

——— Chateau de Belfort, 1864. *Holy Family*; bought in.

——— Maurel, 1865. *Annunciation.* Panel, 98 x 70.

——— Rinecker, 1868. *Madonna and Child, St. Anne? and the Infant St. John.* Panel, 164 x 76.
A possible copy of Louvre no. 1515.

——— A. Rohen, Sr., 1868. *Madonna and Child with the Infant St. John.*

——— Lopez Cerero, 1868. *Portrait of a Young Man.* 67 x 45.

——— Portallier, 1880. *Holy Family.*

——— A. O. . . . , 28 April 1882. *Madonna and Child with St. John.*

——— Bonnemaison, 1890. *The Mother of the Artist*, half-length, a veil at the top of her head. 23 x 19.

——— Princess Radzivill, 1892. *Holy Family.*

——— Defer Dumesnil, 1900. *Madonna and Child with the Infant St. John.*

——— Le Vaillant, undated sale before 1900. *Preparation for the Entombment*, five figures.

——— anonymous sale, 19 April 1928. *Madonna and Child.*
Benezit 1954, *sub voce* Sarto.

——— 5 February 1947. *Holy Family with St. John.*
Benezit 1954, *sub voce* Sarto.

PARMA, Bodoni Collection. *Portrait of Dante.*
Reumont 1835, xxii, citing Molossi, *Vocabolario Topografico del Ducato di Parma*, 281.

——— Casa Boscoli. *Madonna*, holding the child in her two arms, their heads together. Panel, c. 60 cm.
Campori 1870, 381 in the inventory of the Casa Boscoli, 1690.

——— *Madonna*, who holds the Child to her breast and kisses him. Panel, ht. 16 on.
Campori 1870, 381.

——— Palazzo del Giardino. *Christ Carrying the Cross*, in red dress. Panel, br. 1 on. 11¼ x br. 1 on. 6¼.
Campori 1870, 223 in the inventory of the Palazzo del Giardino c. 1680. Barri 1671, 105.[3]

——— *Man in Black with White Shirt.* Panel, br. 1 on. 2½ x on. 10½.
Campori 1870, 233 in the inventory of c. 1680.

——— *Salvator Mundi.*
D'Argenville [1762] I, 145.

PERUGIA, Casa Meniconi. *Prophet*, full-length. 8 palmi x 2 palmi.
Campori 1870, 171 in an inventory of 1651.

PETWORTH, Col. E. Windham. "Two well-known compositions by Andrea."

Waagen 1854, III, 32 so describes them without specifying which they are. He judges they are good old copies.

PISTOIA, Puccini Collection. *Self-Portrait* of Andrea.

Biadi 1832, 16.

PRAGUE, Princes Colloredo. *Holy Family with the Infant St. John.*

A. Hirt, *Kunstbemerkungen auf eine Reise nach Dresden und Prag*, Berlin, 1830, 190.

Reumont 1835, 84 and *Verz.* as a work of 1515.

REGGIO (Emilia), Studio Coccapani. *Madonna with Two Angioletti.*

Campori 1870, 145: no. 4 in a catalogue of pictures and drawings, c. 1640.

ROME, Addeo Collection. *Portrait,* called a self-portrait of Andrea.

Toesca, in the certificate cited Cat. Rothermere 1932, pl. 16, for the picture presently in York (q.v. under Attributed Paintings) names a "self-portrait" in the Addeo Collection, without further indications.

——— Palazzo Giustiniani.

The inventory of 3 February 1638 (see L. Salerno, "The Picture Gallery of Vincenzo Giustiniani," *Burlington* 92 [1960] 135–148 lists the following works attributed to Sarto:

No. 23. *Madonna and Child with St. John in a Landscape.* Panel, 5 palmi x 4 palmi.

No. 24. *S. Giovanni* [Gualberto]. Canvas, 5 x 3 palmi. Whole figure, crucifix in hand; part of a landscape.

No. 30. Half-length *Portrait of a Florentine,* letter in hand. Canvas, 4 x 3½ palmi.[4]

No. 116. *Holy Family.* Panel, 8 x 7 palmi.

Possibly a variant of the late composition in the Galleria Nazionale, Rome.

No. 117. *Madonna and Child with the Infant St. John.* 3½ x 2⅔ [sic] palmi.

Believed to be in Andrea's early style.

——— Christina of Sweden. *Head of a Youth,* in a black beret, landscape to the rear. Panel, 1⅓ x 1 palmi.

Campori 1870, 357 in the catalogue of the paintings of Christina's collection, c. 1689.

——— Galleria Sciarra. *Holy Family with St. Peter Martyr.*

Reumont 1835, 83 without opinion, but listed *Verz.* as a work of 1515.

The collection sold 1899, but no information is available on this painting.[5]

ROUEN, Unidentified Collection. *Preaching of St. Romuald*; *Portrait.*

Benezit, 1954, *sub voce* Sarto. The Rouen museums do not know these pictures.

ST. ETIENNE, Unspecified Collection. *Sts. Peter and Paul refusing to sacrifice to False Gods.*

Benezit 1954, *sub voce* Sarto.

VALETTA (Malta), Church of St. John. *Madonna.*

Reumont 1835, 85 as dubious.

VALLADOLID, Casa de la Ribera. *Miracle of the Fish*; *St. Francis Preaching to the Birds.*

Madrazo, *Viaje artistico*, 1884, 100.

VERONA, Studio Curtoni. *Portrait of a Priest.*

Campori 1870, 196 in an inventory of 1662. The collection was sold to the Counts of Mirandola, and later dispersed, probably in Bologna in the eighteenth century.

——— Studio Muselli. *Holy Family with Sts. Elizabeth and John the Baptist and an Angel;* background of architecture and landscape; slightly less than life size.

Campori 1870, 184 in an inventory of 1662. This collection went mostly to the Duke of Orléans.

Sold VERSAILLES, Lt. Gen. Count Despinoy, 1850.

No. 28. *Self-Portrait of Andrea.* Panel, 20 x 16.

No. 29. *Geneviève de Fedi,* "cousin of Lucrezia," bust portrait. Panel, 53 x 44.

No. 30. *A Florentine Princess,* half-length. Panel, 93 x 73.

VIENNA, Liechtenstein Collection. *Holy Family.*

Reumont 1835, xxii, citing *Kunstblatt,* 1833, no. 48, without opinion. Not listed in later catalogues of the collection.

UNSPECIFIED PLACE. *Madonna with the Child on her Lap.*

Campori 1870, 454 in a seventeenth-century catalogue of paintings offered for sale at an unspecified place in Italy.

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[1] Not the same as the Puligo formerly at Panshanger, though the description is resembling.

[2] This and the following entries for Paris sales, through 1900, are from Mireur VII (1912) 279–281.

[3] Campori 1870, 297 lists another *Christo Portacroce* in this same inventory as a copy after Andrea.

[4] For no. 38 in this inventory, also attributed to Sarto, see under Attributed Paintings, Berlin.

[5] Biadi 1829, 142 refers to a *Caritas* in oil done for "un Mercaio che facceva bottega in Roma, amico di Andrea," and refers to Vasari as his source; but no such painting is described by Vasari.

VI. ATTRIBUTED DRAWINGS

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Sold AMSTERDAM, Muller, Wauters sale, 15–16 June 1926, no. 180. *Pietà*. Red chalk, 19 x 25.

The attribution to Sarto in the sales catalogue. The sheet suggests Boscoli's style.

——— Bellingham-Smith, 5–6 July 1927, no. 115. Studies of heads, recto and verso. Red chalk, 27 x 19.5.

By Fra Bartolommeo, for the *Misericordia Altar*. So correctly identified by Shearman in a note on the photograph in the Witt Library, London.

——— de Vries, 4–7 March 1930, no. 3. Nude man, striding forward. Black chalk, 32.4 x 15.6.

A North Italian drawing of the late sixteenth century.

Sold BALTIMORE, Patterson, 30 January 1935, no. 111. Zachary and Anne embracing. Pen and wash, white high lights, 28 x 25.4.

Resembling Salviati's style.

BAYONNE, Musée Bonnat no. 147. A youth seated, facing right, holding a book. Red chalk, 12.5 x 16.5.

Berenson [1938] no. 55A as Andrea. Fraenckel 1935, 185 had earlier observed that this sheet is a study by Naldini for a figure in his *Presentation in the Temple* in S. M. Novella.

A variant study of the same figure, also earlier attributed to Sarto, is on British Museum 1893–7–31–16, Berenson [1938] no. 1762 as Naldini.

——— Landscape drawing.

Of the same style as the landscape sketchbook in the Uffizi, no. 1313E etc., q.v.

BERLIN-DAHLEM, Kupferstichkabinett no. 4626. *Recto*, standing male nude, arms outstretched. *Verso*, seated nude. Red chalk, 40.5 x 26.

Berenson [1938] no. 1754A as Naldini, of Pontormesque inspiration; correctly.

——— no. 5151. *Recto*, *St. John the Baptist*. *Verso*, a hand holding a book and palm; a kneeling female figure. Black chalk, 27.5 x 13. Inscribed on the recto "Andrea del Sarto, 1528." Fig. 176, verso not illustrated.

Berenson [1938] no. 1754C as Naldini.

We find this closer to Sogliani's style.

——— no. 5194. *Recto*, studies of hands. *Verso*, an arm and leg.

McKillop (verbal communication, 1962) proposes the attribution of this sheet to Franciabigio, which we accept.

Sold BERLIN, Hollstein and Puppel, 4–6 May 1931, no. 1260. Kneeling man, draped, holding a sword. Black chalk, 23.8 x 20.

A seventeenth-century drawing.

Sold BERNE, Gutekunst and Klipstein, Delacre sale, 21–22 June 1949.

No. 419. Head and left arm of a woman. Red chalk, 16.5 x 39.3.

Earlier sold Vienna 1889, from the Klinkosch Collection.

By Santi di Tito?

No. 420. Standing youth holding a book. Black chalk, 26.5 x 13.5.

By Naldini.

BRUNSWICK (Maine), Bowdoin College, Walker Art Museum no. 3 (Cat. 1930). Standing draped female figure. Red chalk over lead?, 27.7 x 12.9.

Apparently after a North European statuary model. At earliest a drawing of the late-sixteenth century.

BURLINGTON (Vermont), Joseph Winterbotham. Youth standing, facing left, arm outstretched. Red chalk, 38.5 x 25.

Sold Berlin, Hollstein and Puppel, 4–6 May 1931, no. 1258.

A good drawing in a style resembling Poccetti's.

CAMBRIDGE, Fitzwilliam Museum, Ricketts and Shannon Collection. Draped male figure leaning to the left. Red chalk, 25.5 x 17.

Vasari Society ser. 1, 4:5 (1908–1909) as Florentine school, c. 1511. Berenson [1938] no. 55C by

Andrea, possibly for one of the background figures in the S. Gallo *Annunciation.*

Fairly certainly a drawing by Franciabigio, after 1520.

CHANTILLY, Musée Condé no. 102. Portrait study of a seated girl. Red chalk, 19.5 x 16. Inscribed "André del Sarte." From the Duc d'Aumale. Fig. 177.

Berger 1879, 298 cites this drawing as by Andrea, and as preparatory to a portrait of Lucrezia. Morelli in Habich 1891/92, 488 gave the sheet to Puligo. Berenson [1938] no. 1956 preferred to assign it to Pontormo, and was followed by Clapp 1914, 80–81. Giglioli 1936, 190–194 calls it Franciabigio, without convincing explanation.

The costume of the sitter would seem to require a date into the 1530's rather than before. Bronzino's name has been suggested, but seems not to apply. The author may rather be a Sarto-follower, perhaps of Salviati's generation: he has been influenced, certainly, by the portrait (Uffizi) of Maria del Berrettaio, but would also seem to know Bronzino's portraits of the thirties.

Mr. Philip Pouncey has kindly called to my attention a painting at this writing in the London art market, which is clearly based upon the drawing in Chantilly. The sitter is evidently intended to be the same, and a reworked inscription identifies her as Caterina di Giovanni Bercighelli(?), wife of Jacopo di Giovanni di Niccola Della Gherardesca. Neither the husband nor wife appears in the genealogical table of the Della Gherardesca family in Litta. The portrait shows the style of a picture of the forties, and it may be a copy, perhaps altered in the elements of setting, of the work for which the Chantilly drawing served.

CLEVELAND, Museum of Art no. 51.492. Female? figure at about three-quarters length, to the left. Red chalk, 39.4 x 17. From the Freiherr von Lanna collection, where it was attributed to Sarto.

Berenson [1938] no. 2369A, [1961] no. 1957B assigns the sheet to Pontormo, as does the museum.

To be referred to an artist of a later generation than Andrea or Pontormo. Mrs. J. C. Rearick (verbally) assigns the drawing to Allori.

CHATSWORTH, Devonshire Collection.

Head of a young man. Black chalk, 35.2 x 23.8.

An old note on the back of the drawing identifies it as a portrait of Sansovino by Sarto. Now attributed to Bronzino, we believe correctly.

——— Two angels bearing a candelabrum. Pen and bistre, white high lights.

Attributed to Andrea on Braun photograph 74039. On the mount of the drawing Popham has noted the name of Perino del Vaga, with a question mark. In any case, a drawing of the post-Raphaelesque Roman school.

Formerly? CHELTENHAM, Fitzroy Fenwick Collection. *Recto,* head of a bearded old man. *Verso,* copies after motives in the Scalzo frescoes. Inscribed "Andrea del Sarto."

A seventeenth-century Florentine drawing.

COPENHAGEN, Museum of Art no. 4, 4. *Recto,* nude male leaning to the left. *Verso,* study of drapery. Red chalk, 32.5 x 24. From the Valori and Wauters Collections.

Kunstmuseets Aarnskrift 13/14 (1926–1928) 198 a study for the Scalzo fresco of the *Arrest of the Baptist.* Russel 1927, 5 makes the same identification. Fraenckel 1935, 196 would assign the sheet to Pontormo.

A vigorous but faulty drawing of the third quarter of the sixteenth century in Florence.

——— no. 15, 1. *Verso,* man ploughing. *Recto,* a copy after the Pinti fresco.

DARMSTADT, Hessische Landesmuseum no. AE1460. Draped standing male, headless, facing to the right. Red chalk, 35.9 x 17.4. Pencil inscription of Andrea's name.

By Franciabigio?

——— no. AE1461. *Recto,* Mary mourning at the Cross. *Verso,* a kneeling man. Red chalk, 36.8 x 20.1.

A seventeenth-century drawing.

DÜSSELDORF, Akademie no. 18. Young man, from the rear, mounting a step. Red chalk, cut out, 38.9 x 24. Attributed since the late eighteenth century to Sarto; the attribution maintained in Cats. 1928 and 1930.

A late sixteenth-century Florentine drawing, but perhaps only a copy from one.

——— no. 19. Two men bargaining with a girl. Oil, monochrome, 15.5 x 19.

Cat. 1930 gives the attribution of H. Voss to Sarto. A late sixteenth-century or early seventeenth-century drawing of North Italian origin.

DRESDEN?, King of Saxony (1865). Head of a Madonna; a St. Anne. Chalk, 18.6 x 36.5.

A seventeenth-century improvisation after a Leonardesque model.

EDINBURGH, National Gallery of Scotland no. D3098. Draped seated man. Red chalk, 40.6 x 27.7. From the W. F. Watson Collection.

Now considered to be a seventeenth-century Florentine drawing, in the neighborhood of Matteo Roselli or Lorenzo Lippi. Perhaps rather by Santi di Tito.

FLORENCE, Uffizi no. 623E. Head of a girl. Black chalk on tinted paper, 25 x 23. Fig. 178.

Ferri 1893, 132 as Sarto.

By Franciabigio?

———no. 625E. *Recto*, four hands. *Verso*, female head to the left, hands, the head of a cat, arabesques. Red chalk (the arabesques in ink), 19.5 x 14.

Ferri 1893, 132 as Sarto. More recently attributed to Pontormo, but a note on the mount (Marcucci) makes the correct attribution to Santi di Tito.

——— no. 643E. Draped male figure, to the right, book in hand. Red chalk, 21.5 x 16.5.

Ferri 1893, 132 by Sarto, for the *Assunta* (unspecified) of the Pitti. Berenson [1938] no. 2529: Sogliani; so now attributed in the Cabinet.

——— no. 654E. Head of a child. Black chalk, 22 x 17.

Ferri 1893, 133 as Sarto. Berenson [1938] no. 1985 by Pontormo, for the Visdomini altar.

——— no. 655E. St. Cosmos (or Damian?). Red chalk, 27 x 12. An old inscription, "del Sansovino."

Ferri 1893, 133 as Sarto. Di Pietro 1911, 20 perfers to assign it to Sansovino. Berenson [1938] no. 99 Sarto, c. 1515, and resembling the second standing figure from the right in the *Preaching of the Baptist* in the Scalzo. Presently assigned in the Cabinet to Franciabigio, but with a question mark.

——— no. 658E. Draped standing female figure. Red chalk, 29.5 x 17.2.

Ferri 1893, 133 as Sarto. Berenson [1938] no. 101 an early Sarto, perhaps a study for a *Faith*, not much after 1511. Di Pietro 1911, 16, no. 73 considers it a first thought by Andrea for a *Faith*, and dependent on a statuary model by Sansovino. He would date it c. 1515.

Presently assigned in the Cabinet to Jacopino del Conte, but this attribution is uncertain. E. Carroll (verbally) suggests the possibility that the sheet may be an early Salviati.

——— nos. 1313E–1318E (inclusive); 1355E–1360E (inclusive); 296F; 6416–6417F; 14564F; category V. 10, 12, 13, 14–19, 21–27, 29, 30, 32–42, 856. Landscape drawings, red chalk and pen; average dimension about 27 x 19. No. 1314E (Fig. 180) is inscribed "Questo Libro si chominciò adì 30 d'agosto 1527." Originally a sketchbook of 60 leaves, and so described, with the attribution to Sarto, in the early eighteenth century (letter, N. Gaburri to P. Mariette, 1732; in Bottari-Ticozzi, *Raccolta di Lettere*, 1822, II, 343.) A sheet in Bayonne and one in Stockholm are supposed to belong also to this book.

Mantz 1877, 342 described this set as by Andrea, as did Ferri 1893, 134, 138. Di Pietro 1911, 96 refused the attribution to Andrea, and also that to Bacchiacca, a frequently held alternative. Giglioli 1928/1929, 174 and 1930, 2 would reserve the association with Andrea at least for category V. 12. Fraenckel 1935, 194 would assign some of the drawings to Bacchiacca, but finds three other hands also at work in the series. She indicates that many of the sheets are copies after parts of Dürer prints. Marcucci 1955*b*, 55, and 1958, 3 ff. examines the set more carefully; she also concludes that Bacchiacca is the author of the principal group.

The attribution to Bacchiacca is not tenable; even less, obviously, that to Sarto. The primary hand is not identifiable, but it may be that of the master, so far anonymous, whose major work is the *Madonna della Cintola* in the Galleria Nazionale, Rome. Zeri 1962, 231, makes this same suggestion (having assigned to this master the *notname* "Master of the Kress Landscapes").

FLORENCE, Uffizi no. 271F. Youthful figure seated, facing front. Red chalk, 21 x 12.5.

Ferri 1893, 134 as Sarto. Berenson [1938] no. 2371 assigns the sheet to Puligo; the attribution to Puligo has been assigned the drawing in the Cabinet.

——— no. 272F. Putto. Red chalk, 22.5 x 15.

Ferri 1893, 134 considered this a study by Andrea for the child in the arms of *Caritas* in the Scalzo. Knapp 1907, 133 had preferred to associate it with the *Marriage of St. Catherine*, Dresden 76. Di Pietro 1911, 19–20, had decisively and properly rejected Andrea's authorship of the drawing.

——— no. 274F. Head of a child, in profile to the right. Red chalk, 11.4 x 8.9.

Ferri 1893, 134 gives nos. 274 through 280 as a group of "varie teste," all assigned by him to Sarto. No. 274F is now catalogued in the Cabinet as an anonymous Florentine copy from Andrea, and may be a copy from a study by Andrea for the St. John of the Borgherini *Holy Family*.

——— no. 275F, male head to the right; no. 276F, head of a youth in profile to the left; no. 278F, head turned upward to the left; no. 279F, male head to the left. On one mount; all red chalk, each 9 x 7.

See Ferri 1893 under no. 274F, above. Berenson [1938]: 275F, no. 109; 276F, no. 109A (1903, no. 59); 278F, no. 109B (1903, no. 60); 279F, no. 110. Under no. 109 in ed. 1961 Berenson observes that this set is presently attributed to an anonymous Florentine "affine al Boscoli" and would withdraw his former attribution to Andrea.

——— no. 280F. Head of a putto. Red chalk, oval, 8.5 x 6.5.

Ferri 1893, 134 as Andrea. Berenson [1938] no. 110A (but not in 1903) took the drawing as Andrea's, but [1961] notes the present attribution of the sheet to Empoli in the Cabinet, and withdraws his own former attribution.

——— no. 281F. Female figure holding a basin. Black chalk on tinted paper, 28.5 x 21.

Ferri 1893, 134 as a first thought for the Salome of the *Decapitation of the Baptist*, Scalzo. Berenson [1938] no. 2514 assigns the sheet to Sogliani, as a free copy after the fresco; now so catalogued in the Cabinet.

——— no. 283F. *St. Peter*, walking forward. Red chalk, 27.3 x 18.4.

A possible imitation of Sarto's style, but more probably a copy after a drawing of the period 1525–1530. The relation of type, drapery motive, and posture to many of the paintings of this period seems apparent.

——— no. 286F. Draped figure holding a curtain. Red chalk, 26.8 x 13.4.

A fine, but slighter and later hand than Andrea's; it is now assigned to Maso da S. Friano.

——— no. 287F. *Recto*, nude youth leaning on a stick. *Verso*, light sketch of a male torso, to the right. Red chalk, 39.2 x 20.

Presently attributed in the Cabinet to Clemente Bandinelli.

——— no. 290F. Study for a Madonna. Black chalk on tinted paper, 38 x 25.5.

Ferri 1893, 135 as a study for the *Madonna del Sacco*; but it is not so related. Jacobsen 1898, 277 accepts Ferri's association. Now called Puligo? in the Cabinet; but Sogliani may be a more likely attribution.

——— no. 294F. Draped figure kneeling to the left. Red chalk, 11.5 x 5.5. Inscribed by a later hand with Andrea's name.

Berenson [1938] no. 110H (not in 1903) as Andrea's; [1961] Berenson would rescind this attribution. The drawing now given in the Cabinet to Boscoli, doubtfully; it is close in style to a strain of Boscoli's drawings of Sartesque accent.

——— no. 300F. *Deposition*. Red chalk, lunette, 33 x 16.

Ferri 1893, 135 as Sarto.

By Pontormo; so now universally taken. A study for the altar formerly at Pontorme, now in Empoli. Cf. Freedberg 1961, 533.

——— no. 312F. Nude male to the left. Red chalk over black chalk, 39 x 17.5.

Ferri 1893, 136 by Andrea, for one of the "lebbrosi" in the Benizzi *Clothing*. Jacobsen 1898, 278, no. 147 makes the same association, but doubtfully. Berenson 1903, no. 71 and Knapp 1907, 133 as Ferri. Di Pietro 1911, 10–11 identified the sheet as a study by Franciabigio for the St. Job of the altarpiece of 1516 (Uffizi). The change accepted by Berenson [1938] no. 747A.

——— no. 316F. Partly nude male? figure, standing. Red chalk, 32 x 13.

Ferri 1893, 137 as Andrea. Now attributed in the Cabinet to Naldini, correctly.

——— no. 335 F. Standing draped female figure, in profile to the right. Black chalk, 28.5 x 12.

Ferri 1893, 137 as Andrea.

Akin to Sogliani's style.

——— no. 340F. Nude boy seated on a bank, legs apart. Black chalk on grey paper, 25 x 23.

Ferri 1893, 138 a study by Andrea for the *Baptism of the Multitude*, Scalzo. Berenson 1903, no. 85, [1938] no. 119D tentatively makes the same association. Knapp 1907, 134 perhaps Pontormo rather than Andrea. Di Pietro 1911, 25 rejects the attribution to either, and would give it to Naldini. Now correctly assigned in the Cabinet to Boscoli.

——— no. 341F. Study for a *Caritas*. Red chalk, 39 x 18.

Ferri 1893, 138 for the Scalzo *Caritas*. Berenson [1938] no. 1963 as Pontormo, early. The Pontormo attribution now accepted almost without challenge. Cf. Cox 1957, 19.

——— no. 342F. Female head. Red chalk, 28 x 20.

Ferri 1893, 138 as Andrea. Berenson [1938] no. 2542 as Sogliani; so now assigned in the Cabinet.

——— no. 344F. Boy walking forward, holding a book. Red chalk, 33.9 x 18.2.

This drawing makes a mysterious appearance as pl. 26, fig. 2, in Fraenckel 1935, but it is not mentioned in her text or catalogue. An old inscription on the drawing assigns it to Polidoro; this is crossed out and replaced by the name of Jacone, which attribution the sheet now bears in the Cabinet.

——— no. 6414F. Male figure bending, half-length. Red chalk on pink-tinted paper, 14 x 7.5.

Traditionally attributed to Sarto. Identified by Marcucci 1955, 121 as Macchietti, and a study for the *Bagni di Pozzuoli* in the *Studiolo.*

——— no. 6415F. Torso and head of a nude male, from the rear. Red chalk on pink-tinted paper, 10.4 x 8. Old inscription "Sarto."

Identified by Marcucci 1955, 121 as for no. 6414F.

——— no. 6416F. Two standing draped figures. Red chalk on tinted paper, 11.4 x 21.

Traditional attribution to Sarto.

Now assigned in the Cabinet to Bacchiacca.

——— no. 6417F. A captain harangues his troops. Red chalk, 21 x 16.5.

Ferri 1893, 138 as Sarto.

By Bacchiacca?

——— no. 6421F. A cavalry battle. Black chalk, 28.5 x 20.5.

Ferri 1893, 138 as Sarto.

Loosely imitated from Leonardo's *Anghiari* by a mediocre draughtsman of the thirties. This sheet has much in common with the *Battle Scene* in the Victoria and Albert Museum assigned by Zeri 1962, 228 to the "Master of the Kress Landscapes."

——— no. 6422F. A youth standing, in a long shirt, hands crossed on breast. Red chalk, 27.8 x 11.4.

Ferri 1893, 138 as Sarto.

Now assigned in the Cabinet to Puligo.

——— no. 6426F. Study in the nude for the Christ of a *Pietà*. Red chalk, cut out and pieced out to 23 x 18.5

Ferri 1893, 138 as Sarto.

An indifferent drawing by a Florentine hand, c. 1530. Traced (by the same author) from Uffizi 6427F. Assigned in the Cabinet to Fra Paolino.

——— no. 6427F. Study in the nude for the Christ of a *Pietà*. Red chalk, pieced out to 23.4 x 30.5.

See no. 6426F, above.

——— no. 6434F. Horseman carrying a shield. Lead? point, 38.3 x 21.9.

Suggesting the manner of an early seventeenth-century draughtsman, and Poccetti in particular.

FLORENCE, Uffizi no. 6437F. *Recto*, drapery of a seated figure in profile to the left. *Verso*, drapery of the knee and thigh of a seated figure, to the left. Red chalk, 26 x 24.5.

Clapp 1914, 144 and Berenson [1938] no. 1991A by Pontormo, for his lunette at Poggio.

——— no. 6453F. Lower drapery of a figure seated on the springing of an arch. Black chalk, 26.7 x 18.2. Fig. 181.

Berenson [1938] no. 128 by Andrea, for a figure intended to decorate a spandrel. Di Pietro 1911, 41 rejected the attribution to Andrea and assigned the sheet instead to an anonymous follower of Fra Bartolommeo.

The motive resembles, but not precisely, one of Raphael's figures for the Chigi Chapel in S. M. della Pace. The style is comparable to a few of Andrea's early sheets, such as Uffizi 6435F, for the Magi of the Annunziata, but the comparison does not bear close examination. Of high quality; one may speculate that Fra Bartolommeo, in Rome, may be the author.

——— no. 6458F. Four partial studies of nude male figures, portion of a female figure, a putto, details of anatomy. Red chalk, 26.6 x 35.6. Inscribed "turpilio." Fig. 179.

Traditionally ascribed to Sarto, perhaps on account of the inscribed "turpilio"; except in this case the word does not occur on a drawing not by him. Presently assigned in the Cabinet to Bandinelli, correctly. Compare, e.g., Uffizi 520F or Besançon 990.

——— no. 6463F. *Recto*, male head, of antique cast, three-quarters to the left. *Verso*, male head in profile left. Red chalk with later? ink retouches, 21.2 x 13.9. Inscribed in a sixteenth-century hand with an attribution to Sarto.

Presently assigned in the Cabinet to Franciabigio.

Related in type to the heads in Franciabigio's fresco at Poggio.

——— no. 14306F. Feet of a standing figure. Red chalk, 4.9 x 4.7.

Knapp 1907, 134 for one of the soldiers of the *Arrest of the Baptist*, Scalzo.

A thin drawing. The association Knapp suggests is uncertain; and the author cannot be identified.

——— no. 14441F. A figure borne in triumph. Red chalk, 20.7 x 24.8.

Assigned in the photographic files of the British Museum Cabinet to Salviati. I. H. Cheney (oral communication) agrees this is by the young Salviati, from the mid–1530's.[1]

HAMBURG, Kunsthalle no. 21462. Youth standing, facing to the left. Black chalk, 41.6 x 27.7.

From Bandinelli's workshop.

LEIPZIG, K. W. Hiersmann. Draped youth, facing right. Red chalk. Old inscription "Sarto."

A seventeenth-century Florentine drawing.

LENINGRAD, Hermitage no. 342 (Cat. 1940). *Flagellation of Christ.* Chalk, 19.5 x 28.

Not certainly a Florentine drawing, and toward 1560 in its date.

LILLE, Musée Wicar no. 8 (also numbered 499). *Entombment of Christ.* Pen and brown wash, white high lights, 29.5 x 27.5.

Formerly attributed to Sarto in the Cabinet. Gonze 1877, 399 identified this sheet correctly as a copy of a drawing by Raphael.

——— no. 9 (also numbered 46). Man standing, writing in a book. Black chalk, 41.5 x 25.3. Inscribed on the verso with the name of Cesare d'Arpino.

Formerly attributed to Sarto, then to Fra Bartolommeo. Gonze 1877, 400 had rejected the attribution to Sarto.

——— no. 10 (also numbered 503). *Birth of the Virgin.* Pen and brown wash, white high lights, 21.3 x 39.6.

Traditionally attributed to Sarto. Gonze 1877, 400 as derived from the Annunziata fresco, but by Franciabigio rather than Andrea. Morelli in Habich 1892, 442, no. 125: copy.

Not in any way connected with Andrea, even as a derivation from the Annunziata fresco. A drawing of quite independent composition, and of North Italian origin, c. 1540.

——— no. 13 (also numbered 502). *Madonna and Child with Sts. Elizabeth and John and a female saint.* Red chalk on tinted paper, 19.6 x 16. Fig. 182.

Traditionally attributed to Sarto.

Gonze 1877, 401 as an authentic drawing.

By Sogliani in a Sartseque vein; cf. Uffizi 642E for its style.

LONDON, British Museum no. 1857–5–20–63. *Christ Disputing with the Doctors.* Pen and brown ink and wash, some white heightening and traces of black chalk. 54 x 41.9.

From the Reynolds Collection, where it was attributed to Raphael, and the MacIntosh Collection, where it was assigned to Andrea; purchased by the British Museum with the latter attribution. Reclassified by Popham only in 1941 as "attributed to Garofalo." Pouncey, Cat. 1962 no. 56, pp. 43–44, has preferred to identify the sheet as a probable copy from a lost original by Raphael, from his later Florentine period.

——— no. 1893–7–31–16. A youth seated, facing right, holding a book. Red chalk, 25 x 31.

Formerly ascribed to Andrea in the Cabinet. Berenson [1938] no. 1762 as Naldini, correctly. Cf. the version of this same drawing in Bayonne, no. 147.

——— no. 1895–9–15–526. *Recto, Hercules and David. Verso,* sketches for a *Rape of Dina.* Black chalk with white high lights, 22 x 20.

Wickhoff 1899, 214n2 had reattributed this sheet from Fra Bartolommeo (the attribution it bears in the Cabinet) to the early Andrea, incorrectly. Gabelentz, 1922, II, 125 no. 285.

——— no. 1946–4–13–213. *Recto,* face enclosed in a circle; head of a young man; landscape. *Verso,* man and woman in profile. Red chalk, 10.5 x 13.9.

——— no. 1946–4–13–214. *Recto,* head of a bearded man. *Verso,* martyrdom of a female saint (Agatha?). Red chalk, 10.8 x 14.2.

Both the above sheets sold Sotheby, 27 March 1946, no. 54, with an attribution to Sarto. Pouncey, Cat. 1962 nos. 198 and 199, p. 117, has properly identified them as Polidoro's.

——— no. 1946–7–13–34. View of a walled town. Red chalk, 27 x 39.5. From the Fitzroy Fenwick Collection, where it was attributed to Sarto. Inscribed on the rear "Antonio di Donnino;" this name scratched out and, under it, "Michele di Ridolfo." This name now attached to the drawing in the Cabinet.

The sheet appears to be by the same hand that is the principal author of the sketchbook Uffizi 1313E etc. q.v.

——— no. 1958–12–13–5, *Virgin and Child.* Black chalk, 16.8 x 15.2. An old inscription assigns the sheet to Sarto, but it is by Polidoro da Caravaggio; so published by Pouncey, Cat. 1962 no. 215, p. 215.

——— Art Market. Seated putto with flute. Chalk, 26.2 x 16.5. Dealer's attribution.

A drawing of the late sixteenth century in Florence.

——— V. Bloch. Seated draped male figure, model study. Red chalk, 41 x 25.7.

Attributed to Sarto in the collection.

By Empoli?

——— Seated draped male figure. Red chalk, 38.9 x 23.3.

Attributed to Sarto in the collection.

Florentine, c. 1600. By the same hand as Uffizi no. 6440F.

——— Courtauld Institute of Art, Witt Collection. Bust of a youth in profile to the right. Red chalk, 16.8 x 16.8.

Attributed to Andrea in the Witt Collection.

An early seventeenth-century Florentine drawing.

Formerly LONDON, Thomas Harris. *Recto,* seated nude male, from the rear. *Verso,* reclining male figure. Chalk, 19.5 x 13.5. From the de Vries Collection, and sold with it at Amsterdam, March 1930.

Attributed to Sarto in the collection.

Of the later sixteenth century.

LONDON, Sir Robert Mond Collection no. 236. Cloaked male figure. Black chalk on blue paper, 28.2 x 18.

Attributed to Sarto in the collection.

By Poccetti?

Sold LONDON, Christie's, Oppenheimer, 10–14 July 1936, no. 507. Portrait study of a woman in profile to the left. Red chalk, 18 x 14.

Attributed to Sarto in the collection.

By a Sarto follower c. 1530. Related to the head of the Virgin in the *Annunciation* lunette (Pitti) and perhaps a copy from a study for it.

Sold LONDON, Sotheby, Russell sale, 9 May 1929, no. 18. Portrait study of a young man in loose gown, wearing a cap. Black chalk on pink-tinted paper, 21 x 17.

Ascribed to Pontormo in the sales catalogue but Berenson [1938] no. 140B (not in 1903) gives this decisively to Andrea.

By neither Pontormo nor Andrea, but in Puligo's manner, and of indifferent quality.

——— Earl of Warwick, 17 June 1936, no. 58. Seated woman. Red chalk, 27.2 x 19.6.

Attributed to Sarto in the sales catalogue.

A fine drawing by Naldini.

——— Springell sale, 28 June 1962, no. 19. *Recto*, studies of two seated nude male figures, red and black chalk. *Verso*, two further studies of the same figure, red chalk; and old inscription of Andrea's name. 19 x 26.3.

Related to Naldini's style.

LYONS, Musée des Beaux-Arts. Seated man in long dress, from the rear; a turbanned head at left. Red chalk, 39.5 x 23.5.

Attributed to Sarto in the Museum.

An early seventeenth-century drawing.

Exhibited MANCHESTER, W. Litworth Gallery, 1948, no. 45. Kneeling woman. Black chalk.

Attributed to Sarto in the exhibition catalogue.

By Empoli.

MELBOURNE, National Gallery of Victoria. Perspective study of a nude male from above, in seated posture. Red chalk, 33.7 x 24.

Attributed to Sarto in the Gallery.

Naldini?

MILAN, Ambrosiana, Resta Collection, p. 29, no. 34. Studies of legs. Black chalk, 26.9 x 19.2.

Attributed to Sarto in the Cabinet.

An academy of the seventeeth century.

MUNICH, Graphische Sammlung no. 2210. Draped standing figure to the right. Red chalk, 37.5 x 24.4.

Formerly attributed to Sarto in the Cabinet.

A late sixteenth-century Tuscan drawing, resembling Cigoli's style.

——— no. 32338. A woman spinning. Black chalk, 26.5 x 20.

Attributed to Sarto in the Cabinet.

A note on the mount (Marcucci) attributes this sheet to Boscoli.

——— no. 32339. *Recto*, figure of Christ, arms crossed on breast, red chalk. *Verso*, indecipherable sketch in bistre. 13.9 x 11.7.

Formerly attributed to Sarto in the Cabinet.

An early seventeenth-century drawing.

Sold MUNICH, Helbing, Rudolf sale, 8 June 1914, no. 781. Standing man, left arm raised, to his right a seated man. Red chalk, 34.3 x 18.7.

Attributed to Sarto in the sales catalogue.

A seventeenth-century drawing.

——— Weinmuller, 13–14 October 1938, no. 621. Draped male figure facing to the left, left arm raised. Red chalk, 35.5 x 20.

The attribution to Sarto in the sales catalogue.

Perhaps the same drawing as that sold Munich, Rudolf Collection, q.v. above.

——— 18 June 1952, no. 877. *The Virgin on Clouds Consoles People in Hell?* Ink and blue wash, 28 x 18.

Attributed to Sarto in the sales catalogue.

A late seventeenth or early eighteenth-century drawing.

NAPLES, Galleria Nazionale no. 12–5. Seated female in contemporary dress, from the life. Black chalk, white high lights, on pink-tinted paper, 27.8 x 17.3.

Formerly attributed to Sarto. A note on the mount (Popham) correctly assigns this sheet to Parmigianino. It is a superb drawing of that master's later style.

——— no. 54–11. Female figure seated to the right, two putti. Red chalk, 15 x 14. Inscribed twice, by later hands, "Andrea del Sarto."

By a Florentine of the third quarter of the sixteenth century.

NEW YORK, Scholz Collection. A left hand. Red chalk, 16.2 x 8.8. From the Piancastelli and Brandegee Collections.

Doubtfully attributed to Andrea in the Collection.

Dependent on Michelangelesque rather than Sartesque example.

——— Nude seated male, from the rear. Red chalk, 19 x 12.4. From the Piancastelli and Brandegee Collections, in which the sheet bore a traditional attribution to Sarto.

A seventeenth-century academy, not necessarily Florentine.

——— Head of a bearded man, in profile to the left. Black chalk, pieced out to 25 x 18.2. From the Piancastelli and Brandegee Collections, in which the old attributions included the names of Giulio Romano and Sebastiano del Piombo as well as Sarto.

Probably a copy after Polidoro.

——— Standing nude of ambiguous sex, winged, to the right (study for a St. Michael). Red chalk, 26.5 x 19.2. From the Holford and Goldstein Collections, with an old attribution to Sarto.

By Boscoli.

Sold NEW YORK, Anderson, Field sale, 10 December 1918, no. 21. Seated youth, sprawling to the left. Red chalk, 26.7 x 34.

Attributed to Sarto in the sales catalogue.

Suggesting Santi di Tito's style.

——— Kende, Goldstein sale, 12 January 1945, no. 160. *Flight into Egypt.* Red chalk and lead point, 50.3 x 38.1. Inscribed with Andrea's name.

A seventeenth-century drawing.

OSLO, National Museum. *Recto*, Madonna holding the sleeping Child on a Cross; studies of hands. *Verso*, Madonna; studies of hands; academy of a figure drinking. Black chalk.

——— Seated draped figure from the rear. Black chalk.

Perhaps by the same hand as the above.

——— Standing draped male figure from the front, in declamatory posture.

——— A bishop saint.

All the above sheets are of the seventeenth century.

OXFORD, Christ Church Library no. V10. Head of a girl. Red chalk, 20.9 x 15.6.

In a vocabulary derived from Sarto's, but weaker, and of later date.

——— DD18. Design for a clock with emblematic devices. Black chalk with brown wash, 41.9 x 27.

Attributed to Sarto in Cat. Christ Church Library Collection 1914 (Bell). Given in the photographic files of the British Museum to Salviati. I. H. Cheney (oral communication) believes the Salviati attribution is correct.[2]

PARIS, Ecole des Beaux-Arts no. 353. Seated youth in contemporary costume, holding a rope. Red chalk, 41 x 26.

Traditional attribution to Sarto.

By Santi di Tito?

——— no. 357. Standing figure in a heavy mantle. Red chalk, 42.7 x 27.5.

Formerly attributed to Sarto; now given to Sarto's school.

By Empoli; cf. Lille, Musée Wicar no. 183.

——— no. 358. A *garzone* drawing. Red chalk, 28.5 x 19.3.

An old attribution to Sarto; now given to Sarto's school.

A seventeenth-century Florentine drawing; it resembles no. 353 above but is not as strong.

——— no. 364. Head of a girl. Black chalk, 29.4 x 24. From the Armand Valton Collection. Fig. 183.

A traditional attribution to Sarto, later revised to "copy after Andrea." An entry in the registry book of the Cabinet suggests the name of Andrea del Brescianino, which is in fact the exact attribution.

——— Louvre no. 212. Head of an older man, looking downward to the left. Red chalk, 13.5 x 16.5. Fig. 186.

Morelli in Habich 1891–92, 290 by Andrea. Berenson [1938] no. 158 by Andrea, but with no indication of the purpose of the drawing.

Knapp 1907, 135 as Berenson. Gabelentz 1922, II, 148, no. 359 as of Andrea's school.

Ascribed to Fra Bartolommeo in the Cabinet; a note by Pouncey on the mount states that the attribution to Fra Bartolommeo is exact.

PARIS, Louvre no. 1671. Madonna and two saints, design for an altarpiece. Black chalk, brush and wash, 27.6 x 18.7. From the Mariette Collection.

Venturi 1925, 567: one of Andrea's most beautiful drawings. Berenson [1938] no. 755 assigns this to Franciabigio as a sheet of c. 1515–1520.

Nearer to Franciabigio, by far, than to Andrea, but neither does Berenson's attribution quite convince. The drapery style may be too fluent for Franciabigio.

——— no. 1674. Draped standing saint, with book and palm (resembling the St. John Evangelist of the *Harpies*). Red chalk, 34.9 x 22.6. From the Richardson Collection.

Reiset 1866, no. 32 as Andrea. Berenson [1938] no. 2377 assigns this to Puligo, correctly.

——— no. 1676. Madonna and two saints, design for an altarpiece. Red chalk, 40.2 x 29.7.

Berenson [1938] no. 2379 assigns this to Puligo, correctly. A note by Pouncey on the mount confirms this attribution.

——— no. 1682 *bis*. A right hand holding three small spherical objects. Black chalk, pasted to a support measuring 17 x 15. From the Mariette Collection.

Reiset 1866, no. 39–2. Knapp 1907, 135; Berenson [1938] no. 147(2); Rouchès 1939, no. 9; all assign the drawing to Andrea. Fraenckel 1935, 199 rejects Andrea's authorship, and thinks it a copy, but from an unknown source.

Perhaps by Franciabigio; cf. the sheet assigned to him in the Uffizi, no. 6447F.

——— no. 1691. Draped half-length figure, to the left, holding a book. Red chalk, 9.5 x 7.

Reiset 1866, no. 47 as Andrea. Berenson [1938] no. 464 reassigned the drawing to Fra Bartolommeo, and this is the present attribution in the Cabinet.

——— nos. 1693–1709 (inclusive), 1711, 1713, 1718. Various studies. Black chalk, mostly on blue paper; from the Baldinucci Sketchbook.

These sheets, bearing a traditional attribution to Andrea, are by various lesser Florentine hands, mostly of the later sixteenth century.

——— no. 1719. Seated aged female saint. Black chalk on grey paper, 29 x 21.5.

Reiset 1866, no. 54 as Andrea.

A copy after the lower right hand figure of Rosso's *Marriage of the Virgin* in S. Lorenzo.

——— no. 1721. *Recto*, turbanned head, in profile to the right. Black chalk. *Verso*, a caricature head. Pen and wash. 16.3 x 12.7.

By a late copyist or imitator of Rosso; related to Louvre 1719?

——— no. 1722. Portrait head of a young man, three-quarters right. Red chalk, 24.9 x 19.4.

Rouchès 1939, no. 14, gave this doubtfully to Andrea; the attribution was traditional. Now given in the Cabinet to Sarto's school.

From the evidence of inscriptions on the verso of this sheet, and on style, we might hazard an attribution to Camillo Boccaccino.

——— no. 1723. Draped figure standing to the left, right arm on breast. Red chalk, 39.6 x 15. Inscribed in a later hand with Andrea's name.

An accomplished Florentine drawing of the midsixteenth century by an artist dependent on Sarto's style.

——— no. 1725. Copy from Pontormo's *Joseph in Egypt* in the National Gallery, London.

By Federico Zuccaro?

——— no. 1727. A *contadina*. Red chalk, 25.2 x 13.8.

By a late sixteenth-century hand.

——— nos. 1728–1731 (inclusive). Various studies. Black chalk.

By a Michelangelo imitator.[3]

——— no. 10.906. Nude youth, left arm raised. Black chalk, 30.6 x 15.7.

Traditional attribution to Sarto.

An authentic drawing by Rosso, of his Roman years. This attribution indicated in a note on the mount by Popham, and confirmed by oral communication of E. Carroll.

——— no. RF495. Man in contemporary dress, three-quarters length, arms outstretched. Black chalk, 30.3 x 24.3. Inscribed in a later hand, "Di mano del Bandinello scultore."

A Florentine drawing c. 1540.

——— no. RF1721. A seated scribe. Red chalk, 21.8 x 12.

Of the early seventeenth century?

——— no. RF1722. Two studies of standing monks, in ecstatic attitudes. Red chalk, 20.1 x 17.2.

Of the early seventeenth century.

Formerly PARIS, Royal Collection. *Holy Family with St. John.* From the Jabach Collection. Engraved as Andrea by Pene in the *Recueil d'Estampes du Cabinet du Roy*, Paris, 1754.

After a late Raphaelesque model, resembling the *Madonna della Rosa* of the Prado.

Sold PARIS, Hôtel Drouot, 18 April 1917, no. 18. *Holy Family with a female saint.* Ink.

A Bolognese seventeenth-century drawing.

——— 27 June 1927, no. 14. A Mary at the Cross. Wash with white high lights, 27 x 16.

Not a Florentine drawing.

——— 12 May 1950, no. 15, from the Count R. de la Rochefoucauld Collection. Portrait study.

Attributed to Sarto in the sales catalogue. Berenson, *Lorenzo Lotto* (New York, 1956) 45, reassigns the sheet to Lotto.

POITIERS, Musée de Ville, no. 439. *Adoration of the Magi.*

Attributed to Andrea in Cat. Poitiers, 1930.

A late seventeenth-century drawing.

PRINCETON (New Jersey), University Museum, Mather Collection. No. 47–117. Saint healing a demoniac. Red chalk, 23.5 x 16.

At one time described as a study for the *Obsessed* of Andrea's Benizzi series; now considered a copy.

In no wise related to Andrea, even as a copy. A seventeenth-century drawing.

——— no. 51–39. *Recto*, standing male figure, classically draped. *Verso*, *Fortuna*; head and arms of a male figure. Red chalk, 40.1 x 27.9. From the J. Baer Collection, sold Frankfort, 1927, no. 162.

The verso especially suggests Naldini in an imitation of Pontormo's manner.

——— no. 52–159. Aged male figure, called *Time.* Wash on red-tinted paper, 22.7 x 14.5.

By Albertinelli?

ROME, Palazzo Corsini, Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe no. 16025. Drapery of a standing figure. Red chalk, 25.7 x 15. A later inscription with Andrea's name.

By a *maniera* draughtsman.

——— no. 127621. Three studies of older male heads; head of a child. Red chalk, 33.5 x 14. Inscribed in a later hand with Andrea's name.

Berenson [1938] no. 2754B–1 as Sogliani; so presently attributed in the Cabinet.

ROTTERDAM, Boymans-van Beuningen Museum, Koenigs Collection no. 111. Studies for a Hercules. Red chalk, 33 x 20.

Berenson [1938] no. 1761B as Naldini, correctly.

——— no. 265. Annunciate Angel. Red chalk, 38.5 x 26.

Berenson [1938] no. 1761C as Naldini, correctly.

——— no. 285. *Recto*, male nude in contrapposto; arms and legs. *Verso*, study for the Christ in a *Pietà*. Red chalk, 37.5 x 25.5. Inscribed in a later hand with Andrea's name. From the Gigoux and Legros Collections.

Shaw 1929/1930, 23 noted the similarity in style to Pontormo drawings, but hesitated between an attribution to Pontormo or Andrea. He would, however, consider that the recto is a study for the St. John in the painting in the Borghese, no 334. Fraenckel 1935, 195 preferred to attribute the sheet to Pontormo. Berenson [1938] no. 1761D assigned it to Naldini.

By Pontormo, for the Visdomini altar. See Freedberg and Rearick 1961, 8.

——— no. 368. *Recto*, *Baptism of Christ*, *Verso*, a kneeling figure of the Virgin. Red chalk, 42.4 x 26.2 Lost from the museum during World War II.

By Naldini.

ROTTERDAM, Boymans-van Beuningen Museum, no. 373. Draped male figure, leaning left and holding a stick; other figures, lightly sketched. Black chalk, 41.2 x 26.2.

By Naldini.

STOCKHOLM, National Museum no. 46 (Cat. Sirén 1902). Two studies of a girl seated, from the rear.

Sirén Cat. 1902 preferred an attribution to Pontormo rather than the traditional attribution to Andrea. 1933, 129, pl. 84 Sirén reassigns the sheet to Alessandro Allori, correctly.

——— no. 51 (Cat. Sirén 1902). Head of an older man, wearing a hat. Black chalk on grey-blue paper, 30.7 x 24.8. Rubbed. Inscribed by a later hand with Sarto's name.

Sirén 1933, 141, pl. 92 reassigns this sheet from Sarto to Lotto.

A Florentine drawing of the sixteenth century, and of the decade of the 1520's, but by a much lesser hand than Andrea's.

——— no. 52 (Cat. Sirén 1902). Woman seated on a wall, two putti. Red chalk, 18.8 x 14.3.

Sirén 1902, 45 as by Andrea and related to studies for the *Madonna del Sacco.*

By a thoroughly inept hand, of later date in the sixteenth century than Andrea.

——— no. 53 (Cat. Sirén 1902). Woman seated on a wall. Red chalk, 12.5 x 17.6. Inscribed in a later hand "Andrea del Sarto Cabinet de Crozat."

Sirén 1902, 45. Companion to the above.

——— no. 54 (Cat. Sirén 1902). *Last Supper*. Red chalk, pen and bistre, 18.6 x 19.

Sirén 1902, 46 suggests this may be an early study by Andrea for the fresco in S. Salvi.

Presently assigned in the Museum to an unknown artist of the Venetian school.

——— no. 55 (Cat. Sirén 1902). Landscape. Red chalk, 16.6 x 25.5.

Sirén 1902, 45 associates this sheet with the landscape series Uffizi 1313E, etc., which he would still assign to Sarto.

——— no. 56 (Cat. Sirén 1902). Head of an old man, leaning on his hand. Red chalk, 22.4 x 17.2.

Sirén (Cat. 1902) would justify the traditional attribution to Sarto, but p. 124 lists the sheet as doubtful.

——— no. 123. Two studies of winged male nudes.

Close to the Cav. d'Arpino.[4]

TURIN, Biblioteca Reale no. 379 (Cat. 1958). *Recto,* draped seated female, holding a book. *Verso,* three standing draped figures. Black chalk, 25.4 x 21.3.

Traditional attribution to Sarto. A note by Loeser on the mount suggests the name of Rosso; this attribution also given on the mount by Popham. Bertini, "Disegni inediti del Pontormo e della cerchia del Rosso," *Bollettino d'Arte 37* (1952) 312 also proposes the Rosso attribution.

By Sogliani. Compare the recto with Uffizi 17071F and Albertina R157. For the verso, compare Uffizi 6783.

——— no. 396 (Cat. 1958). Study of drapery of a standing figure from the rear. Red chalk, 38.1 x 18.7.

Traditional attribution to the Raphael school, but Cat. 1958 proposes that it is rather by Andrea or in his close circle.

By a late sixteenth-century hand, without relation to Andrea's drawing style.

——— no. 487 (Cat. 1958). Standing draped figure, writing, to the right. Red chalk, 39 x 23.6. A late inscription with Andrea's name.

Formerly attributed to Sarto. Cat. 1938 suggests that it is close to Cigoli.

——— no. 489 (Cat. 1958). *Preaching of the Baptist.* Pen with white high lights on blue paper, 14.5 x 26.5.

Traditional attribution to Sarto. Cat. 1958: by an anonymous artist related to Naldini.

——— no. 491 (Cat. 1958). Standing youth, from the rear, holding a sword. Black chalk, on blue-tinted paper, 24 x 12.1.

Traditional attribution to Sarto. Cat. 1958 reassigns the drawing to Santi di Tito's circle.

VIENNA, Albertina no. 77 (Cat. 1931). Two mounted men, "copy" from Raphael's *Spasimo di Sicilia.* Red chalk, 29 x 20.5.

Wickoff 1891/1892, SR no. 284 reassigned this from the Raphael school to Sarto; and his attribution has been accepted among others by Berenson [1938] no. 161 and Venturi 1925, 548n1. Restored to Raphael in Cat. 1931.

The sheet is, in my opinion, a study by Penni for Raphael's painting.

——— no. 150 (Cat. 1931). Landscape. Pen and bistre, 25.9 x 20.8. Traditionally ascribed to Raphael. The mistaken reassignment of the sheet to Sarto is by Wickhoff 1891/1892, SR no. 322; now properly catalogued as Fra Bartolommeo's.

——— no. 220 (Cat. 1931). Seated woman, study for a female portrait. Red chalk, 38.9 x 24.3. Inscribed in a later hand with Andrea's name.

Traditional attribution to Sarto; described by Wickhoff 1891/1892, SR no. 202, as a copy. Berenson's verbal opinion, assigning this sheet to Pontormo, is cited in Cat. 1931, and this attribution is accepted there. Berenson [1938] no. 2368C as Pontormo.

A Bronzinesque drawing.

——— no. 346 (Cat. 1931). Standing draped male figure, hands clasped. Red chalk, 41.3 x 20.3.

Traditional attribution to Sarto. Wickhoff 1891/1892, SR no. 186, close to Boscoli. Cat. 1931 assigns the sheet to Giovanni da S. Giovanni.

——— no. 348 (Cat. 1931). Head of a child. Red chalk, 25.7 x 23.8. A later inscription with Andrea's name.

Traditionally assigned to Sarto. Wickhoff 1891/1892, SR no. 198 describes it as a copy after Sarto. Cat. 1931 gives the sheet to Giovanni da S. Giovanni.

——— no. 349 (Cat. 1931). Three young men. Red chalk, 11.6 x 9.4.

Traditional ascription to Sarto. Wickhoff 1891/1892, SR no. 197 thinks it later than Sarto. Cat. 1931 assigns the sheet to Giovanni di S. Giovanni.

——— no. 775 (Cat. 1931). Head of a bearded old man. Red chalk, 34 x 23.9.

Traditional attribution to Sarto. Wickhoff 1891/1892, SR no. 203 considers it an eighteenth-century drawing. Cat. 1931 assigns the sheet to Carlo Maratta.[6]

Formerly VIENNA, Klinkosch Collection. Head and torso of a woman. Red chalk.

Attributed in the sales catalogue to Sarto. Berenson [1938] no. 2369A as Pontormo.

Close to Alessandro Allori.

Sold VIENNA, Gilhofer and Ranschberg, Petzold sale, 16 March 1908, no. 278. *Christ washing the feet of the Apostles*. Pen, brown wash and white highlights, 27 x 26.

Attributed in the sales catalogue to Sarto.

A North Italian drawing of the midsixteenth century.

WINDSOR, Royal Library no. 877. Portrait study of a young girl. Red chalk, 15.7 x 9.6.

A traditional attribution to Andrea, changed by Antal in Cat. Windsor 1949 to Rosso; see also F. Antal, "Italian Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century Drawings at Windsor Castle," *Burlington Magazine 93* (1951) 35. The Rosso attribution is nearer the case by far than that to Andrea, but the sheet would not seem to be by Rosso, either. This is also the opinion of E. Carroll (verbal communication).[7]

[1] The following drawings in the Santarelli Collection, cartella X, bear old attributions to Sarto, all incorrect: 631, Charity, a free transcription from the Scalzo figure; 632, draped male, resembling Boscoli; 633, standing male figure (cataloguer's note: by Matteo Rosselli); 634, nude from the rear, of the seventeenth century?; 635, Holy Family with St. John, by a minor follower (cataloguer's note: perhaps the author of the landscape series attributed to Andrea); 637, head of a putto (cataloguer's note: a copy?); 638, Madonna and Child; 639, Madonna and Child with St. John, both later than Andrea; 640, youth in three-quarters profile to the left (cataloguer's note: by Dolci?); 642, male figure with a vase (cataloguer's note: eighteenth century); 643, man leaning on a stick (cataloguer's note: eighteenth century); 649, male figure facing left, early seventeenth-century Florentine; 651, male nude from the rear (cataloguer's note: copy after Rosso); 656, Berenson [1938] no. 1760 by Naldini; 657, Berenson [1938] no. 1761 by Naldini; 680, St. Roch (cataloguer's note: Sgnarella?).

[2] Two drawings assigned by Knapp 1907, 135 to Sarto, with locations given as Oxford, Christ Church College Library, nos. 2207 and 2210 respectively, are not either there or in the Ashmolean.

[3] Louvre 1749, 1757, 1762, and 1764 are wrongly catalogued as copies after Sarto. Of these, no. 1749 may be by Puligo; no. 1764 is after Pontormo's *Joseph Receiving his Brothers* (Henfield, Lady Salmond).

[4] Sirén 1902, 46 mentions a dozen-odd further at-

tributions to Sarto among the drawings of the Stockholm Museum, all of them in his opinion unjustified.

[5] For more complete critical histories on the Albertina drawings see Cat. 1931.

[6] In his catalogue, Wickhoff 1891/1892 had already properly rejected the following traditional attributions to Sarto (his catalogue numbers): SR 183, 184, 188, 194, 195, 196, 199, 201, 204, 205.

[7] The following drawings, beyond those listed in the commonly accessible dictionaries of art sales, are attributed to Sarto in sources available to us, but the sheets cannot now be traced.

Formerly BOLOGNA, Bonfigli Collection. Studies of female heads. Listed in the inventory of the collection, *Rassegna d'Arte 21* (1921) 209.

Formerly FLORENCE, Domenico Bicoli. *Lucrezia*, paper mounted on board; a sketch for the *Disputà*. So listed Scott 1881, 129.

Formerly FLORENCE, Galleria Gaburri (sold in England after 1742 by the dealer Kent). The inventory of 1722 of this Gallery (Campori 1870) lists the following attributions to Sarto: p. 530, no. 74, a study related to the *Madonna del Sacco*; p. 564, no. 427, a black chalk drawing with St. Sebastian, Francis and Paul; p. 580, no. 83, a book of bound drawings including a figure study by Andrea (and a sketch apparently after the *Redeemer* of the Annunziata).

Formerly LONDON?, Mr. Bale. A female head, life-size, in chalk. Noted by Waagen 1854, II, 331.

Sold LONDON, Rev. Dr. Wellesley of Oxford, 1866. Alleged self-portrait of Andrea. Black chalk, 40.2 x 29.2. Cf. Redford 1881, II, 172.

Formerly MILAN, Ginoulhiac Collection. *Madonna and child.* Red chalk. Attributed to Sarto by Frizzoni 1881, 127.

Formerly PARIS, Gatteaux Collection. Two red chalk drawings (unidentified subjects). Cited by Duplessis 1870, 348.

Formerly REGGIO EMILIA, Studio Coccapani. Two old women, red chalk; a sibyl, red chalk. In the inventory of this collection, c. 1640 (Campori 1870, 154, 158).

VIENNA, Török Collection. Madonna. Chalk, 20.5 x 29. Attributed to Sarto in the catalogue of the collection, by A. Stix and H. Leporini, 1927, no. 9.

BIOGRAPHICAL DOCUMENTS AND COMMENTARY

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BIOGRAPHICAL DOCUMENTS AND COMMENTARY

This section does not include documents that pertain to particular works by Andrea; these are given in the Catalogue Raisonné.

16 July 1486: Andrea's birth.

Lunedi adi 17 di Luglio 1486. Andrea e Domenico dagnolo di Francesco popolo di S. Maria Novella nacque adi 16 hore 18.

Source: Opera di S. Maria del Fiore di Firenze, Filza originale battesimi dell' Oratorio di S. Giovanni Battista Maschi-Femmine anno 1479–1489.[1]

Andrea's father (born 1457) was a tailor, whence the cognomen "del Sarto" by which Andrea is generally called. Various forms are given for Andrea's name in the documents that refer to him, but in these documents no family name is attached to his. His forebears have been traced into the fourteenth century; and within the fifteenth century we know of his great-grandfather, Luca di Paolo di Migliore (born 1392), a farm laborer resident in Fiesole. His son Francesco (born 1431?) was a weaver, who moved just outside Florence into the *quartiere* of S. M. Novella. Agnolo, Andrea's father, when his son was born, lived in the same quarter, but within the walls, on Via Valfonda.[2] In the older literature it was the habit to attach the family name of Vannucchi to Andrea; but this was an inaccurate deduction made by Cinelli, in his 1677 edition of Bocchi's *Le Bellezze della Città di Firenze* (p. 427).[3]

Andrea had three sisters and three brothers: the brothers, Domenico (born 1488), Francesco (born 1493), and Silvestro (born 1506).[4] Francesco, nicknamed Ser Spillo, was also a painter, and in 1544 he was enrolled in the painters' guild in Rome.[5]

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[1] For various false assumptions about Andrea's birth date in the older literature see Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 63–64.

[2] *Ibid.*, 65–66; Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 161–162.

[3] For an accurate refutation of Cinelli's error see Milanesi in Vasari [1880] V, 64–66.

[4] Cf. *ibid.*, 61 and Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 161–162; but these, and other sources published hitherto, knew of only Domencio and Francesco. On Francesco see Milanesi in Vasari [1881], VI, 609n6 and Colnaghi, *A Dictionary of Florentine Painters* (London, 1928) III, 105.

Francesco's baptismal records are confusing. The records in the Opera del Duomo list the birth of a "Franc^{o} et Bart^{o} d'Agnolo di Franc^{o} sarto, p^{o} di S^{a} M^{a} novella" on 24 August 1492, and of a "Franc^{o} et Rolo [Romolo] d'Agnolo di Franc^{o} p^{o} di S^{a} M^{a} novella" on the 1st of April 1493. There are only seven months' interval between the two births, and one can only speculate about the death of the first Francesco and the possibility of survival of a second, born quite prematurely. We are indebted to Mr. Edward Sanchez for this new documentary information on Francesco.

Mr. Sanchez is also the discoverer of the existence of Silvestro. Mr. Sanchez informs us that Silvestro appears with his other brothers as an heir of the sum deposited in the Monte delle Graticole by their father "per sodo di dota di M^{a} Ghostanza sua donna" (Monte delle Graticole 974, c. 43, and 978, c. 178). When their mother died in June 1525 this sum was divided among the sons; see deed of the notary Ser Lorenzo Ciardi, Notarile C 497 (1525–1527) c. 19. Silvestro is given in this latter document as nineteen years of age. Silvestro, together with Domenico and Francesco, was "emancipated" from their father in this same deed.

In a document of 1538–1539 cited by Lorenzoni 1907, 94–95, one "Filipo di Salvestro di francisco sarto," of the *popolo* of S. Lorenzo, is named as the husband of the daughter of Andrea's one-time associate, Domenico Puligo. Despite this Filipo's patronymic, he cannot, considering the date, be our Silvestro's son.

[5] Mr. Sanchez' documentary information: Rome, Archivio dell'Accademia di S. Luca, vol. II, c. 21 left: "Ser spillo fiorentino pittore fratello dandrea del Sarto de dare scudi dua per Conto del suo introito .... 2." A. Bertolotti, *Artisti Lombardi a Roma* (Milan, 1881) 347–348, found a *protocollo* in which Francesco gives himself a family name, Lanfranchi. This deed (Notarile Andrea de Lupatis, no. 958 [1551–1553] c. 24, under date 25 September 1551 [Bertolotti gives the date incorrectly, as 25 November]) describes Francesco as ". . . magr [magister] franc^{s} de Angelo lanfranchi al [alias] Serspillo." Milanesi 1881, VI, 609n2 further states that in the "carte dell'eredità Galli" in S. M. Nuova, on a receipt dated 10 October 1547, Francesco gives himself the family name Lanfranchi. Were it not for the existence of this second document we should suggest the writer of the Roman *protocollo* had transcribed the patronym *di francesco* or *de franc^{i}* as Lanfranchi, an easy error given the contemporary clerks' hand. It is possible, of course, that Ser Spillo was quite arbitrarily appropriating a family name. No earlier records or documents, and none in which Andrea's family appear later, support a claim to this name. Mr. Sanchez has observed that, in the Florentine family called Lanfranchi, one of its members, a goldsmith, in 1529 was *sindaco* and *procuratore* of the Company of the Scalzo; this artisan bore the name Matteo di Lucha di Mattheo di Luca, and this makes a possibility of mutual descent (in the correct number of generations) from the Luca, Andrea's great-great-great grandfather, born 1392. Nevertheless, though Mr. Sanchez has made extensive documentary investigations of the possibility of such a family connection, he can find no evidence to support it.

12 December 1508: Andrea matriculates in the Medici e Speziali.

Die 12 dicti. Andreas Angeli Francisci Luce, pictor alla piazza del Grano, volens venire ad magistratum dicte artis et poni et scribi in matricula dicte artis inter alios in dicta arte matriculatos etc. promisit etc. iuravit etc. Debet solvere florenos sex sigilli.

Source: A.S.F. Medici e Speziali, 10, Libro bianco di matricole, 1490–1523, c. 93v.

The address here given, in the Piazza del Grano, is that Vasari ([1880]V, 8) gives for the shop shared by Andrea with Franciabigio. In this shop the two painters worked side by side (and also apparently collaborated on certain works, of which, however, only one at best would seem to have survived) until some time, probably, within 1510.[1] Then, they transferred their shop to rooms in the buildings of the *Sapienza*.[2] With the young Jacopo Sansovino, who then worked in his master's studio in the same locality, Andrea made a close friendship, of mutual profit to their art. It is not known when, precisely, Andrea's association with Franciabigio dissolved, but in 1513 the two were in overt, and apparently even hostile, competition;[3] it is likely they had parted company c. 1511.[4]

The earliest reference to Andrea's training as an artist (in the *Codex Magliabechiano*, 108) describes Andrea as a pupil of Raffaellino del Garbo. This is not repeated in any other source, and it is at variance with the circumstantial account Vasari gives of Andrea's education. Vasari 1550, 734 and 1568 [1880] V, 7, states that at the age of seven Andrea was taken from school and apprenticed to a goldsmith but, showing more interest in drawing than in handling of the goldsmith's tools, he was placed as a pupil with a painter called Gian Barile, "grosso e plebeo"; Gian Barile is not known to the history of art except from his mention in this context by Vasari.[5] Still according to Vasari, after three years of study with this first master, Andrea was taken, on Barile's recommendation, by Piero di Cosimo.[6] Vasari does not specify the duration of Andrea's stay with Piero. Assuming, however, that Andrea did not remain a goldsmith's apprentice very long, his association with Piero would have begun not much later than the age of eleven or twelve, c. 1498. Vasari's account ([1880] V, 7–8) would imply this association continued for about a decade. Vasari states that Piero took great pleasure in hearing that Andrea worked from the Cascina Cartoon of Michelangelo (not possible before 1506);[7] and his account further implies that Andrea did not leave his master until he set up shop with Franciabigio, c. 1508.

[1] Cf. Vasari, 1550, 736; 1568 [1880] V, 10 and the evidence of dated works by the two painters that show the clearest relation between their styles.

[2] The structure begun in the fifteenth century by Niccolò da Uzzano to house the University, but not completed for lack of funds. See Bottari, ed. Vasari [1759] II, 215n2.

[3] Vasari [1880] V, 15.

[4] On 16 June 1515 Andrea was commissioned to do an *Assunta* for the cloister of SS. Annunziata, in the space later relinquished to Rosso for his fresco of the same subject. The document is in A.S.F. Conv. Sopp. 119/52, c. 98; transcribed by Milanesi 1880, V, 67–68: "E più detti signori Operaj detto dì tutti d'accordo chon tutte faue nere alloghorono el quadro del chiostricino, dov'è l'Assunzione di Nostra Donna, a dipignervi detta storia d'Assumptione di Nostra Donna a Andrea d'Agnolo che ha dipinto quasi tutto il resto del detto chiostricino, per pregio di fior. sedici larghi d'oro in oro, fatto con lui d'accordo, che egli sia tenuto avere fornito di dipignere detto quadro per tutto il mese di gennaio prossimo avenire, chon quella arte et diligenza, quale a lui sia possibile."

[5] Milanesi in Vasari [1880], V, 7n2 said the indication of this Gian Barile as Andrea's first teacher was incorrect, but Milanesi — himself wrongly — had identified Vasari's Barile with one Giovanni di Maestro Salvi, called Gaiuole (known to Milanesi from documents), who was born in 1486, and therefore Andrea's exact contemporary. See Voss in Thieme-Becker, II, 499, and Gualandi, *Memorie originali italiane risguardanti le belle arti* (Bologna, 1840–1845), VI, 183.

On another Gian Barile, a woodworker of Siena, see Milanesi in Vasari [1880], IV, 363 and n3 and pp. 415–416. This multiplication of Gian Bariles seems almost to exceed probability.

[6] Vasari repeats elsewhere that Andrea was Piero's pupil: e.g., in 1550, 593 (at the end of Piero's *Life*) Vasari mentions that Piero had many pupils, but among them names Andrea only, "who was the best of them and greater than his master."

[7] Andrea is listed by Vasari among the students of the Cartoon not only at this point, but in the life of Bandinelli [1881] VI, 137 and in the life of Michelangelo [1881] VII, 161.

19 April 1516: Andrea contracts to supply ten gold ducats toward the dowry of the sister of Lucrezia del Fede, Maria, the betrothed of one Bernardo di Francesco; this sum to consist of clothing to that value, or other things as they may agree. Andrea will further support Maria when she resides for a year in a convent awaiting her marriage.

matrimonium per verba de futuro.

Item postea, dictis anno indictione et die XVIIII mensis Aprilis. Actum Florentie in populo Sancti Marci de Florentia et in domo infrascripti Andree pictoris presentibus/[c. 163v] *Pateat omnibus evidenter qualiter Bartholomeus Antonii Pieri alias del Fede, personeta pannorum drapporum et equorum populi Sancti Laurentii de Florentia, constitutus etc. per se et suos heredes etc. sponte etc. omni modo etc. promisit etc. Bernardo olim Francisci Clementis sutori populi Sancti Laurentii de Florentia presenti et acceptanti etc. facere et curare ita et taliter cum effectu etc. quod Maria eius filia legiptima et naturalis consentiet in dictum Bernardum tanquam in eius sponsum et maritum . . . Qui Bartholomeus promisit etc. dicto Bernardo . . . pro dote et dotis nomine dicte Mariae . . . diuridiam unius domus dicti Bartholomei, videlicet partem superiorem dicte domus posite Florentie in dicto populo S. Laurentii de Florentia et in via dicta via di Sam Ghallo, cui a primo via predicta, a secundo fratruum Sancti Pieri del Murrone, a III Pauli barbitonsoris, a IIII dicti Bartholomei . . . Ac etiam Andrea Angeli pictor alias Andreino del Sarto dicti populi Sancti Marci de Florentia sponte etc. sciens et cognioscens non teneri ad nihilum dicto Bernardo occaxione predicte, sed volens teneri et efficaciter obligari ad infrascripta intuitu pietatis, per se et suos heredes etc. promisit etc. dicto Bernardo Francisci Sutori presenti et/* [c. 164r] *pro se et suis heredibus recipienti etc. dare et cum effectu tradere dicto Bernardo pro computo dotis dicte Mariae florenos decem auri in auro largos in una ghamurra panni pro dicta Maria, vel in aliis rebus prout erunt in concordia, statim et omni et quolibet vice dictus Bernardus dictam Mariam duxerit in uxorem ut supra et non aliter. Et insuper dicte partes convenerunt quod interim donec presens matrimonium delegatur, quod dicta Maria stet et moretur in monasterio et ad plus usque in unum annum proximum futurum. Qui Andreas pictor sponte* *promisit de suo proprio dare expensas victus dicte Marie in monasterio predicto, donec per dictum tempus steterit in dicto monasterio et non aliter vel ultra.*

Qui Bernardus dictam suprascriptam dotem modo suprascripto acceptavit et acceptat et tali doti contentus fuit . . .

Source: A.S.F. Notarile ante-cosimiano, D. 8 (ser Antonio di Stefano Dainelli da Bagnano, atti dal 1515 al 1520), c. 163r–164r.

This contract is entered into by Andrea before the death of Lucrezia's first husband, Carlo di Domenico Berrettaio. His death is recorded in A.S.F. Libri dei Morti (Grascia), 191 (Morti in Firenze, 1506–1560), c. 363r, under the heading 1516, September: "Carlo di Domenicho berrettaio in S. L^{o} adì 17 detto." [1]

Andrea seems, in this contract, to be assuming a role and a responsibility that should have been taken by Lucrezia's husband, and it may be unavoidable that we assume Andrea had supplanted Carlo di Domenico Berrettaio in other ways as well. This is the first documentary notice we have of a relationship between Andrea and Lucrezia, and the fact that it predates Lucrezia's first widowhood supports the order of events recounted by Vasari, who makes it explicit that Lucrezia was still married to Carlo when Andrea fell in love with her.[2] That the relationship had begun well before 1516 is indicated by the unmistakable appearance of Lucrezia's face in Andrea's pictures, certainly in 1514 (see our discussion on this point in the Catalogue Raisonné under entry no. 22), and very probably in 1513.

The exact date of the marriage between Lucrezia, opportunely widowed, and Andrea, is not known, but it must have taken place in 1517 or early 1518.

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[1] Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 172n2 had wrongly taken, from Biadi 1839, 56 a misreading of this document, giving its date as 27 December 1512. This is corrected by Milanesi in Vasari [1880], V, 19n1 and by Rossi 1930, 10.

[2] Vasari 1550, 742–743, with much uncharitable comment; 1568 [1880] V, 19, much more succinctly.

9 April 1518: Andrea is legally "emancipated" from his father.

emancippatio

Item postea, dictis anno indictione et die VIIII^{a} mensis aprilis. Actum in palatio Mag^{corum} et ex^{sorum} Dominorum p[riorum] L[ibertatis] et Vexilliferi Iustitiae populi Sancti Laurentii de Florentia, et Francisco [gap in text] *alias lo Sputa de Mucello famulo rotellini prefatorum Mag^{corum} et ex^{sorum} Dominorum D. Florentie festibus etc. Pateat omnibus evidenter qualiter Angelus Francisci Luce sutor populi Sante Mariae Novelle de Florentia constitutus etc. omni modo etc. per se et suos heredes etc. Andream eius filium legiptimum et naturalem, pictorem populi Sancti Laurentii de Florentia, presentem et humiliter petentem emancippari et a sacris sue patrie potestatis manibus/* [verso] *et nexibus penitus absolvit et liberavit adeo quod in futurum possit contraliere, pascisci et se et sua bona obligare, testari, in iudicio interesse velut et quem aduuodum potest quilibet civis romanus et liber homo sui iuris. Et in primum emancippationis predicte dictus Angelus per se et suos heredes etc. sponte etc. donavit etc. dicto Andreae eius filio presenti et pro se et suis heredibus recipienti etc. omne eius peculium adventicium profectitium castrense vel quasi castrense quomodo cumque per dictum Andream quesitum et querendum etc. et hoc omni meliori modo etc. Rogantes etc.*

Source: A.S.F. Notarile ante-cosimiano, D. 8 (ser Antonio di Stefano Dainelli da Bagnano, atti dal 1515 al 1520), c. 162r-v. This deed recorded in A.S.F. *Emancipazioni*, 17 (1518–1534) c. lv.

23 May 1518: Andrea acknowledges receipt of Lucrezia's dowry.

Die 23 maii 1518, indictione VI^a

Confessio dotis f. 150

Andrea Angeli Francisci vocato Andrea del Sarto, populi S. Marci de Florentia, pictor, omni modo etc. per se et suos heredes etc. sponte etc. confessus fuit habuisse et recepisse in dotem et nomine dotis Domine Lucretie eius uxoris et filie Bartholomei del Fede, et pro ea a dicto Bartholomeo et aliis pro ea florenos centum quinquaginta de sigillo inter pecuniam numeratam et res mobiles de communi concordia extimatas, et de qua summa vocavit se tacitum et contentum, exceptioni non habite et non recepte dicte quantitatis omnino renumptians etc. Et quod predictus fecit donationem propter numptias de libris quinquaginta florenorum parvorum, secundum formam statutorum civitatis Florentie etc. Et promisit/ [c. 256r] *dicte domine licet absenti etc. et mihi notario presenti et pro ea etc. stipulanti etc. restitutionem dictarum dotium et solutionem dictarum donationum in omni casu etc. Que omnia etc. promisit etc. attendere etc. sub pena dupli dicte quantitatis etc. que pena etc. qua pena etc. Pro quibus etc. obligavit etc. renumptians etc. Cui pro guarantigia etc. Rogans etc.*[1]

Source: A.S.F. Notarile ante-cosimiano, A. 8 (atti di ser Andrea di Banco dell'Abbaco, 1516–1518), c. 255v–256r.

There is small point in speculating whether Vasari's characterization of Lucrezia, or of the effects of her marriage to Andrea, are justified. Vasari knew Lucrezia when he was, briefly, Andrea's pupil, and surely in later years as well, and seems to have conceived a strong dislike for her. But beyond this, from Vasari's point of view, in that Andrea loved Lucrezia more than glory, she was a deplorable factor in his existence. There is a less confessed, but more potent, indignation in Vasari: with Andrea's uxoriousness as a principle, and as a practice carried to Andrea's degree of devoted submissiveness. For that, we do not need Vasari's unsympathetic account. The evidence of Andrea's continued depictions of his wife's countenance in his paintings is sufficient: they are eloquent not only of love but of adoration. For Vasari, this adoration, and the acts in Andrea's career of submission to Lucrezia's will, were the very substance of the lack of "grandezza d'anima" that compromised Andrea's whole art. There was, in Vasari's view—perverse-sounding but psychologically true—a lack of virility in this extreme dedication to a wife.[2] Andrea's uxorious dedication was offensive to Vasari on other counts as well, of a "social" kind, not to be underestimated as a motive in him: Andrea's premarital behavior, apparently scandalous, with a woman whose reputation and background Vasari did not esteem was not in good taste; then, oppositely, the embarassingly bourgeois warmth of their union afterwards was not, as Giorgio saw it, in much better.

The last word is of course not Giorgio's, but Andrea's, as we see through his eyes the many faces of Lucrezia in his pictures. If she was what he saw, she was the happiest circumstance of his life, and Lucrezia's countenance makes an illumination in his art.[3]

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[1] Partly transcribed by Milanesi in Vasari [1880], V, 69. Rossi 1930, 10–11 dates the marriage after 28 May 1518, both misreading the date of the document quoted above, and neglecting to observe that Lucrezia is described in it as "eius uxoris."

[2] But this does not authorize the long-distance "psychoanalysis" made by Ernest Jones of Sarto (*Essays in Applied Psychoanalysis*, 1923, ch. vi; originally published in *Imago* 2 (1913) 468 ff.) in which Andrea is described as having the behavior pattern of an "unappeased" latent homosexual.

[3] From the evidence of the remarkable contract of 19 April 1516, on behalf of Lucrezia's sister Maria, it would appear that there may have been some justice in Vasari's accusation (in 1550, 750, but not repeated in the second edition) that "il padre di lei [Lucrezia] et tutte le sorelle . . . gli mangiava ogni cosa." It is less likely that Andrea's own parents suffered from such gross neglect as Vasari asserts in 1550, 744. Mr. Sanchez has found three records of investments by Andrea's father in the Monte delle Graticole (see also p. 265n4). These investments are recorded in

Monte delle Graticole nos. 974, fol. 43, for 1510–1511; no. 978, fol. 178, for 1517 (the year of Andrea's marriage!), and no. 984, fol. 704, for 1526–1527.

After 25 May 1518, before 17 September 1519: Andrea travels to the court of Francis I at Fontainebleau.

The termini of Andrea's absence from Florence may be established, as Milanesi V, 29n1 had observed (but with partly inaccurate citations of date), from his transactions with the S. M. Nuova bank. On 25 May 1518 Andrea made a deposit in person at the bank, of twenty-five florins that he might draw on at any place. On 24 September 1518 a deposit is made in his name by Girolamo di Niccolo Martino. On 17 September 1519[1] Andrea again made a personal transaction at the bank. These are the relevant entries from the bank's accounts (All A.S.F. S.M. Nuova):

No. 5090 (Quaderno di cassa F, 1516–1518) c. 106 right side:
ANDREA d'AGNOLO di FRANC° dipintore de'avere adì 25 di maggio 1518 f. venticinque d'oro in oro in barili [sic], rechò lui detto chontanti per riave [r]gli a ogni sua posta, e in chaso morisi inna[n]zi gli avesi riauti, vole si dìeno e pàghino ala Luchrezia sua donna e figliuola di Bartolomeo sensale, esendo viva, e in chaso fusi morta s'abino a dare ale rede di detto Andrea, di che n'à pòliza di riceuta .... f. 25
E de'avere adì 24 di settenbre 1518 f. sesantasei d'oro in oro e scudi ottantasei d'oro di sole, rechò Giròlamo di Nicholò di Martino divettino chontanti, cho'le medesime chondizioni che di sopra si dice .... *f. 66 sc. 86 di sole d'oro*

No. 5888 (Libro grande rosso G, 1518–1524), c. 172 right: *Yhs MDXVIIII.*
ANDREA d'ANGNIOLO di FRANC° dipintore de'avere adì XVII di setenbre 1519 f. cientosetantaquatro s.X d.X larghi d'oro in oro, posto che deba dare a libro gialo segnato F a c.436, e quali vuole che ongni volta che lui no'gli avesi levati ina[n]zi ala sua morte, vuole che si dìeno e pàghino a'sua figl[i]uoli avendone, e non avendo di sua, vuole che si dìeno a'figl[i]uoli di sua frategli, avendone e quando sarano in età d'ani 18; e non avendo figl[i]uoli nè lui nè sua frategli, vuole che sìeno dele sua rede; e none istante qualunche chondizione, senpre si pòsono paghare a lui propio a hongni suo paciere [sic] *e volontà* .... f. 714 s. 10.10
E de'avere adì XVII deto f.cientosesantacinque larghi d'oro in oro, rechò lui deto chontanti e chon quele medesime chondizione che sono gli alttri di sopra; a entrata G, a c. 37 .... *f. 165*[2]

Andrea took with him on his trip to France his "creato" Squazella;[3] his return to Florence was provoked by the repeated appeals of Lucrezia.[4] It was Andrea's intention, never to be realized, to return to France.

Varying suppositions may be advanced about the time of a probable journey by Andrea to Rome, but there is no external evidence, either in literary sources or in documents, that enables us to justify one supposition rather than another.[5] Vasari does not mention a Roman voyage of Andrea in his first edition, but he moralizes at length in 1568 [1880] V, 55–56, on a stay by Andrea in Rome too short to improve his art: "Nè è dubbio che se Andrea si fusse fermo a Roma, quando egli vi andò per vedere l'opere di Raffaello e di Michelagnolo, e parimente le statue e le rovine di quella città, che egli averebbe molto arricchita la maniera ne'componimenti delle storie, ed averebbe dato un giorno più finezza e maggior forza alle sue figure; il che non è venuto fatto interamente, se non a chi è stato qualche tempo in Roma a praticarle e considerarle minutamente. Avendo egli dunque dalla natura una dolce e graziosa maniera nel disegno, ed un colorito facile e vivace molto, così nel lavorare in fresco come a olio, si crede senza dubbio, se si fusse fermo in Roma, che egli averebbe avanzati tutti gli artefici del tempo suo. Ma credono alcuni che de ciò lo ritraesse l'abondanza dell'opere che vidde in quella città di scultura e pittura, e così antiche come moderne; ed il vedere molti giovani, discepoli di Raffaello e d'altri, essere fieri nel disegno e lavorare sicuri e senza stento; il quali, come timido che egli era, non gli diede il cuore di passare: e così facendosi paura da sè, si risolvè per lo meglio tornarsene a Firenze, dove considerando a poco a poco quello che avea veduto, fece tanto profitto, che l'opere sue sono state tenute in pregio ed amirate, e, che è più, imitate più, dopo la morte che mentre visse . . ."

Milanesi (Vasari [1880] V, 55 n. 2) observes that, from the phrase "il vedere molti giovani, discepoli di Raffaello e d'altri," it may be deduced that the journey took place after Raphael's death. However, Vasari indicates that the part of his description that includes this phrase is hearsay ("Ma credono alcuni . . ."). Opinions on the date of the trip, all deduced from internal evidence, vary greatly, from 1511 through 1527.[6]

For our speculations on the most reasonable possibilities for a Roman visit (or visits) see text volume pp. 15, 25, and our catalogue entry no. 63.

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[1] Not, as Milanesi reports it, V, 29n1, 17 October.

[2] Other transactions of Andrea on this same sheet, from October 1520 to March 1521 (st. c.); see also c. 259 and c. 353, for the same period. The transactions on c. 172 must have been in connection with Andrea's undertaking the building of his house.

[3] Vasari 1550, 751; 1568 [1880] V, 29.

[4] Vasari 1550, 752; 1568 [1880] V, 30–31.

[5] Indeed, among the older authors, there was not always agreement that the trip occurred at all: e.g., Bottari ed. Vasari [1769] II, 244n, ". . . dubito assai, se Andrea fosse mai a Roma."

[6] E.g., Knapp 1907, 117, c. 1527; Escher 1922, 242, late; Fraenckel 1935, 54, c. 1522; Ragghianti 1949, 1514; Comandè 1952, 200n42, 1511–1512, but also, on p. 44, after 1517; Wagner 1959, 433, 1511 and a probable second trip in 1514.

12 October 1520: Andrea buys land to build a house.

Die xii octobris 1520 . . . Actum in Archiepiscopali curia Florentie, presentibus Sebastiano Laurenti Antonii pictore [Aristotile da Sangallo] et ser Francisco de Fighino. Dominicus Johannis de Canochis civis florentinus vendidit excellenti — magistro Andree Angeli del Sarto, pictori ibidem presenti — unum petium terre brachiorum tredecim per latitudinem, et brachiorum octuaginta quinque cum dimidio per longitudinem, positum Florentie in populo Santi Michaelis Vicedominorum cum fundamento a parte anteriori, et iuxta viam magistram; cui a primo via publica que vadit ab Oratorio Sancti Sebastiani ad menia civitatis; a secundo bona Sebastiani Laurentii pictoris; a 3º dicti Sebastiani, a 4º bona reverendi domini Generalis Vallisumbrose; pro pretio ducatorum quinquaginta auri largorum in auro nitidorum.[1]

Source: A.S.F. Notarile ante-cosimiano, B 2333 (Ser Scipione Braccesi, atti del 1519 al 1524) c. 96v.

The house, much altered, stands at Via Gino Capponi 22 (the former Via S. Sebastiano), on the corner of the Via Giuseppe Giusti (the former Via del Mandorlo). It was later the property of Federico Zuccaro, who seems to have been responsible for many of the alterations. Zuccaro's name, and the date in roman letters MDLXXVIII, is inscribed on the façade. Even as Andrea built it, however, the house was not only a comfortable, but a handsome property for an artist.

Vasari 1550, 753, would have it that ". . . fra murare et darsi piacere senza lavorare si erano consumati i danari suoi et quelli del Re."[2] From the bank accounts on c. 172 referred to above it is exact that Andrea withdrew, between the date of purchase of the land in October 1520 and 16 March 1521 the entire sum (356 florins) he had deposited, and its interest. In this money there may in fact have been some part that represented an advance of payments by Francis I (as Vasari alleges) against work expected of Andrea on his return to France, never to occur. Vasari's accusation of Andrea's violation of Francis' trust is too direct, and too serious a charge, to have been entirely unfounded.

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[1] As transcribed in Vasari [1880], V, 69, but correcting the date given by him, 15 October. Note the withdrawals from the S.M. Nuova bank on c. 172 referred to above, dated 12 October 1520, in the amount of 100 florins. It may be noted also that the General of the Order of Vallombrosa, to which the convent of S. Salvi belonged, is mentioned in the deed.

[2] In virtually the same terms in 1568 [1880] V, 31–32.

12 October 1525: Andrea is elected a Captain of the Company of St. Luke.

Richordo chome ogi questo dì 12 d'otobre 1525 si raghunò la chonpagnìa e gli òmini di Santo Lucha dipintori e fèc[i]ano e chosì fèc[i]ano e loro ufic[i]ali, cioè e chapitani e chonsiglieri e proveditore e chamarlingho e si[n]dachi. E chapitani sono: Giovani di Benedeto C[i]anfanini e Andrea del Sarto e Ridolfo di Domenicho del Grilandaio e Andrea di [blank] *cioè del Fo[r]naio, per mesi 4 pròsimi avenire . . .*[1]

Source: A.S.F. Accademia del Disegno, 2 (*Debitori e creditori e ricordi* A, 1472–1520) c. 149r.

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[1] The document continues, naming the officers elected to the other posts. It was found and kindly communicated by Dr. Gino Corti.

27 December 1527: Andrea makes his will.

Yhs

Testamentum Andreini pictoris Data copia ut hic die 13 Ianuarii 1535. Data copia Domino Anibale de Fabronibus.

In Dei nomine amen. Anno Domini D. nostri Yhu Xpi ab eius salutifera incarnatione millesimo quingentesimo vigesimo septimo, inditione prima et die XXVII mensis Decembris. Actum in populo Sancti Michaelis Vicedominorum de Florentia et in conventu ecclesie Annunptiate de Florentia, presentibus infrascriptis testibus proprio ore infrascripti testatoris habitis et rogatis, videlicet: Magistro Ioacchino Signiorini de Signiorinis/Fratre Sebastiano Blaxii Maliscottus de Alexandria/Fratre Victorio Raphaelis Antonii de Florentia/Fratre Thommasio Bartholomei de Florentia/Fratre Thimotheo Iohannis de Falconibus civis florentinus [sic] *Fratre Petro Bernardi de Minis de Florentia/Fratre Iohannebaptista Bernardi de Florentia/omnibus fratribus professis conventus S^{te} Mariae Annuptiate Servorum de Florentia, et professis in dicto conventu.*

Vidi fidem solutionis Opere die 3 octobris 1580.[1]

Cum nihil sit certius morte nihilque incertius hora mortis, et prudentis est cogitare de morte et previdere anime, corpori et rebus suis ne impreparatus inveniatur, ideo prudens vir magister Andreas Angeli Francisci pictor florentinus dicti populi, emancippatus ut dixit a dicto Angelo (prout de eius emancippatione constat manu mei notarii infrascripti sub suo tempore), sanus per omnipotentis Dei gratiam mente sensu visu intellectu et corpore, nolens intestatus decedere, verum anime sue suorumque bonorum dispositioni salubriter providere per hunc [sic] *nuncupativum testamentum quod sine scriptis dicitur, disposuit et testatus fuit in hunc qui sequitur modum et formam videlicet.*

Imprimis animam cum de hoc seculo migrari contigerit, devote ac humiliter recommendavit et recommendat omnipotenti Deo eiusque gloriosissime matri Virgini Mariae totique celesti curiae paradisi. Corpori vero sui sepulturam elegit et sepelliri volui[t] in ecclesia S^{te} Mariae Annumptiate Servorum de Florentia;

et circa eius funus et exequias expendi voluit omne et id totum quod infrascriptis eius heredibus libere videbitur et placebit.

Item iure legati reliquit et legavit opere S^{te} *Mariae Floris de Florentia libras tres florenorum parvorum.*

Item amore Dei et pro remedio anime sue, iure legati reliquit et legavit Mariae filiae olim Caroli Dominici berrectarii eiusdem/ [c. 194v] *privigniae innupte, quam modo dictus testator ut filiam retinet apud se, apotecam dicti testatoris ubi ad presens laborat et exercet artem suam picture, positam in dicto populo et retro eius domum e contra versus monasterium Crucis de Florentia, cum bracchiis X andantibus orti dicti testatoris versus domum dicti testatoris cum latitudine ordinaria, pro se nubendo et maritando vel monasterium ingrediendo ad eiusdem Mariae beneplacitum. Et casu quo dicta Maria decederet antequam nubatur vel monacetur, dicta bona ut supra legata revertantur ad infrascriptos eiusdem testatoris heredes ut infra instituendos. Et casu quo dictus testator dictam Mariam nuberet vel monacharet in vita sua, tunc voluit presens legatum esse inane ac si penitus factum non fuisset.*

Item dictus testator reliquit dilecte Domine Lucretiae suae uxori et filiae olim Bartholomei Antonii Fidei, dotes quas asseruit esse florenos centum quinquaginta largos auri in auro, per dictum testatorem ut asseruit confessatas pro et manu ser Andree Banchi notarii publici florentini sub suo tempore et datali, cum hoc quod in dicta summa dictorum fl. 150 veniat medietas unius domus posite in via S^{te} *Galli, quae sibi data fuit in dotem sive parte dotis dicte Lucretie, que medietas est valoris et pretii fl. 50 auri largorum in auro, et propterea obligavit etc.*

Et insuper memor caritatis et amoris dicte Domine Lucretiae erga dictum testatorem prestite, ideo dictus testator reliquit dictam dominam Lucretiam usufructuariam omnium et quorumcumque bonorum dicti testatoris ubicumque positorum et existentium, ita quod non importe[n]t alimenta tantum, sed totum liberum consequatur usufructum omnium bonorum predictorum toto tempore vite dicte Domine Lucretiae et eius naturali vita durante et dotes suas non petente. Et eam usufructuariam reliquit ut supra, vidua stante et vidualem et honestam vitam servante. Et prohibuit infrascriptis suis heredibus petere et detrahere legitimam de tali usufructu, quia expresse voluit et vult dicti heredes nihil propterea petere posse.

Data copia
huius
instrumenti
6 octobris
1580.

Et casu quo dicta Domina Lucretia nupserit et ad tertia vota transiverit, tunc et eo casu ultra dictas eius dotes reliquit et legavit dicte Domine Lucretie omnes eiusdem Domine Lucretiae pannos tam lineos quam laneos et manichas siricas ad dorsum dicte Domine Lucretie, et insuper unum anulum aureum ad beneplacitum dicte Domine.

In omnibus autem aliis suis bonis suos heredes universales instituit, fecit et esse voluit omnes et quoscunque eiusdem testatoris filios masculos legitimos et naturales nascituros ex se et ex dicta Domina Lucretia eius uxore legitima et ex quacunque alia eius uxore legitima equis portionibus, et eos ad invicem substituit vulgariter et pupillariter et per fidei commissum. Et casu quo femine/ [c. 195r] *nascere[n]tur, voluit tales filias feminas dotari de bonis suis secundum eiusdem testatoris qualitatem et gradum. Si vero dictus testator decesserit sine filiis masculis ut supra, tunc et eo casu suum heredem universalem in omnibus*

> *dictis suis bonis instituit Franciscum eiusdem testatoris fratrem carnalem si supervixerit dicto testatori; et si decesserit dictus Franciscus, eidem substituit Dominicum etiam fratrem carnalem dicti testatoris, et eidem Dominico decedenti subst*[*it*]*uit maiorem natu ex filiis et descendentibus ex dictis Francisco et Dominico; et sic successive usque in infinitum et donec durabit linea masculina dictorum Francisci et Dominici, talibus maioribus natu substituit maiorem natu ex descendentibus dictorum Francisci et Dominici, ita quod effectus sit quod semper unus tantum ex maioribus natu ex descendentibus predictorum sit heres, et non plures. Quibus quidem suis heredibus ut supra institutis prohibuit et vetavit alienationem bonorum immobilium dicti testatoris, quia voluit semper manere in eius familia, excepto et preter quam possit alienari de dictis suis bonis pro dotandis filiabus feminis legitimis et naturalibus nascituris ex dicto testatore et eius uxoribus legitimis, et non aliter quoquo modo etc. Et causu* [sic] *quo dicti eius heredes vel alter eorum dicta bona alienaret vel de dictis bonis, declaravit talem venditionem non valere et ipsam et ipsas annullavit et annullat. Et si alienassent filii et descendentes dicti testatoris, talia bona sic alienata voluit devenire ad alios non alienantes. Et si alienarent maiores natu ut supra instituti, voluit ratham alienatam tali casu devenire ad alios non institutos, eius fratres vel descendentes ex eis in stirpem et non in capita.*
>
> *Et deficiente linea masculina eius fratrum, tunc et eo casu substituit eis hospitale Innocentium de Florentia, cum hoc quod dictum hospitale et hospitalarius eiusdem teneatur de dimidia dictorum bonorum nubere puellas natas vel descendentes ex dictis fratribus dicti testatoris si extabunt; alia vero medietas sit dicti hospitalis. Et si tunc non extabunt dicte puelle ex dictis lineis, omnia dicta bona sint dicti hospitalis. Et insuper teneatur dictum hospitale et hospitalarius celebrari facere missas Sancti Gregorii pro anima dicti testatoris, in hoc et super hoc conscientiam dicti hospitalarii agravando etc.*
>
> *Et hanc* [sic] *dixit et asseruit esse et esse velle suum ultimum testamentum etc. cassans etc.*[2]

Source: A.S.F. Notarile ante-cosimiano, D 9 (ser Antonio Dainelli da Bagnano, 1525–1530), c. 194r–195r.

The important content of the document may be summarized as follows. Andrea is in excellent health as he makes this testament. He requests to be buried in SS. Annunziata, and he depends on his heirs to arrange his funeral services, according to their pleasure. To Maria, his unmarried stepdaughter, whom he holds as a daughter, he leaves the shop where he now works, behind his house, with ten *braccia* of garden. If she dies before she marries (or before taking the veil) this legacy is to return to the estate. If she marries or enters a convent before Andrea's death, the legacy is null. To his beloved wife, Lucrezia, he leaves her dowry, of the value of 150 gold florins, in which is included half of a house on Via S. Gallo, of 50 florins value; and in memory of the kindness and love Lucrezia has shown him he gives her usufruct of all his goods for life, or as long as her widowhood shall last, and forbids the other heirs to make claims against their shares in the estate. In case Lucrezia should remarry, he leaves her, beyond her dowry, her dresses and their ornaments, and a gold ring of her choice. His heirs are to be his sons who may (yet) be born of this marriage, in equal portions, and if daughters should be born, they are to be dowried fittingly, according to their father's rank and station. Should Andrea die without sons, his brother Francesco is his heir, or in case of his predecease, his brother Domenico. Domenico predeceasing also, the sons, first of Francesco then of Domenico succeed, each singly, and only singly, to the estate.[3] The property of the estate may not be alienated, except to dowry Andrea's (hypothetical) daughters.

In the event that there are no heirs in the male line, then the estate shall pass to the Ospedale degli Innocenti, which shall use half of the property to dowry female descendants of Andrea's brothers, and if there are no descendants in the female line, the whole property shall be the Ospedale's, without encumbrance.

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[1] This and the following marginal notes are by another hand.

[2] The will first published, with numerous errors of transcription, by D. Moreni in *Illustrazione storico-critico di una medaglia rappresentante Bindo Altoviti, opera di M.A. Buonarotti* (Florence, 1824) 217 ff., then in Biadi 1829, 105–107, and Reumont 1835, 224–231. There is an Italian translation in Biadi.

[3] It should be noticed that Silvestro, the youngest brother, mentioned in 1525 (see p. 265n4), does not appear in the will.

2 February 1529 (st. fl. 1528): Andrea is voted a member of the Company of S. Sebastiano.

Richordo ogi questo dì 2 di febraio 1528 chome per nostro padre governattore e sua chonsileri eletti ufic[i]ali e i' chorpo di chonpania, si vinse per e nostri fratteli Andrea d'Anolo dipinttore cho' fave 44 nere, chondotto per Anttonio di Domenico Pallai, sanza benefic[i]o, chome apare a libro de' partiti de' novizi nominatti segnato B, c. 182.[1]

Source: A.S.F. Comp. Sopp. 1869, no. 4, Compagnia di S. Sebastiano dietro l'Annunziata, *Libro di Partiti,* segnato F (1516–1706), c. 61r.

Andrea was a member, also, of two dining clubs, the *Paiuolo* (kettle) and the *Cazzuola* (trowel). Vasari 1568 [1881] VI, 609–13, in the life of Rustici, gives a discursive account of both of these.

The *Paiuolo,* a club of artists, met in the rooms of Rustici in the *Sapienza.* Membership was limited to a dozen, who included (besides Andrea) Francesco (Ser Spillo, Andrea's brother), Puligo, and Aristotile da Sangallo. The members met for dinners, and each member presented a fantastic invention in which the cook's and the sculptor's or architect's art were combined. Such an invention of Andrea's is described (p. 610–11): an octagonal temple on columns, for which the floor was a plate of multi-colored aspic, simulating mosaic, the columns sausages, the bases and capitals of Parmesan cheese, the cornices of pastry and the galleries of marzipan. In the temple was a choir desk, made of cold veal, with a book on it of lasagne, on which the writing and music were set out in grains of pepper; cooked birds, beaks open, formed the choir.

The *Cazzuola* was an organization of more general membership, numbering twenty-four; the artists in the club were Andrea, Bugiardini, Granacci, and Rustici. The members met for a banquet on St. Andrew's Day, at each of which there were extraordinary conceits of costume, setting, or of food (see Vasari's descriptions), and occasional *tableaux vivants* or plays such as the "Calandra" of Bibbiena, the "Suppositi" and the "Cassaria" of Ariosto, and the "Clizia" and "Mandragola" of Machiavelli. For one of these feasts, given by Giovanni Gaddi, Andrea collaborated with Rustici and Jacopo Sansovino to design a *tableau* of Tantalus. In the life of Aristotile da Sangallo Vasari tells us ([1880]VI, 437) that, for the performance of the "Mandragola," Andrea and Aristotile together arranged the scenery.[2]

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[1] Transcribed by Milanesi 1880, V, 71 with an incorrect letter for the book ("S") and some minor errors in the transcription.

[2] It used to be asserted that the long comic poem "La Guerra de' Topi e de' Ranocchi" (the "Batrachomyomachia"), first published, as of anonymous authorship, by Fontani (Florence, 1788); reprinted by Biadi 1829, 197–279 was of Andrea's authorship,

and that it was presented by him to one of the gatherings of the Company of the Paiuolo. Andrea's responsibility for the poem was denied within the eighteenth century, contemporaneously with its first publication. Biadi 1829, 172 ff. debates the evidence, and concludes the poem was Andrea's, but that the version printed was rehandled at some later time. Mazzoni 1930, 2–3 dismisses any claim for Andrea's writing the poem, and speculates it may be an eighteenth-century falsification.

28 September 1530: Andrea, in extremis, makes a codicil to his will.

Sia noto et manifesto come a dì 28 di 7bre nel 1530 io ser Zanobi di Francesco d'Antonio prete fui chiamato et pregato questo dì detto di sopra da vicini che io fussi contento per l'amor di Dio fare un'opera pia, la quale è questa, come Andrea d'Agnolo di Francesco dipintore con buona voluntà lascia et dona una casa ad uso di bottega di dipintore con un orto ch'è appiccato con la casa di detto Andrea per dota alla Maria di Carlo di Domenico, et così è la sua voluntà di detto Andrea; et volle questo s'aggiunga a un testamento fatto più tempo fa di mano di ser Antonio da Bagnano, notaro fiorentino. Di tanto volle ne facessi menzione detto Andrea con testimoni che sono questi qui di sotto; in prima fra Ridolfo di Francesco, fra Felice di Giovanni, frati ne' Servi, ser Antonio di Pagolo Accolti, popolo di S^to^ Marco, m^o^ Romolo Rosselli, popolo di S^to^ Michele, Tommaso di Stefano dipintore, popolo di S^to^ Friano, Simone di Francesco dalla Topaia, popolo di S^to^ Michele Bisdomini.

Io ser Zanobi detto sentii et conobbi la voce di detto Andrea, ch'era in camera terrena, et dall' uscio lo confessai; la detta camera è allato all'uscio da via: per fede del vero ho fatto questo codicillo di mia propria mano questo dì et mese nominato di sopra, et detti testimoni sentirno la voce anchor loro, accostandosi anchor loro all'uscio, et non vedemo detto Andrea, et dissono era la voce di detto Andrea.[1]

Source: Archivio Arcivescovile, fasciscolo provissorio no. 34.

This codicil was the matter of a law suit brought before the Curia Arcivescovile on 12 May 1568 by Maria, in whose favor the codicil was drawn, against her mother, Lucrezia. The point at issue was the possession of the *orto*, in the codicil willed to Maria, but still held by Lucrezia. The suit was settled 28 January 1569, in Maria's favor.

From the testimony brought by witnesses, including Ser Zanobi himself, to the legality of the codicil, it emerges that Andrea died within a few days after making it. A most circumstantial account of Andrea's dictation of the codicil, from what he realized would be his deathbed, may be reconstructed from the accounts of the witnesses in this law suit, as well as from the content of the codicil itself.[2]

On the morning of 28 September, Maria, Andrea's stepdaughter, called the priest Ser Zanobi (who lived in the Casa Valori, opposite Andrea's shop) to take the confession of her stepfather, ill of the plague that had broken out in Florence following the Siege. Andrea lay alone in a ground floor room; Lucrezia and Maria, to avoid contagion, were in quarters on the next floor. Ser Zanobi, also to avoid contagion, did not enter Andrea's room, but stood in the street outside a partly opened window, and for a half hour took the sick man's confession. After this, Andrea requested Ser Zanobi to draw up the codicil described above. Ser Zanobi called Maria, who brought ink; and witnesses were also summoned. Andrea, ill as he was, attempted to rise from his bed and approach the window, to make certain he would be heard, but was dissuaded by the priest, who assured him his voice was heard and recognized, and that it was recognized also that his mind was perfectly clear despite his illness. Andrea then dictated the codicil, which Ser Zanobi wrote on a *predellone* that stood near him in the street. The codicil was read back to Andrea by the priest, who inquired if Andrea was satisfied with what had been written, and Andrea replied he was, and repeated that he wished the house and garden be Maria's, for her dowry.

Ser Zanobi testified during the suit over the codicil that he heard of Andrea's death a few days later, while he was in Maiano; and another of the witnesses, a Servite friar, also remembered that Andrea died a few days later, and was buried in the Annunziata. Still another witness, the widow of Aristotile da Sangallo, who lived opposite Andrea's house, testified she saw Andrea's body taken from the house to the church for burial a few days after the codicil was dictated.

The account given here, based on documentary information, is a considerable simplification, but also a confirmation, of the essential matter in the account given by Vasari of Andrea's death (1550, 770; 1568 [1880] V, 54–55; we cite the latter): "Finito l'assedio, se ne stava Andrea aspettando che le cose si allargassino, sebbene con poca speranza che il disegno di Francia gli dovesse riuscire, essendo stato preso Giovambatista della Palla, quando Fiorenza si riempiè dei soldati del campo e di vettovaglie; fra i quali soldati essendo alcuni Lanzi appestati, diedero non piccolo spavento all città, e poco appresso la lasciarono infetta. Laonde, o fusse per questo sospetto, o pure perchè avesse disordinato nel mangiare dopo aver molto in quello assedio patito, si ammalò un giorno Andrea gravemente; e postosi nel letto giudicatissimo, senza trovar rimedio al suo male e senza molto governo, standoli più lontana che poteva la moglie per timor della peste, si morì (dicono) che quasi nissuno se n'avide; e così con assai poche cirimonie gli fu nella chiesa de' Servi, vicino a casa sua, dato sepoltura dagli uomini dello Scalzo, dove sogliono seppellirsi tutti quelli di quella Compagnia." [3]

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[1] As transcribed and published by Cioni 1909, 237. Biadi 1829, 118 knew of the existence of this codicil through a *notula* in the archives of the Ospedale degli Innocenti, filza I, c. 237v (see note 2, below), which describes the added bequest, and gives the name of the writer of the codicil as Ser Zanobi Ciabilli. Cioni corrects the name of the priest-notary, to Carelli.

[2] For a full summary of the law suit, and the testimony, see Cioni's article *passim*, pp. 233–243. The results of the suit are recorded in the following document: Archivio Spedale Innocenti, Firenze, filza 1ª d'Archivio, c. 237 e 242 (undated but of the sixteenth century; the beginning of the document is a summary of Andrea del Sarto's will, here omitted).

"[c. 237v] Dipoi l'anno 1530 fece codicillo, nel quale aggiunse al legato fatto a detta mªMaria sua figliastra il restante dell'orto [c. 242r] della sua casa per mano di ser Zanobi Carelli Cappellano di Santa Maria del Fiore, et confermato et autentichato ultimamente per il S. Vicario con tutte le solemnità in tale caso requisite et oportune. Anchora fu dichiarato per sententia de' S^{ri} Sei della Mercatantia che tutti li miglioramenti fatti in detta casa principale doppo la morte del detto Andrea ascendessino alla somma et quantità di scudi 87. Di modo che detto spedale doppo le morti di detta mªLucretia usufructuaria et di Domenico fratello carnale del detto testatore, resta herede di detta casa con il carico di maritarne della metà le figliole del detto Domenico, detrattone prima li scudi 100 per resto della dote di detta mªLucretia, et li scudi 87 per li miglioramenti fatti in detta casa per dette mªMaria et mªLucretia, cioè scudi 187. Ser Antonio da Terra Nuova figliolo di detta mªMaria desidera entrare nelle ragioni di detto spedale, et si potrebbe fare per amici comuni intendenti stimare detta casa, et ne pagherebbe allo spedale quanto fussi giudicato ragionevole per detti stimatori, et ne farebbe lo sborso della metà toccante allo spedale in sul contratto, dell'altra metà ne domanda tempo mesi 18 o quel mancho piacessi al Reverendo priore di detto spedale."

[3] On 22 January 1532 the Company of S. Sebastiano celebrated a memorial service for Andrea. A. S. F. Comp. Sopp. 1872 (Compagnia di S. Sebastiano) c. 25v: "Adi 22 detto [January] 1531 [st. c. 1532] si fece l'ufizio per lanima dAndrea dipintore. A Dio piacessi tiralo alsuo beato regno." This document, with its date misread as 1530, had misled Milanesi 1880, V, 55n1, who believed this was the service for Andrea's death, and so placed his demise accordingly, in January 1531. Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1914] VI, 191 had taken this document similarly.

Rossi 1930, 15 gives an account of Andrea's death as Cioni had presented it from the documents of the law suit of 1568. Rossi then asserts that, in what he describes as the "Libro di Entrate e Uscite della cera" of the sacristy of SS. Annunziata (properly, A.S.F. Conv. Sopp. 119/814 (*Libro d'uffici de' morti, entrate e uscite di cera e olio*, 1529–1539), the following entry is to be found under date 29 September 1530: "Da limosine fiorini dua larghi d'oro, sono per mortorio d'Andreino Del Sarto dipintore, questo dì 29 settembre, detto, a nostra cera £ 14 s. 0 d. 0." Repeated careful search by this author, not only of c. 35r and ff. (on which the entries for 1530 are found) but of all other remotely possible places in this book, and checking of our own searches by Dr. Corti, has failed to find this entry. It would seem not to exist.

Nor does the date it pretends for Andrea's death agree with the evidence of the witnesses cited above, all of whom speak of an interval of a few days between the episode of the codicil and Andrea's demise. Poggi 1930, 3 repeats Rossi's citation of the "document" without question. There is no record of Andrea's death in the register of deaths of members of the painters' guild (A.S.F. 250, Arte de' Medici e Speziali, *Registro de' Morti*, 1530–1543).

The Company of the Scalzo held four vaults before the high altar of the Annunziata. They were the subject of dispute between the church and the Confraternity; the rights of the Confraternity to the vaults were confirmed by Pius V in 1569, and twice reconfirmed in the eighteenth century; see Biadi 1829, 133. Biadi 1829, 135, repeated in Vasari [1880], V, 55n3 specifies that Andrea's vault is near the niche in which there is a later statue of St. Peter. No inscription now marks the Confraternity's vaults, nor is there any special tablet that marks Andrea's burial in them. Inscriptions existed, but they were removed (or covered over), at latest when, in 1785, the flooring was renewed. See Biadi 1829, 134, but also Reumont 1835, 196–197.

A commemorative tablet, executed by Raffaello da Montelupo, was put up by Domenico Conti, one of Andrea's pupils (and the inheritor of his drawings) on a pillar of the church. This tablet bore an inscription written by Pier Vettori, which Vasari 1568 [1880] V, 59 cites. The inscription states that Andrea died in 1530, at the age of 42. Vasari further reports that the tablet was shortly afterwards removed; Milanesi in Vasari [1880], V, 60n1 specifies that this occurred in 1538. In 1606 a commemorative bust by Giovanni Caccini was set up in the atrium (*ibid.*, V, 59n1); it is still there.

January 1570: Death of Lucrezia.

A record of sale of a house in Andrea's estate states "Lucrezia sua donna morì di gennaio proxime passato 1569." [1]

Source: Archivio Spedale Innocenti, Firenze, Giornale segnato M (1567–1576), c. 72.

[1] Milanesi in Vasari [1880], V, 72.

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The following abbreviations have been used:

Boll. d'A.	*Bollettino d'Arte*
Burl.	*Burlington Magazine*
GBA	*Gazette des Beaux-Arts*
JKSW	*Jahrbuch der Kunstsammlungen in Wien*
JPK	*Jahrbuch der preuszischen Kunstsammlungen*
Mitt. KHIF	*Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*
OMD	*Old Master Drawings*
Rep. KW	*Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*
Riv.d'A.	*Rivista d'Arte*
ZBK	*Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*

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——— deposit (from Poggio Imperiale), no. 3601, copy after *Charity*, p. 166
——— deposit (nos. unknown), copy after lost *Madonna with St. John and Three Angels*, p. 37; copy after Louvre no. 1516, p. 85; copy after Wallace Collection no. 9, p. 89
FLORENCE, Uffizi, Gabinetto dei

Desegni: no. 635E, copy after Louvre no. 1677, p. 128
——— no. 636E, drawing, copy after *Birth of the Virgin*, p. 46n5
——— no. 642E, Sogliani, copy after lost preparatory study for a *Pietà*, fig. 87, p. 127
——— no. 646E, copy after *Preaching of St. John the Baptist*, p. 50n3
——— no. 1010E, Giovanni da Udine, grotesque, p. 15n26
——— no. 1791E, copy after Pitti no. 62, p. 159
——— no. 272F, p. 35n3
——— no. 280F, Jacopo Empoli, copy after lost preparatory study for Pitti no. 62, p. 158
——— no. 284F, copy after lost preparatory drawing for *Baptism of the Multitude*, fig. 39, pp. 20n8, 67
——— no. 302F, copy after lost preparatory study for *Assumption of the Virgin*, p. 118
——— no. 311Fr, Naldini, copy after lost preparatory study for *Dance of Salome*, fig. 66, p. 105
——— nos. 332 F r and v, copies after lost preparatory studies for Pitti no. 62, figs. 115, 116, pp. 158–159
——— no. 333F, copy after lost preparatory drawing for *Madonna of the Harpies*, p. 77
——— no. 341F, Pontormo, p. 43n4
——— no. 6420F, copy after lost preparatory study for *St. Agnes Altar*, p. 192
——— no. 6432F, copy after lost preparatory study for lost *Madonna with St. John*, fig. 55, pp. 92–93
——— no. 6450F, Naldini, copy after lost preparatory study for Pitti no. 62, p. 159
——— no. 6460F, drawing, copy after Louvre no. 1515, p. 64n11
——— no. 6464F, copy after lost preparatory study for lost *Madonna di Porta Pinti*, fig. 58, p. 97
——— no. 6466F, copy after lost preparatory drawing for *Birth of the Virgin*, fig. 33, p. 45
——— no. 6524Fr, Naldini, copy after lost preparatory study for *Dance of Salome*, p. 105
——— no. 7506F, Naldini, copy after lost preparatory study of *Assumption of the Virgin*, p. 118
——— nos. 10971F, 10972F, copies after lost preparatory study for *Vallombrosa Altar*, p. 171
——— no. 14415F, drawing, copy after Uffizi no. 659E, p. 73n4
——— no. 14421F, copy after lost preparatory study for the St. John Evangelist of the *Embroideries*, fig. 96, p. 139
——— no. 14422F, copy after lost preparatory study for St. Matthew of the *Embroideries*, p. 139
——— no. 14425F, copy after lost preparatory study for *Procession of the Magi*, p. 31
——— no. 14434F, drawing, copy after Pitti no. 62, p. 160n5
——— nos. 14438F r and v, Baccio Bandinelli, drawing, copy after *Holy Family*, p. 180n5
——— no. 14439F, drawing, copy after *Visitation*, p. 131n2
——— no. 14440F, drawing, copy after *Procession of the Magi*, p. 32n10
——— no. 14442Fr, copy after Uffizi no. 664Er, p. 145n9
——— no. 14442Fv, copy after Louvre no. 1714/2, p. 145n10
——— no. 14443Fr, drawing, copy after *St. Agnes Altar*, p. 193n4
——— no. 14444F, drawing, copy after *Relics* scene in *The Life of S. Filippo Benizzi*, p. 20n9
——— no. 14445F, copy after *Payments* scene of *Parable of the Vineyard*, p. 65
——— no. 14447F, drawing, copy after lost *Madonna di Porta Pinti*, p. 99n7
——— no. 14449F, drawing, copy after *Madonna del Sacco*, p. 135n3
——— no. 14456F, copy after the *Payment* scene of *Parable of the Vineyard*, p. 65
——— no. 14460F, drawing, copy after Borgherini *Holy Family*, p. 156n4
——— no. 16480F, p. 151n14
——— no. 16482F, Naldini, drawing, copy after *Beheading of St. John the Baptist*, p. 121n2
——— no. 16482AF, drawing, copy after *Visitation*, p. 131n2
——— no. 16482BF, Naldini, drawing, copy after *Presentation of the Head of St. John*, p. 121n2
——— no. 10 Orn., Alessandro Allori, drawing, copy after *Tribute to Caesar*, fig. 63, p. 100
——— nos. 664S–674S, copies after *The Life of St. John the Baptist*, p. 13
——— nos. 675S (also numbered 660E), 676S (also numbered 629E), copies after the *Parable of the Vineyard*, *Calling* and *Payment* scenes respectively, p. 65
——— no. 667S, copy after Uffizi no. 634E, p. 107n4
——— no. 686S, drawing, copy after *Assumption of the Virgin*, p. 120n20
——— no. 91460, Pontormo, *Two Angelini*, p. 41n3
——— nos. 91461, 91462, 91464, Grisaille Canvases, figs. [45–47], pp. 40–42
FLORENCE, Villa Petraia, copy after Louvre no. 1515, p. 61
Formerly FLORENCE: Art Market, copy after lost *Madonna with St. John and Three Angels*, p. 37; Casa Capponi, S. Frediano, copy after *Payment* scene of *Parable of the Vineyard*, p. 65; Gaddi-Poggi Collection, copy after *Holy Family*, p. 179; Monasterio de' Monaci degli Angioli, copy after *Christ Redeemer*, p. 51; Nocchi (dealer), copy after *Holy Family*, p. 179; Palazzo Corsini at Porta al Prato, copy after the *Life of St. John the Baptist*, p. 13; S. Jacopo tra' Fossi, copy after *Annunciation*, p. 34; SS. Annunziata, orto, two scenes from the *Parable of the Vineyard*, (1) *Calling of the Workers* (lost), (2) *Payment of the Workers* (largely lost), figs. 8[67], pp. 64–66; Rev. Sanford Collection, copy after lost *Madonna with St. John and Three Angels*, p. 37; Villa Pratolino, chapel, copy after *Assumption of the Virgin*, p. 165
Formerly? FLORENCE: Palazzo Frescobaldi, copy after *Madonna and Child*, p. 182; Soprintendenza Ufficio Esportazioni, copy after Madonna del Sacco, p. 135
Sold FLORENCE: Bellini, Spinelli Collection (1934), copy after lost *St. Sebastian*, p. 194; Galleria Ciardiello, Tozzi sale (1928), copy after *Madonna and Child*, p. 182; Giudi Collection (1910), drawing, copy after *Beheading of St. John the Baptist*, p. 121n2; Guidi sale (1902), copy after *Christ Redeemer*, p. 51; Panciatichi Collection (1902), copy after Pitti no. 62, p. 159
FRANCIABIGO, FRANCESCO, pp. 11–12, 100–101, 203–204; Louvre no. 1644, *Portrait*, p. 22; *see also* Andrea del Sarto, Paintings, *Translation of St. Mary Magdalen*

GALUZZO, Certosa, Church, copy after lost *St. Sebastian*, p. 194
Sold GENEVA (1924), drawing, copy after *Presentation of the Head of St. John*, p. 121n2
GENOA, Palazzo Bianco no. 45, copy after Louvre no. 1515, p. 61
GENOA, Palazzo Rosso, copy after *Madonna with Elizabeth and St. John*, p. 186
GHIRLANDAIO, RIDOLFO; *Marriage of St. Catherine*, fig. 187, p. 4; derivation from *Last Supper* (Florence), p. 145
GIOVANNI BATTISTA, FRA, copy after *Christ Redeemer* (Florence), p. 51

GIOVANNI DA UDINE, Uffizi no. 1010E, p. 15n26

HAMBURG, Kunsthalle, *see* Andrea del Sarto, Drawings

HAMPTON COURT, H. M. the Queen, copy after Louvre no. 1515, fig. 7, p. 63

Formerly? HARTSDALE, New York, M. L. Clark, copy after Louvre no. 1516, p. 85

HIXHAM PRIORY, copy after Louvre no. 1515, p. 61

INCE (near Liverpool), copy after *Madonna della Scala*, p. 110

INCE BLUNDELL, J. W. Weld, copy after Louvre no. 1515, p. 61

KANSAS CITY, Wm. Rockhill Nelson Gallery no. 44–58, copy after Institut Néerlandais, Lugt Collection no. J5572, p. 76

KREUZLINGEN (Switzerland), Art Market, copy after Borghese no. 334, p. 70

LE HAVRE, Musée Municipal, copy after Wallace Collection no. 9, p. 89

Formerly LEIGH COURT, Miles Collection, copy after lost *Madonna di Porta Pinti*, p. 98

LEIPZIG, Städtisches Museum no. 262, copy after Louvre no. 1515, p. 63

Sold LEIPZIG, Boerner, Ehlers sale (1930), copy after Pitti no. 62, p. 159

LEGHORN, Unidentified Collection, copy after *Madonna and Child with St. John*, p. 94

LENINGRAD, Academy of Fine Arts: copy after Louvre no. 1515; copy after Louvre no. 1516, p. 84

LENINGRAD, Hermitage: copy after *Christ Redeemer*, p. 51; copy after lost *Madonna with St. John*, p. 92; no. 26, copy after Louvre no. 1516, p. 84; no. 62, *Madonna with St. Elizabeth, St. Catherine, and the Infant St. John*, figs. [42–44], pp. 38–40

Formerly LENINGRAD, Count Stroganoff, copy after Louvre, no. 1516, p. 84

LENZBURG, Unidentified Collection, copy after Wallace Collection no. 9, p. 89

LILLE, Musée des Peintures no. 780: copy after lost *Madonna with St. John and Three Angels*, p. 37

LILLE, Musée Wicar nos. 500 r and v: copies after lost preparatory studies for *Gambassi Altar*, figs. 118, 119, pp. 161–162

LIPPI, FILIPPINO, p. 75

LONDON, Art Market: copy after lost *St. John the Baptist*, fig. [192], p. 152; drawing, copy after *Preaching of St. John Baptist*, p. 50n3; copy after *Madonna and Child*, p. 182; drawing, copy after *Madonna with Elizabeth and St. John*, p. 187n3

LONDON, British Museum: drawing, copy after Hermitage no. 62, p. 40n4

——— no. 1869–4–10–2489, drawing, copy after Pitti no. 62, p. 160n5

——— no. 1889–8–6–304, drawing, copy after *Birth of the Virgin*, p. 46n5

——— no. 1895–9–15–540, copy after the *Calling* scene of the *Parable of the Vineyard*, fig. [68], pp. 65–66

——— no. 1946–7–13–529, drawing, copy after *Annunciation to Zachary*, p. 123n3

——— *See also* Andrea del Sarto, Drawings

LONDON, Mrs. A. B. Ashforth Collection, copy after Louvre no. 1515, p. 61

LONDON, Dowdeswell Collection, copy after Borgherini *Holy Family*, p. 156

LONDON, E. Hockcliffe, copy after lost *Madonna with St. John and Three Angels*, p. 37

LONDON, Lord Clifford, copy after *Madonna del Sacco*, p. 135

LONDON, Mond Collection 237r, drawing, copy after *Beheading of St. John the Baptist*, p. 121n2

LONDON, National Gallery: no. 17, copy after *Madonna with St. Elizabeth, St. Catherine, and the Infant St. John*, p. 39; no. 690, *Portrait of a Sculptor*(?), fig. [81], pp. 79–80

LONDON, B. Poggi, copy after *Madonna wtih Elizabeth and St. John*, p. 186

LONDON, Wallace Collection no. 9, *Madonna and Child with the Infant St. John*, fig. [91], pp. 87–90

LONDON, R. E. A. Wilson, drawing, copy after Pitti no. 62, p. 160n5

Formerly LONDON: Art Market, Richardson Collection, drawing, copy after *Madonna with Elizabeth and St. John*, p. 187n3; Dowdeswell Collection, copy after Pitti no. 62, p. 159; Duke of Westminster, Grosvenor House no. 74, copy after Louvre no. 1515, p. 61; Mr. Rogers, copy after lost *St. John the Baptist*, p. 152; Stafford House, Duke of Sutherland Collection no. 18, copy after lost *Madonna di Porta Pinti*, p. 98; W. Warren Vernon, copy after Louvre no. 1515, p. 61; Yarborough Collection, copy after Louvre no. 1515, p. 63

Formerly? LONDON: Duke of Westminster, Grosvenor House no. 97, copy after *Holy Family*, p. 179; Humphrey Ward, copy after lost *St. Sebastian*, p. 194

Sold LONDON: (1804), from R. Udney Collection to Hope, copy after Louvre no. 1515, p. 61; (1854), from W. Cave, bought in, copy after Louvre no. 1515, p. 61; (1873), from J. H. Butterworth, bought in, copy after Louvre no. 1515, p. 61; Christie's (1952), derivation from lost *Madonna di Porta Pinti*, pp. 98–99; Christie's (1955), copy after lost *St. Sebastian*, p. 194; Christie's, Duke of Gloucester Collection (1806), copy after *Madonna del Sacco*, p. 135; Christie's, Cholmondeley and Others sale (1922), copy after both scenes of the *Parable of the Vineyard*, p. 66; Christie's, Erskine sale (1935), copy after *Disputation on the Trinity*, p. 82; Christie's, Lord Lansdowne sale (1930), copy after *Holy Family*, p. 179; Christie's, Viscount Scarsdale of Kedleston (1930), copy after Kunsthistorisches Museum no. 651, p. 91; Christie's, Viscount Scarsdale (1950), copy after *Visitation*, p. 130; Coesevelt Collection (1836), no. 20, copy after *Holy Family*, p. 179; formerly Mr. H. Farrer, copy after Kunsthistorisches Museum no. 651, p. 91; Robinson and Fisher, Waddington sale (1927), derivation from *Madonna of the Harpies*, p. 78n11; Sotheby's, A. G. B. Russell sale (1929), copies after *Calling* scene of *Parable of the Vineyard*, p. 66; Sotheby's (1920), drawing, copy after *Madonna della Scala*, p. 111n5

Formerly? LONGFORD CASTLE, Lord Radnor, copy after Wallace Collection no. 9, p. 89

LUCAS VAN LEYDEN, p. 71

LUCCA, Pinacoteca: no. 3, copy after *Madonna with Elizabeth and St. John*, p. 186; no. 69, copy after lost *St. John the Baptist*, p. 152

Sold LUCERNE, Fischer, Schmidt-Paganini sale (1946), copy after *Madonna and Child*, p. 182

Sold LUCERNE, Gilhofer and Ranschburg (1934), Naldini, drawing, copy after *Dance of Salome*, p. 105n2

LUCO (Mugello), S. Pietro, Santi Pacini, copy after *Pietà*, p. 127

LUTON HOO, Lt. Col. Drury-Lowe, *see* Andrea del Sarto, Drawings

LYONS, Musée des Beaux-Arts no. 47, copy after *Sacrifice of Isaac*, fig. 15, p. 150

MADRID, Bernardo de Quiros, copy after Louvre no. 1515, p. 61

MADRID, Prado: no. 332, *Portrait of a Young Woman* (Lucrezia del Fede), fig. [52], pp. 46–47

——— no. 334, *Madonna della Scala*, fig. [116], pp. 107–111

——— no. 336, *Sacrifice of Isaac*, fig. [191], p. 148

——— no. 287, copy after Pitti no. 62, p. 159

——— no. 333, copy after Wallace Collection no. 9, p. 89

——— no. 335, copy after *Holy Family*, p. 179

——— no. 337, copy after lost *Madonna and Child*, fig. [219], p. 187

——— no. 338, copy after Wallace Collection no. 9, p. 89

——— no. 339, copy after Wallace Collection no. 9, p. 89

——— *See also* Andrea del Sarto, Drawings

MADRID, Unidentified Collection, copy after Borgherini *Holy Family*, p. 156

MAIDENHEAD, Sir Thomas Merton, *see* Andrea del Sarto, Drawings

MALLORCA, Unidentified Collection, copy after *Madonna with Elizabeth and St. John*, p. 186

MALTA, Unspecified Place, copy after lost *St. Sebastian*, p. 194

MANTUA, S. Andrea, copy after *Madonna with Elizabeth and St. John*, p. 186

MELBOURNE, National Gallery of Victoria, *see* Andrea del Sarto, Drawings

MHEER (Holland), J. H. J. Mellaert; drawing, copy after *Payment* scene of *Parable of the Vineyard*, p. 66

MICHELANGELO, pp. 73, 93n1, 99n3, 134

MILAN, Ambrosiana, drawing, copy after *Procession of the Magi*, p. 32n10

MILAN?, Jongoli? Collection, copy after Pitti no. 62, p. 159

Formerly MILAN, Galleria di Brera no. 861, copy after *Payment* scene of *Parable of the Vineyard*, p. 66

Sold MILAN, Geri sale (1934), copy after *Madonna with Elizabeth and St. John*, p. 186; (1938, *cf.* Formerly London, Duke of Westminster), copy after Louvre no. 1515, p. 61

MINNEAPOLIS, Walker Art Gallery, copy after Louvre no. 1516, p. 84

MODENA, Galleria Estense no. 505, copy after Louvre no. 1515, p. 61

MOGALLI, C., engraving after *St. Sebastian*, p. 193

MONFORTE DE LEMOS (Spain), Collegio del Cardenal, copy after *St. Agnes Altar*, p. 192

MONTEPULCIANO, Museo Civico: copy after lost *Madonna di Porta Pinti*, p. 98; copy after *St. John in the Wilderness*, p. 79

MORETTO DA BRESCIA, p. 204

Formerly MOSCOW, Collection Roumianzeff, copy after *Christ Redeemer*, p. 51

MUNICH, Alte Pinakothek: no. 501, copy after Louvre no. 1515, fig. 6, pp. 60, 61–62; no. 509 (deposit), copy after Wallace Collection no. 9, p. 89; no. 544, copy after Louvre no. 1515, p. 62; nos. 1068–1070, copies after *The Life of St. John the Baptist*, p. 13; no. 1071, copy after *Holy Family*, pp. 179–180

MUNICH, Graphische Sammlung: no. 2206, drawing, copy after Uffizi no. 659E, p. 73n4; no. 2211L, drawing, copy after *The Naming of St. John the Baptist*, p. 140n2; *see also* Andrea del Sarto, Drawings

MUNICH, Rolf Toussaint, copy after Louvre no. 1515, p. 62

Formerly MUNICH: Art Market, copy after lost *Madonna and Child*, p. 187; Count Berchem, copy after *Holy Family*, p. 180

Formerly? MUNICH, Pinakothek no. 13, copy after *Madonna della Scala*, p. 110

Sold MUNICH: Helbing, Berger sale (1925), copy after *St. Agnes Altar*, p. 193; Goesche sale (1897), copy after Wallace Collection no. 9, p. 89; Manos sale (1912), copy after *Christ Redeemer*, p. 51

NALDINI, GIOVANNI BATTISTA: Darmstadt AE 2131 r and v, drawing, copies after *Sacrifice of Isaac*, p. 151n15

——— Dresden, Gallery, Kupferstichkabinett no. C68r, copy after lost preparatory study for *Procession of the Magi*, p. 31

——— Florence, Uffizi: no. 311Fr, copy after lost preparatory study for *Dance of Salome*, fig. 66, p. 105; no. 646E, drawing, copy after *Preaching of St. John Baptist*, p. 50n3; no. 6450F, copy after lost preparatory study for Pitti no. 62, p. 159; no. 6524Fr, copy after lost preparatory study for *Dance of Salome*, p. 105; no. 7506F, copy after lost preparatory study for *Assumption of the Virgin*, p. 118; no. 14415F, drawing, copy after Uffizi no. 659E, p. 73n4; no. 16482F, drawing, copy after *Beheading of St. John the Baptist*, p. 121n2; no. 16482AF, drawing, copy after *Visitation*, p. 131n2; no. 16482BF, drawing, copy after *Presentation of the Head of St. John*, p. 121n2

——— London, Art Market: drawing, copy after *Preaching of St. John Baptist*, p. 50n3

——— London, British Museum no. 1912–12–14–1, p. 97

——— Sold Lucerne, Gilhofer and Ranschburg (1943): drawing, copy after *Dance of Salome*, p. 105n2

——— Munich, Graphische Sammlung no. 2206, p. 73n4

——— Paris, Ecole des Beaux-Arts: no. 359, drawing, copy after *Dance of Salome*, p. 105n2; no. 365, drawing, copy after Uffizi no. 659E, fig. 185, p. 73n4

——— Paris, Louvre no. 1688, fig. 69, pp. 107 and 107n4

NANTES, Musée des Beaux-Arts: no. 152, copy after Louvre no. 1514, p. 86; no. 153, copy after Louvre no. 1515, p. 63

NAPLES, Galleria Nazionale: no. 138, *Portrait of Leo X with the Cardinals Guilio de' Medici and Luigi Rossi* (copy after Raphael), figs. [152, 153], pp. 131–133; no. 739, copy after Wallace Collection no. 9, p. 89; deposit, copy after *Charity*, p. 166; *see also* Andrea del Sarto, Drawings

NAPLES, Imparato Caracciolo Collection, copy after Borghese no. 334, p. 70

NAPLES, S. Giacomo degli Spagnuoli, copy after Wallace Collection no. 9, p. 89

Formerly NAPLES, Quadreria di Capodimonte, copy after lost *St. Sebastian*, p. 194

Formerly? NEW ORLEANS, Mrs. C. K. Prentiss, copy after lost *Madonna with St. John and Three Angels*, p. 37

NEW YORK, Art Market: copy after Borghese no. 334, pp. 70–71; copies (?) after lost preparatory study for *Assumption of the Virgin*, figs. 84, 85, p. 118; copy after Institut Néerlandais, Lugt Collection no. J5572, p. 77

NEW YORK, W. Chrysler, Jr., copy after *Madonna with Sts. John Baptist and Ambrogio*, p. 49

NEW YORK, Hunter College, copy after lost *Madonna di Porta Pinti*, p. 98

NEW YORK, Kress Collection no. 173, copy after lost *Madonna with St. John and Three Angels*, p. 37

NEW YORK, C. Lowenich, derivation from Madonna della Scala, p. 111

NEW YORK, Metropolitan Museum: no. 22.75, *Holy Family with the Infant St. John* (Borgherini *Holy Family*), fig. [194], pp. 153–156; Friedsam Collection no. 32.100.89, *Female Saint* (fragment), fig. [8], p. 7

NEW YORK, Morgan Library, *see* Andrea del Sarto, Drawings

NEW YORK, Mrs. Powell Collection, derivation after lost *Madonna and Child with St. John*, p. 94

NEW YORK, St. Patrick's Cathedral, copy after Louvre no. 1516, pp. 84–85

NEW YORK, Janos Scholz, copy after lost preparatory study for *Assunta di Poppi*, fig. 151, p. 196

Formerly NEW YORK: Art Market, copy after Pitti no. 62, p. 159; Art Market, derivation from lost *Madonna with St. John*, p. 92; Mrs. A E. Blumenthal, derivation from *Madonna and Child*, p. 183; W. R. Hearst Collection, copy after lost *Madonna di Porta Pinti*, fig. [97], p. 98; Public Library, Picture Gallery, derivation from *Tobias Altar*, p. 24

Sold NEW YORK: American Art Association (1922), copy after Wallace Collection no. 9, p. 89; American Art Association, Smith sale (1935), derivation from *Madonna with Elizabeth and St. John*, p. 187; Parke-Bernet, Benedict sale (1951), copy after Pitti no. 62, p. 159; Parke-Bernet, J. Alfred sale (1940), copy after Borgherini *Holy Family*, p. 156

OSLO, National Museum: drawing, copy after *Annunciation to Zachary*, p. 123n3; drawing, copy after the *Procession of the Magi*, p. 32n10

OXFORD, Ashmolean: copy after *Last Supper*, p. 144; no. 680, drawing, copy from Scalzo frescoes, p. 15n28; *see also* Andrea del Sarto, Drawings

OXFORD, Christ Church Library: no. V10A, drawing, copy after *Visitation*, p. 131n2; no. Z26Av, drawing, copy after *St. Agnes Altar*, p. 193n4

PALLANZA, Museo del Verbano, copy after *Christ Redeemer*, p. 51

PARIS, Collection Schiff-Giorgini, copy after Borghese no. 334, p. 71

PARIS, Ecole des Beaux-Arts: no. 359, Naldini, drawing, copy after *Dance of Salome*, p. 105n2; no. 362/1, drawing, copy after *Annunciation to Zachary*, p. 123n3; no. 363, drawing, copy after Pitti no. 88, p. 73n6; no. 365, drawing, copy after Uffizi no. 659E, fig. 185, p. 73n4; *see also* Andrea del Sarto, Drawings

PARIS, Institut Néerlandais, Lugt Collection: no. J5253, copy after lost preparatory study for *Holy Family*, fig. 136, p. 179; *see also* Andrea del Sarto, Drawings

PARIS, Louvre: no. 1514, *Charity*, figs. [88–90], pp. 85–87

——— no. 1515, *Madonna and Child, Elizabeth with the Infant Baptist, Two Angels* (*Holy Family*), fig. [66], pp. 59–64

——— no. 1516, *Holy Family with Elizabeth and the Infant St. John*, fig. [85], pp. 82–85

——— no. 1517, copy after *Sarzana Altar*, p. 174

——— no. 1644, Francesco Franciabigio, *Portrait*, p. 22

PARIS, Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins: no. 1672, copy after lost preparatory study for *Annunciation to Zachary*, p. 123

——— no. 1673, copy after lost preparatory study for *Tribute to Caesar*, fig. [100], p. 193

——— no. 1688, Naldini, fig. 69, p. 107 and p. 107n4

——— no. 1720, drawing, copy after *Visitation*, p. 131n2

——— no. 1733, drawing, copy after *Annunciation to Zachary*, p. 123n3

——— no. 1734, drawing, copy after *Funeral* scene in *The Life of S. Filippo Benizzi*, p. 20n9

——— nos. 1735, 1736; drawings, copies after *Pietà*, p. 128n15

——— no. 1737, drawing, copy after *The Life of St. John the Baptist*, p. 15n28

——— no. 1738, drawing, copy after *The Life of St. John the Baptist*, p. 15n28

——— no. 1739, drawing, copy after *The Life of St. John the Baptist*, p. 15n28

——— no. 1740 (two sheets), drawing, copies after *The Life of St. John the Baptist*, p. 15n28

——— no. 1740/1, copy after *Payment* scene of *Parable of the Vineyard*, p. 66

——— no. 1741, copy after *Payment* scene of *Parable of the Vineyard, p.* 66

——— no. 1742, drawing, copy after *The Life of St. John the Baptist*, p. 15n28

——— no. 1743 (three sheets), drawing, copies after *The Life of St. John the Baptist*, p. 15n28

——— no. 1744 (two sheets), drawing, copies after *Faith* and *Hope* in *The Life of St. John the Baptist*, pp. 15n28, 122

——— no. 1745, drawing, copy after Wallace Collection no. 9, p. 90n5

——— no. 1746, drawing, copy after *Madonna del Sacco*, p. 135n3

——— no. 1747, drawing, copy after *Gamblers* scene in *The Life of S. Filippo Benizzi*, p. 20n9

——— no. 1750, drawing, copy after *Visitation*, p. 131n2

——— no. 1750–1, drawing, copy after *The Life of St. John the Baptist*, p. 15n28

——— no. 1752, drawing, copy after *Presentation of the Head of St. John*, pp. 15n28, 121n2

——— no. 1753, drawing, copy after Borghese no. 334, p. 71n5

——— no. 1754, drawing, copy after the *Procession of the Magi*, p. 32n10

——— no. 1755, drawing, copy after *The Life of St. John the Baptist*, p. 15n28

——— no. 1756, drawing, copy after *The Life of St. John the Baptist*, p. 15n28

——— no. 1757, drawing, copy after *Story of Joseph* [1], p. 55n7

——— no. 1758, drawing, copy after lost *Madonna di Porta Pinti*, p. 99n7

——— no. 1759, drawing, copy after *Madonna del Sacco*, p. 135n3

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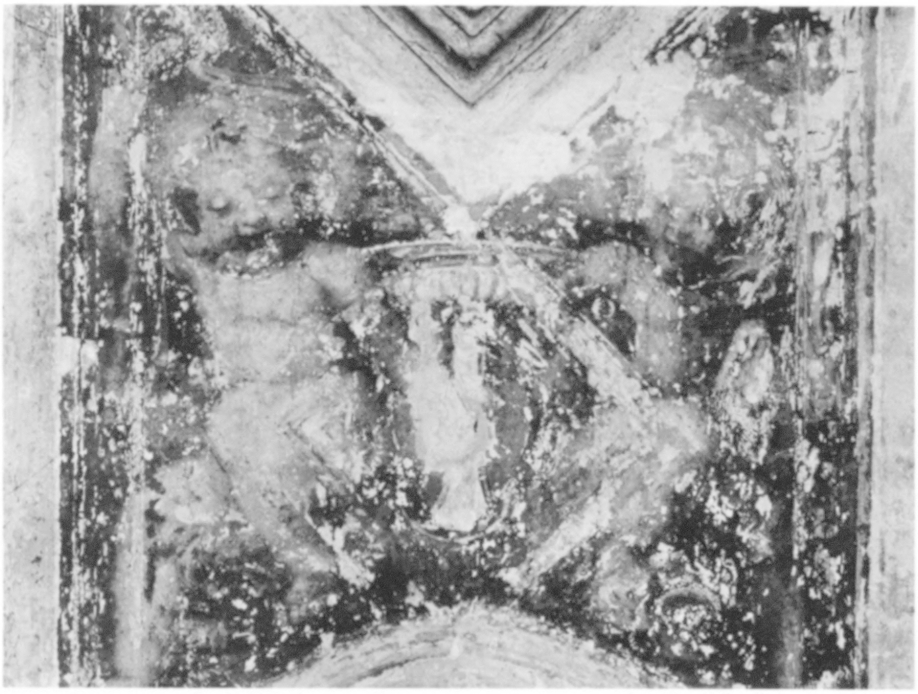
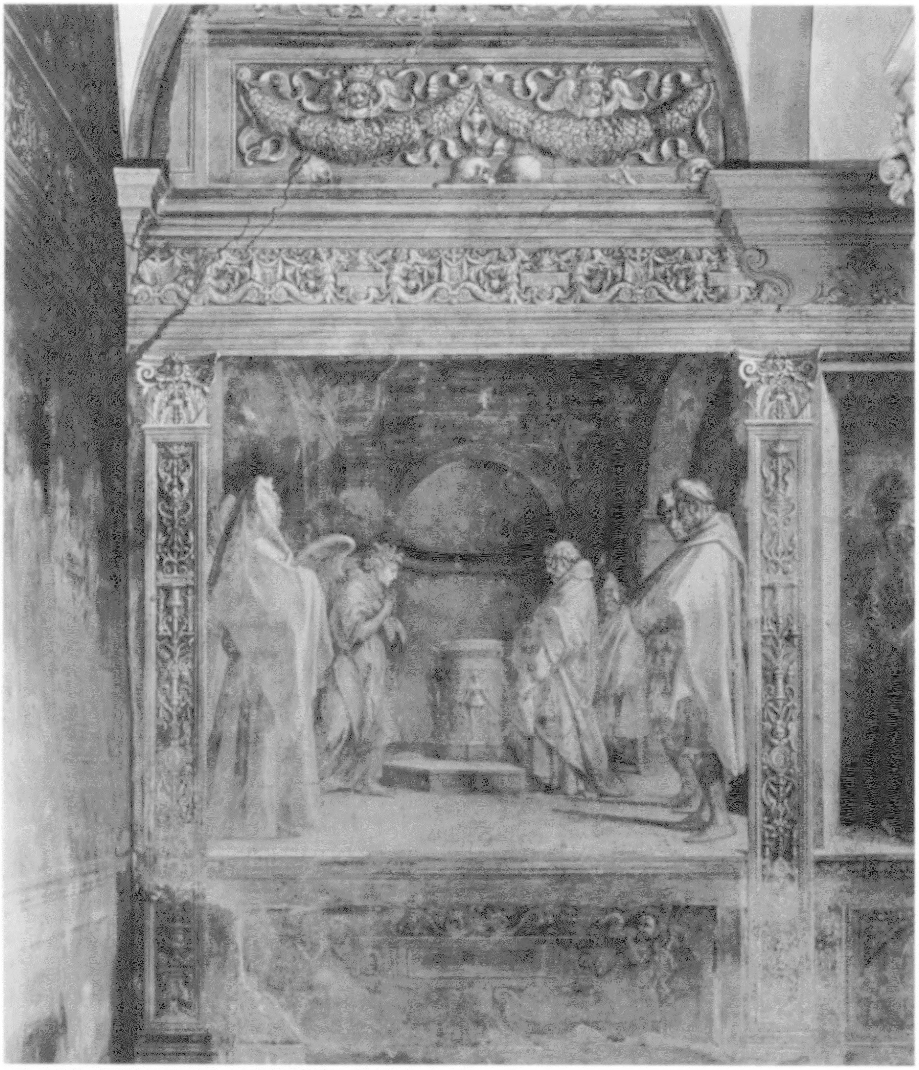
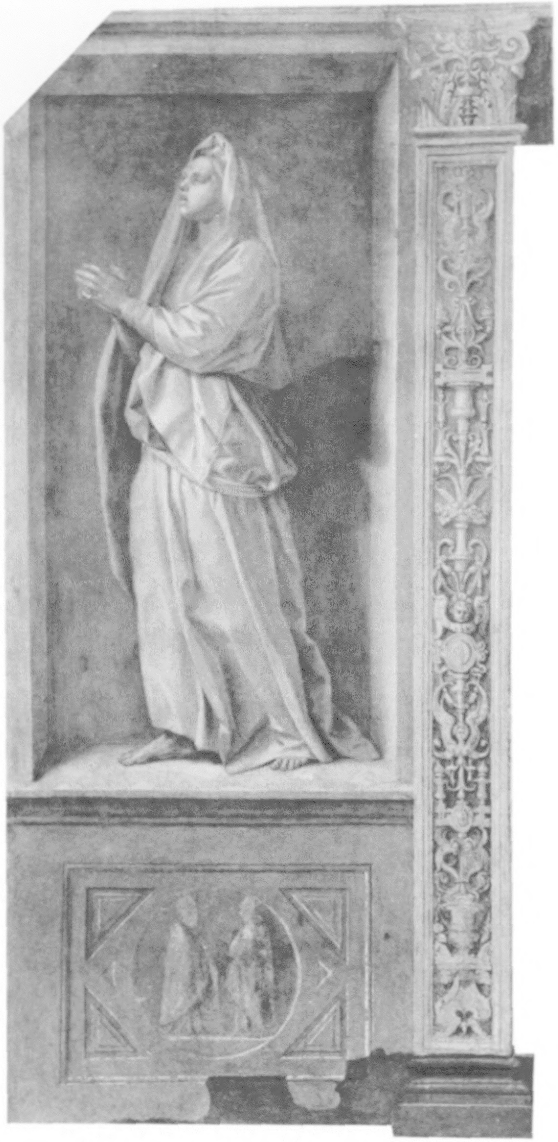


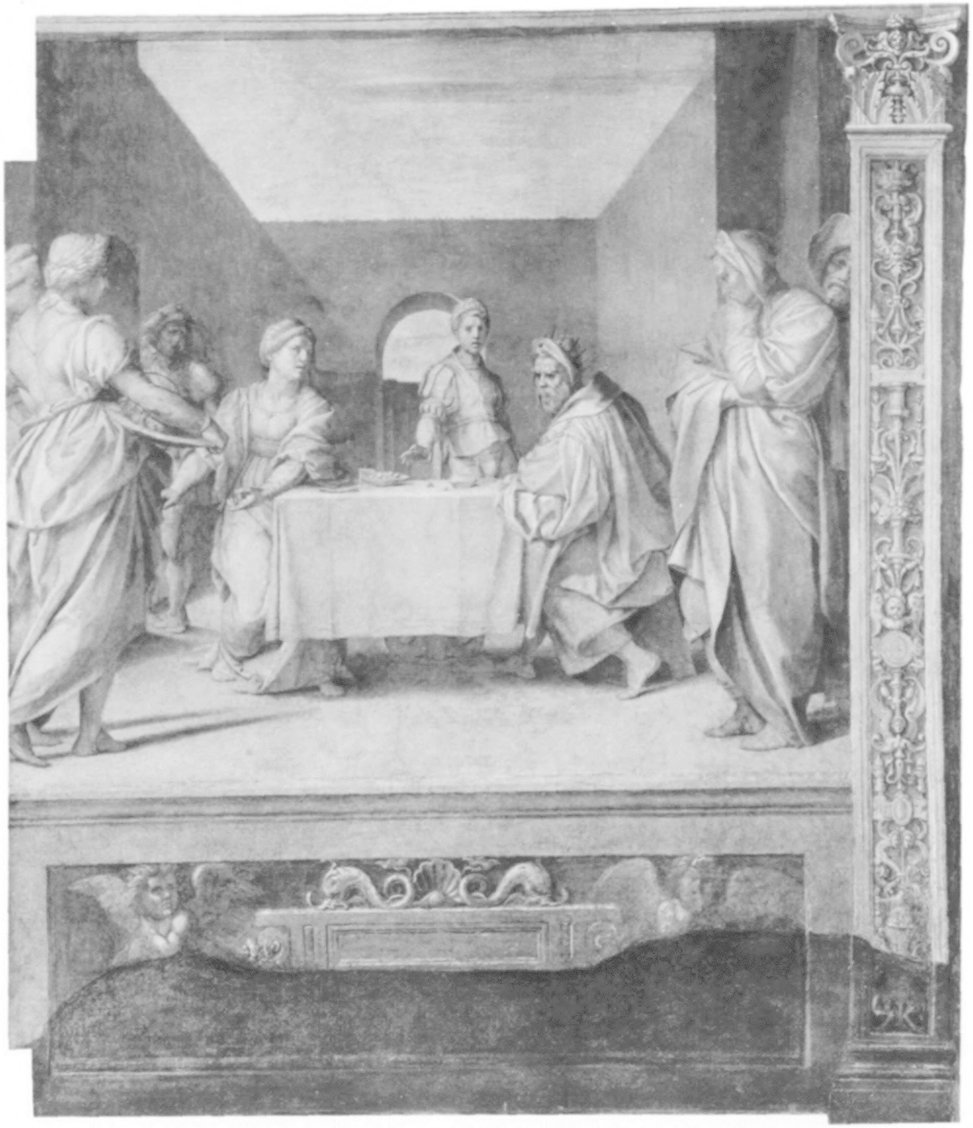
1. PUTTI, by Franciabigio? Florence, Or San Michele



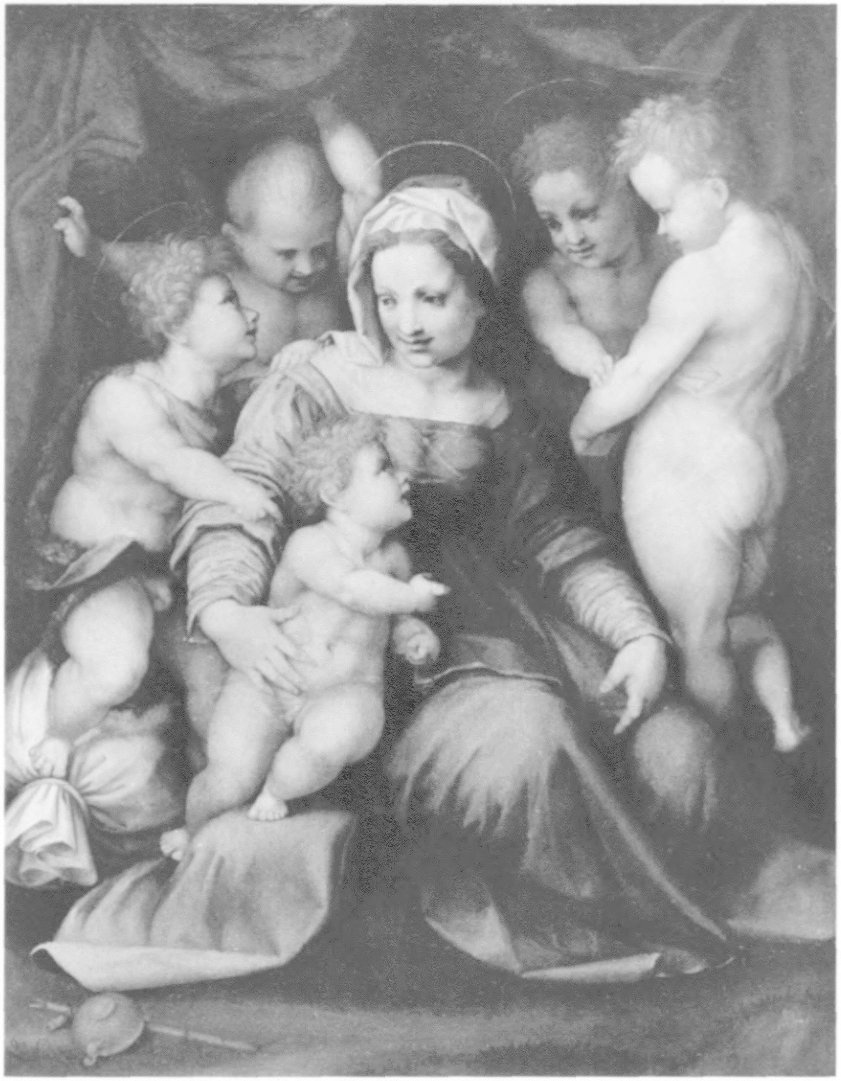
2. ANNUNCIATION TO ZACHARY, showing the architectural enframement and the basamento. Florence, Chiostro dello Scalzo



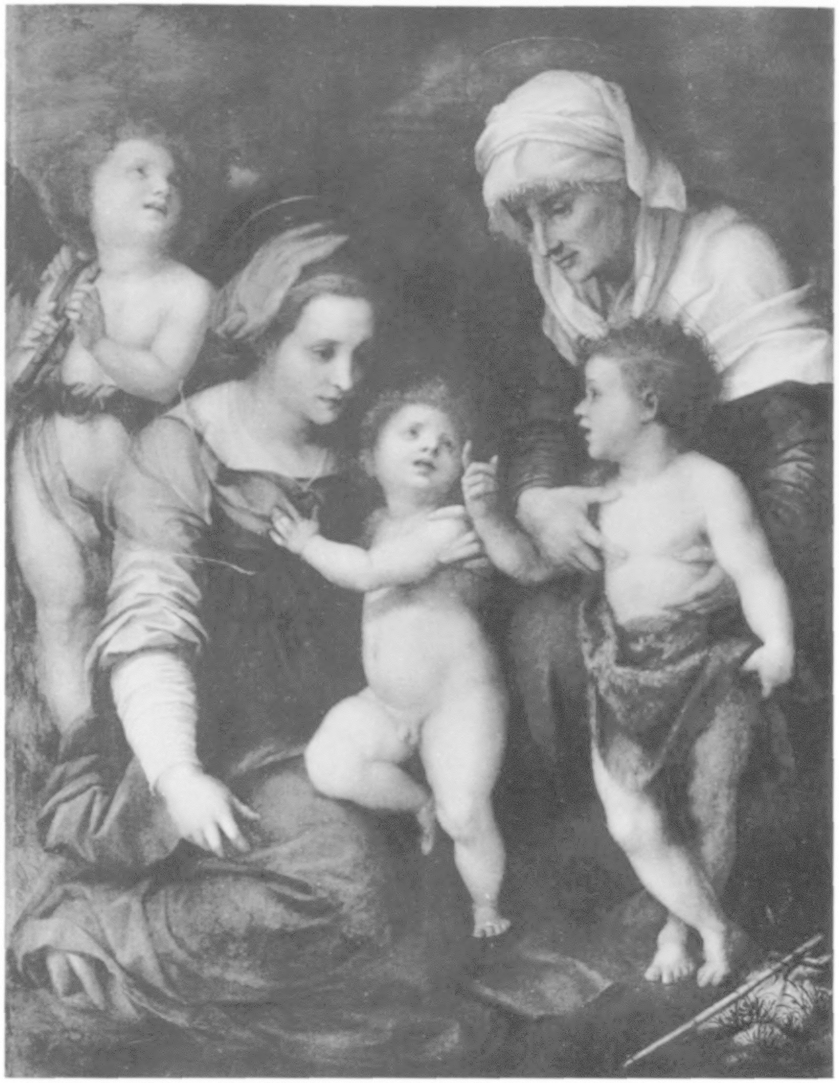
3. HOPE (detached and restored, 1961). Florence, Chiostro dello Scalzo



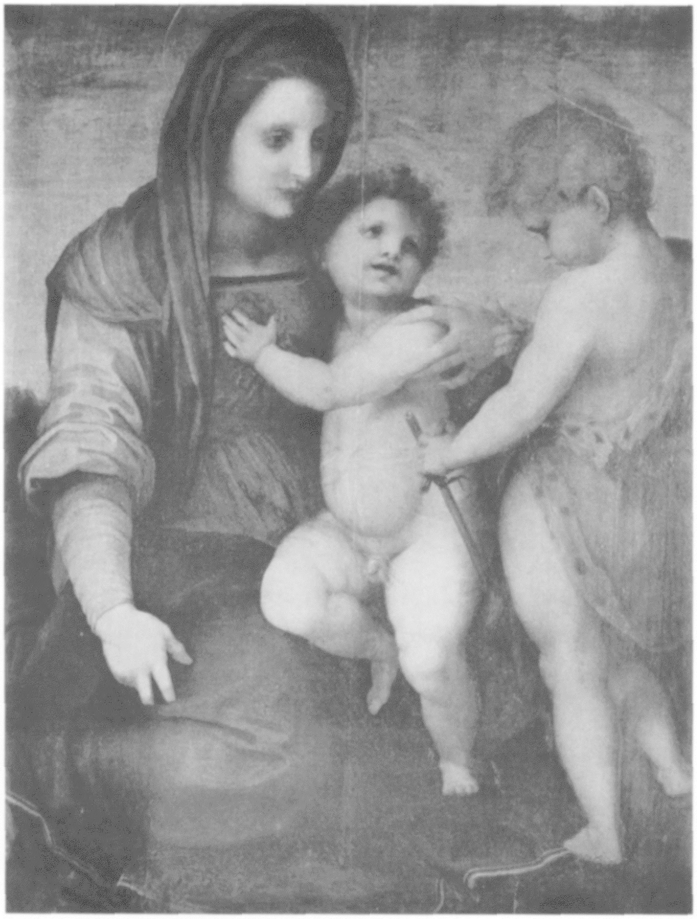
4. PRESENTATION OF THE HEAD OF ST. JOHN (detached and restored, 1961). Florence, Chiostro dello Scalzo



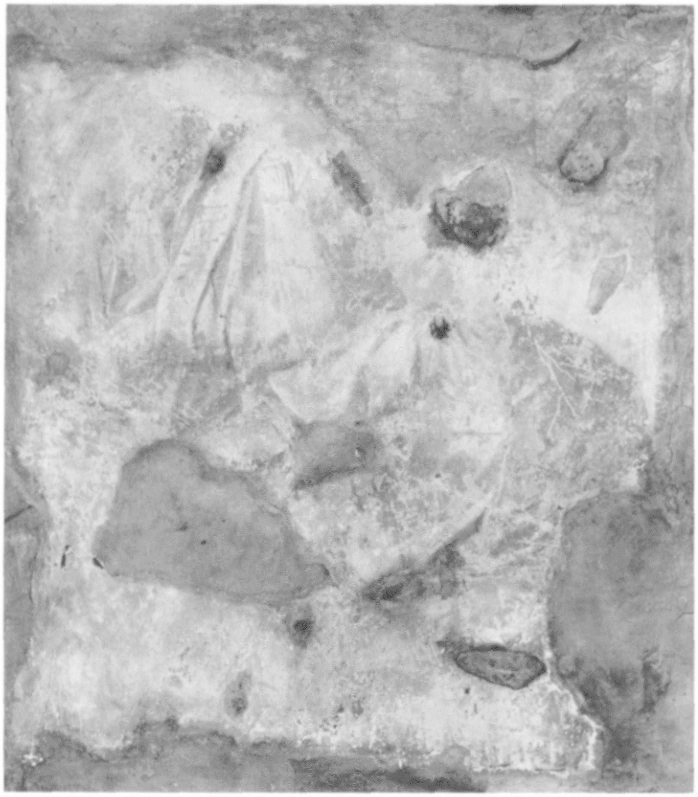
5. MADONNA WITH ST. JOHN AND THREE ANGELS (copy). Toronto, Art Gallery



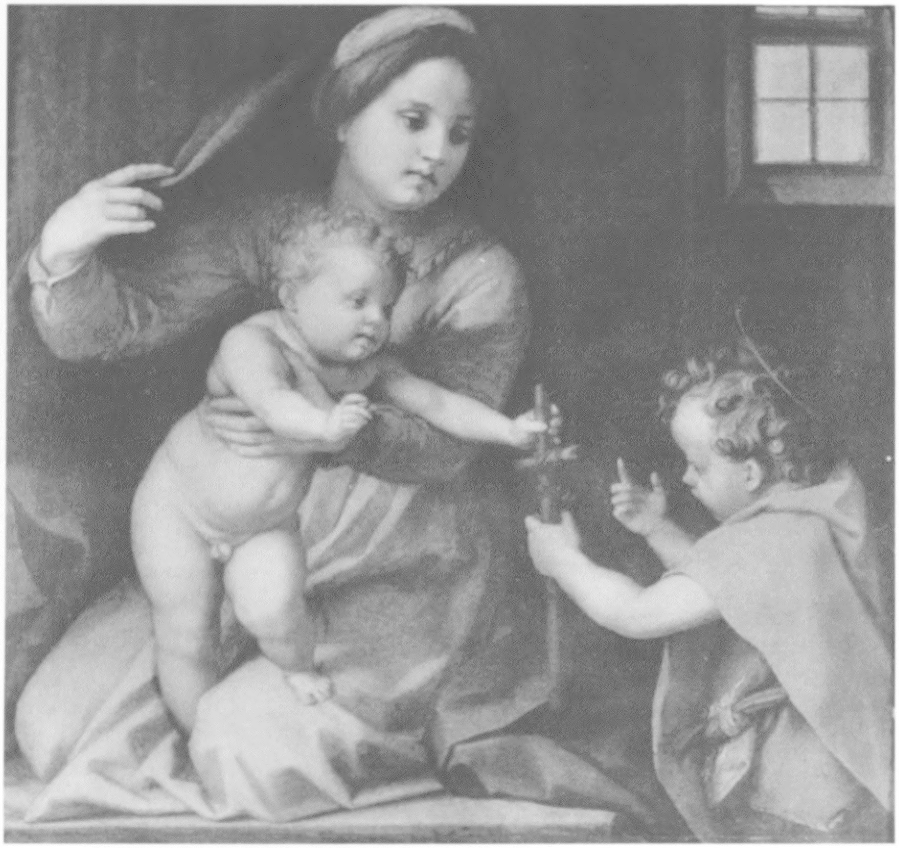
6. MADONNA AND CHILD, ELIZABETH WITH THE INFANT BAPTIST, TWO ANGELS (copy), Munich, Pinakothek



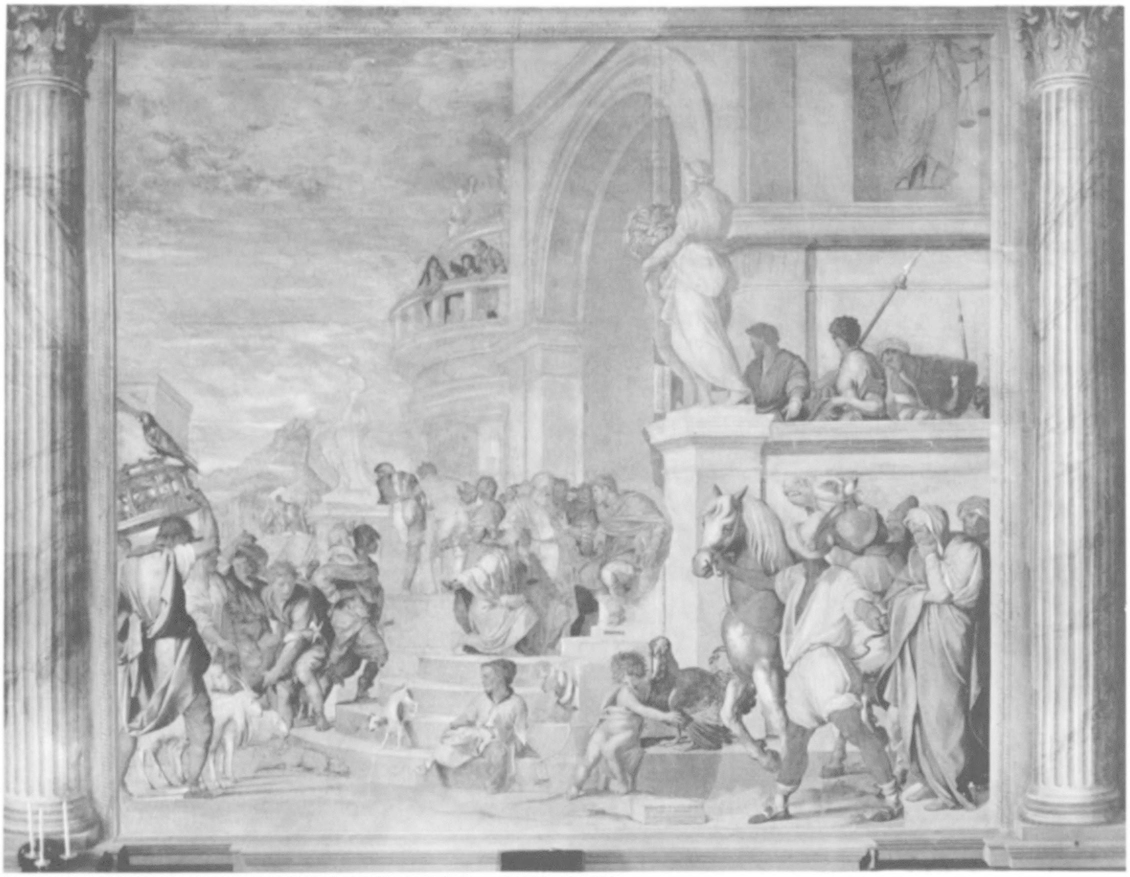
7. MADONNA AND CHILD WITH THE INFANT ST. JOHN. Hampton Court



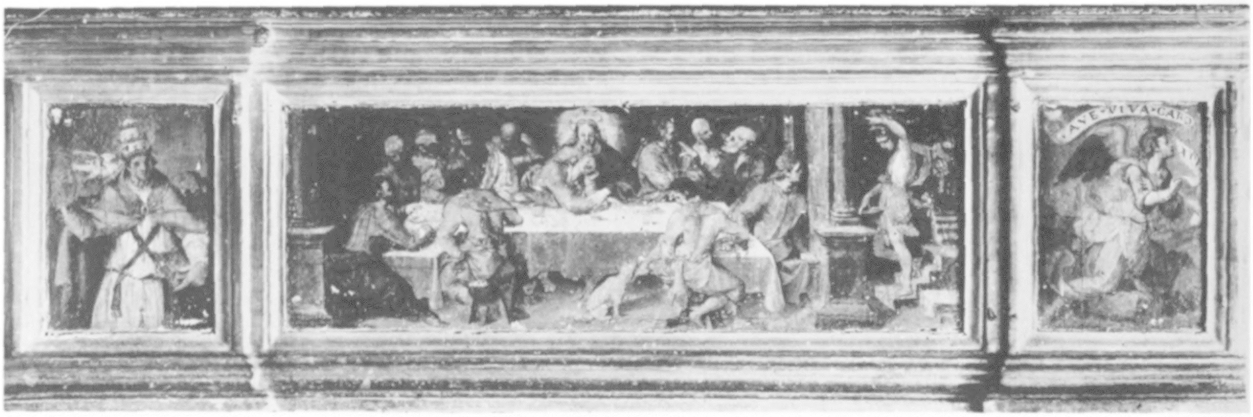
8. PAYMENT OF THE WORKERS, fragment. Florence, Ognissanti, Museum



9. MADONNA AND CHILD WITH THE INFANT ST. JOHN (derivation). Raleigh, Museum of Art



10. TRIBUTE TO CAESAR, as completed by Alessandro Allori, Poggio a Cajano



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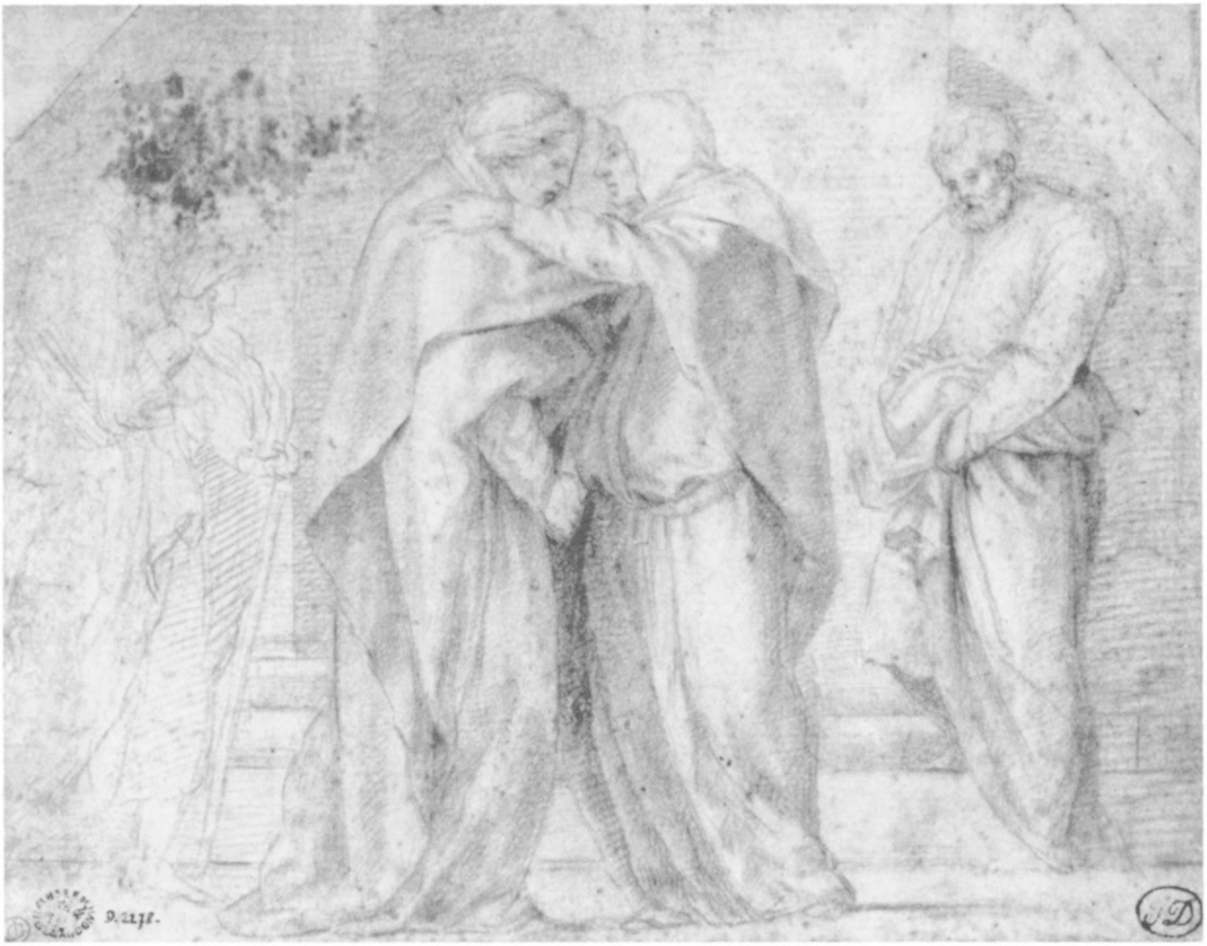
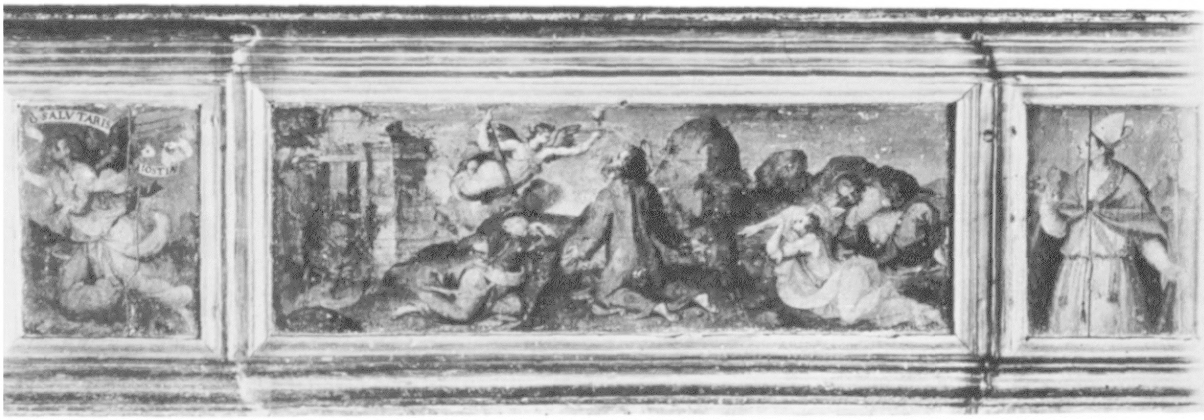


12. VISITATION (copy from Sarto's lost work formerly at Luco). Besancon, Museum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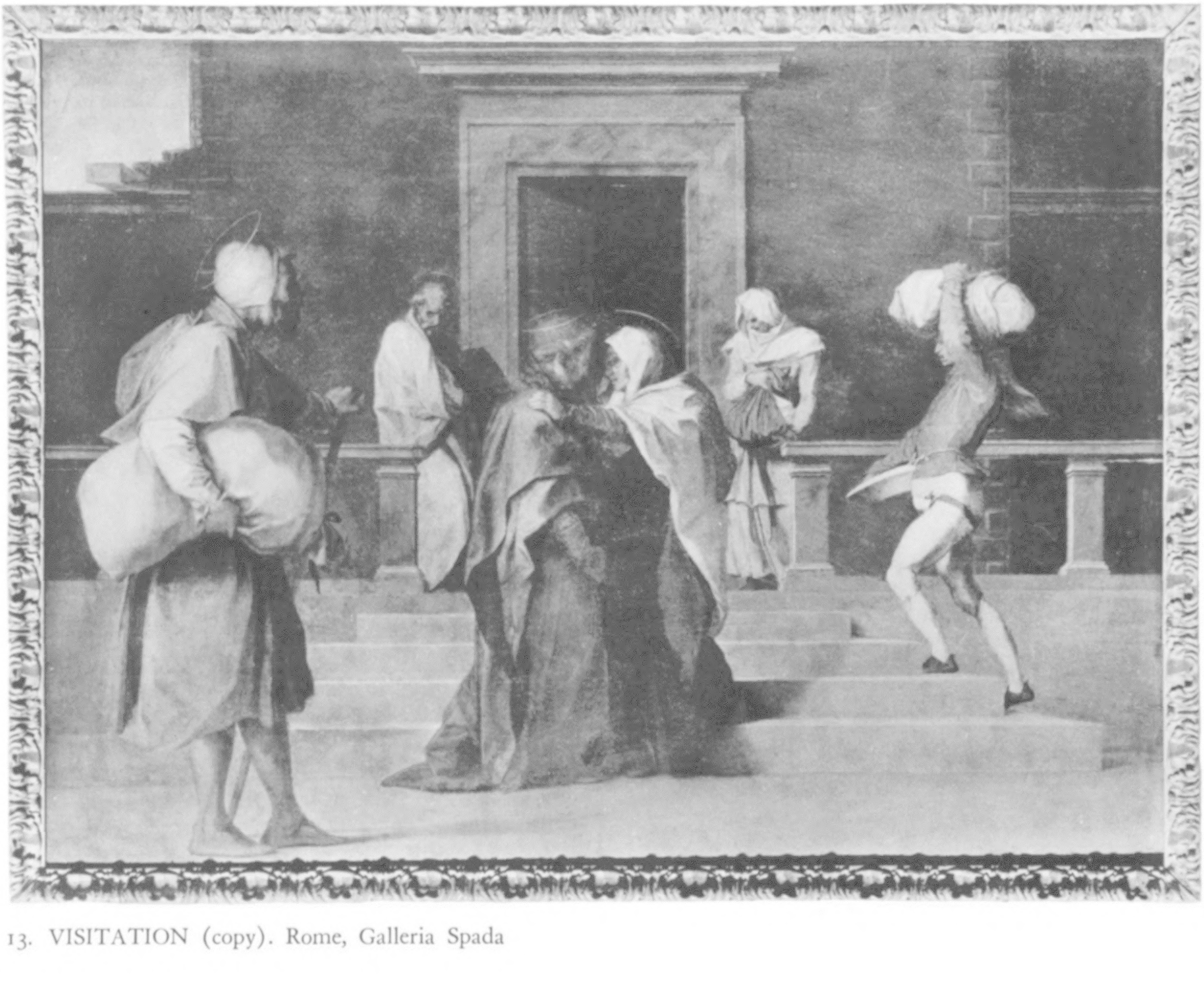
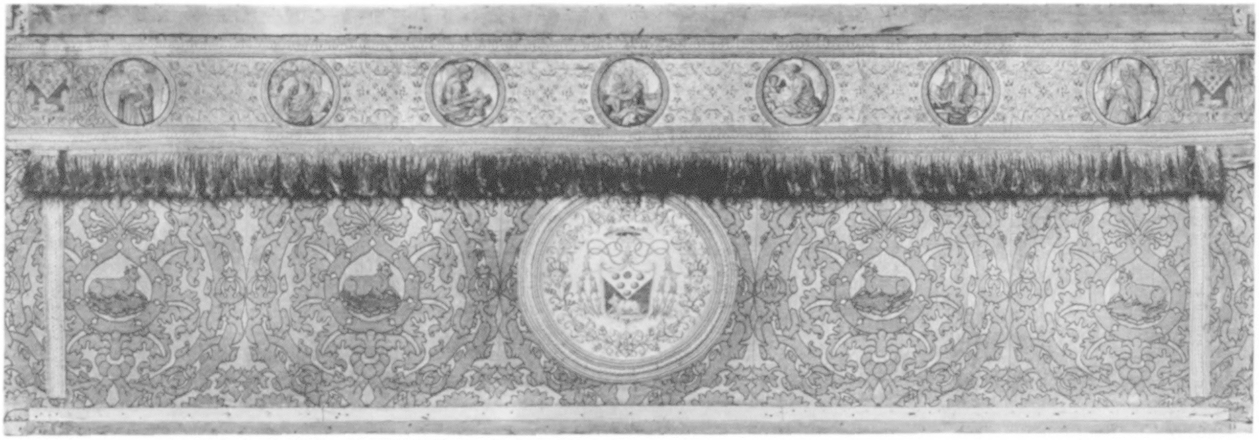
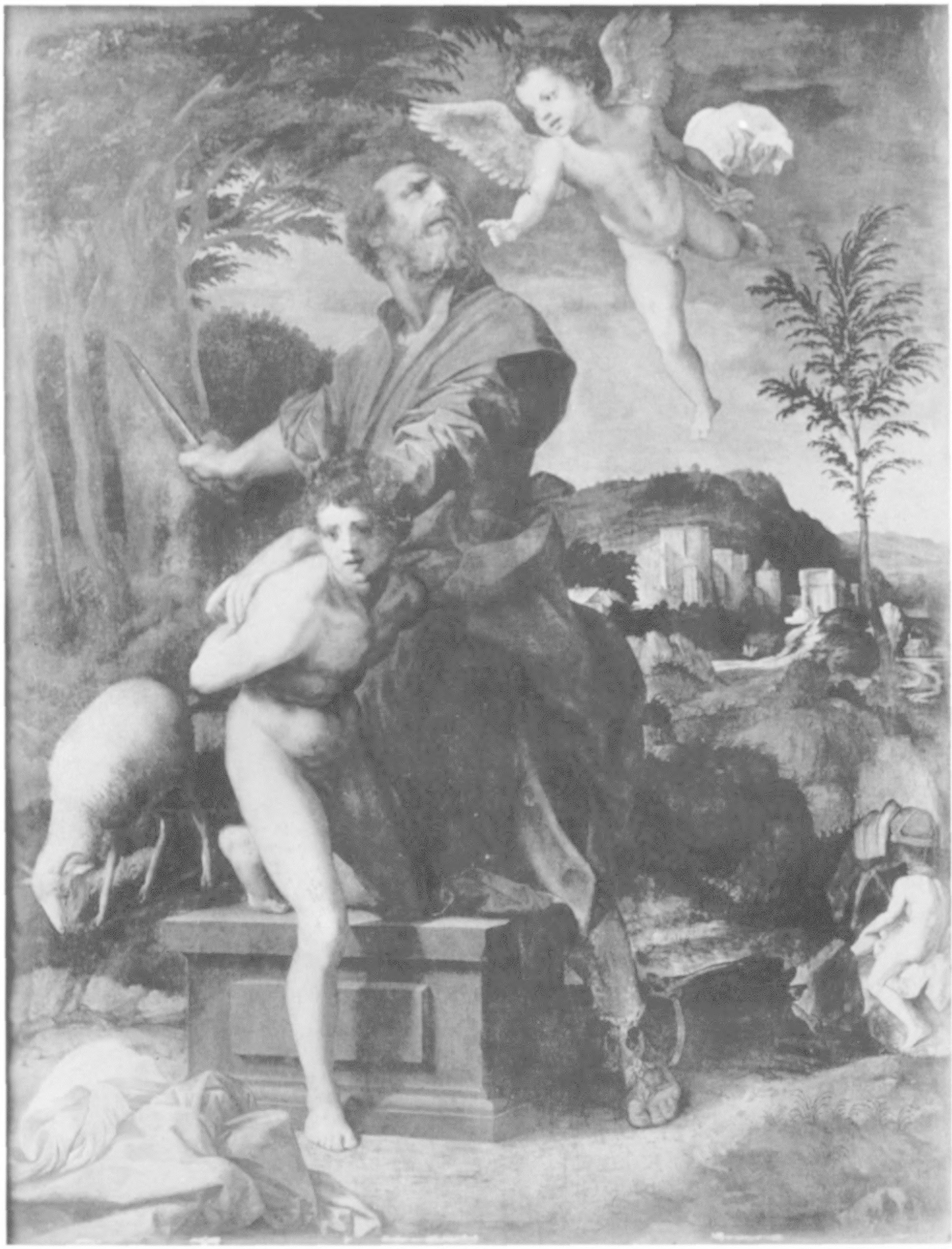


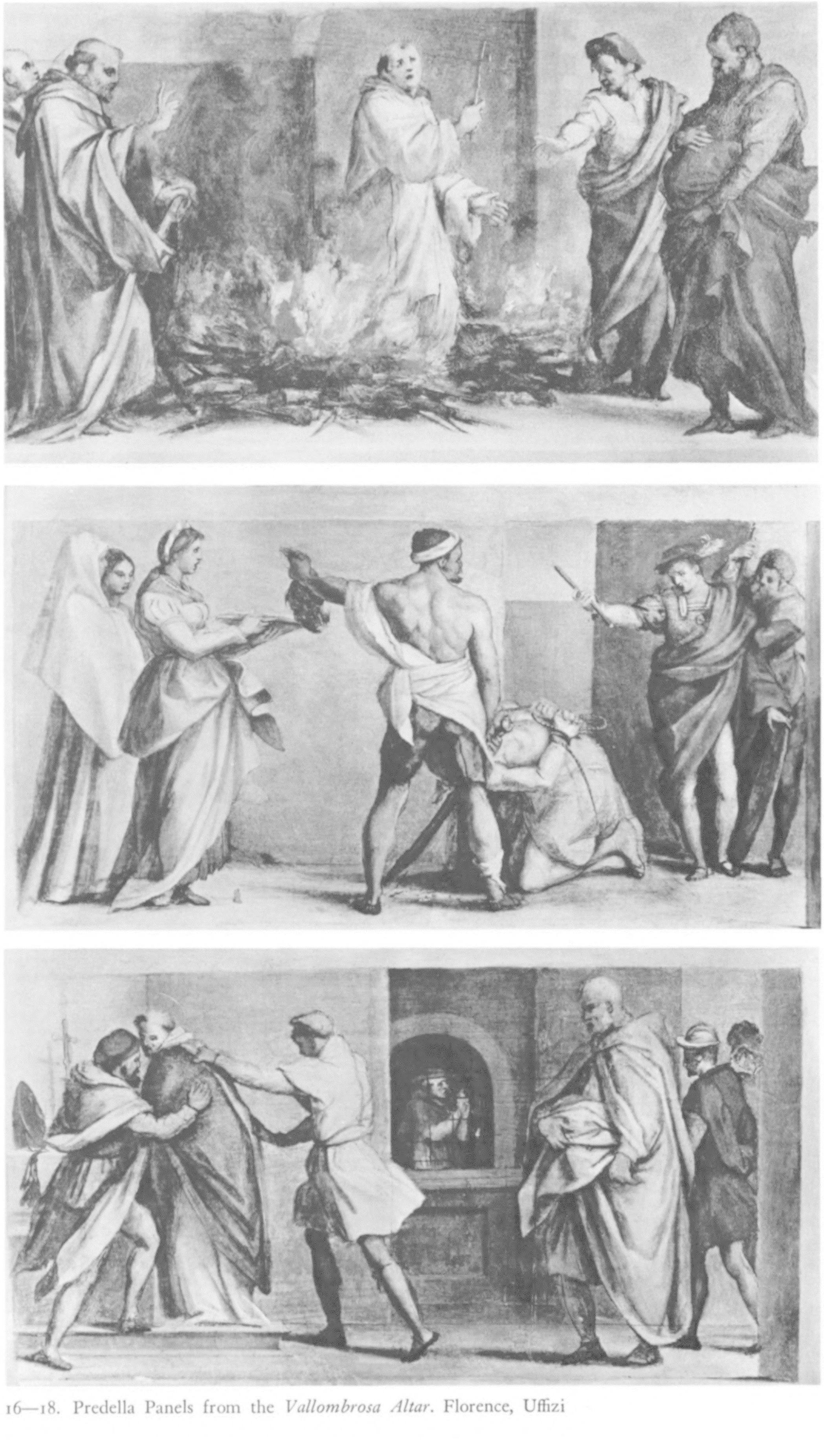
13. VISITATION (copy). Rome, Galleria Spada



14. PALIOTTO OF THE PARAMENTO OF CARDINAL PASSERINI. Cortona, Museo Diocesano



15. SACRIFICE OF ISAAC (copy). Lyons, Museum



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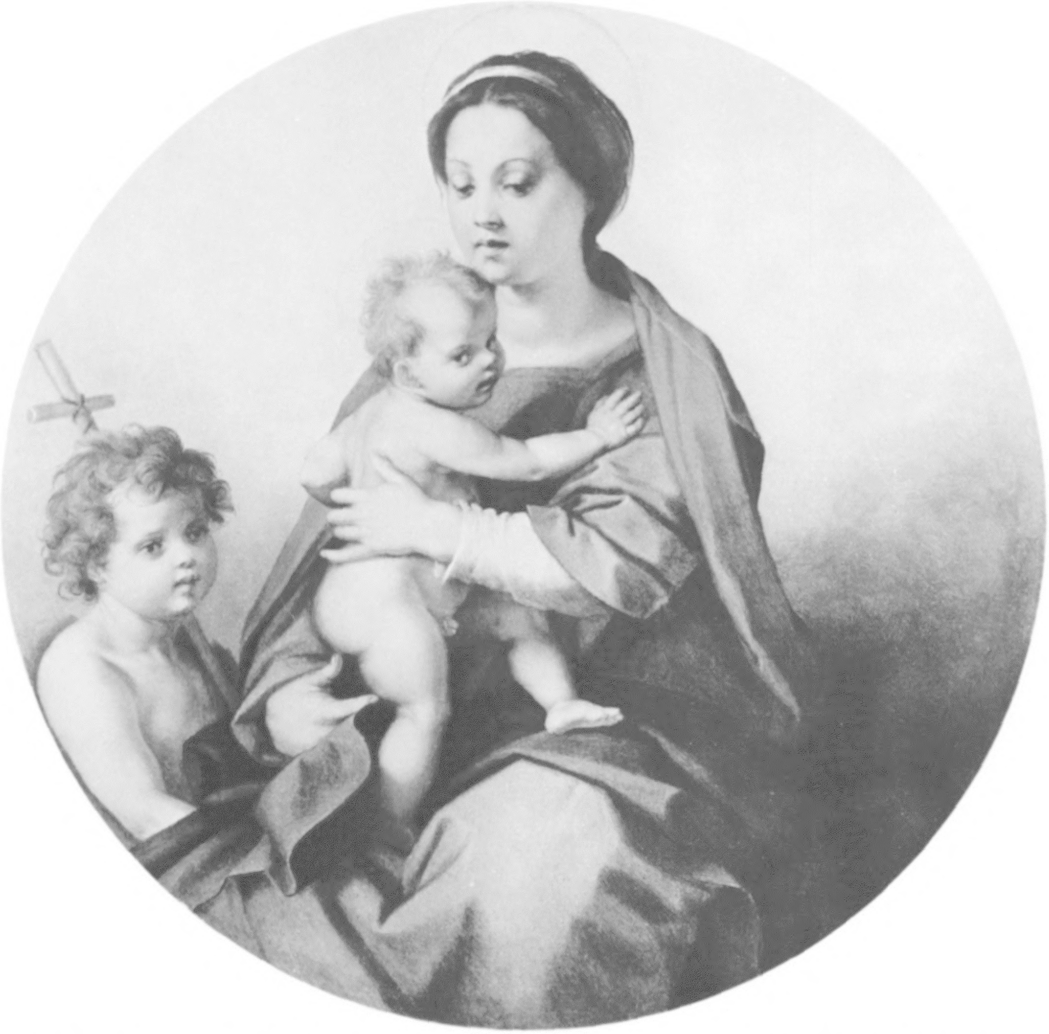
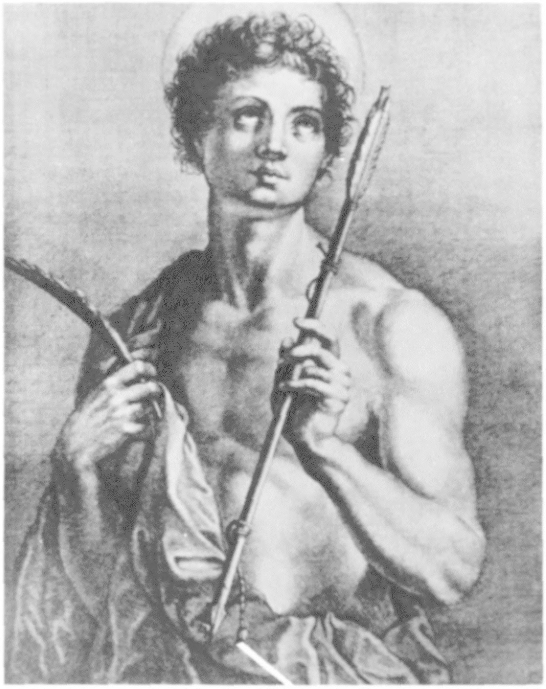
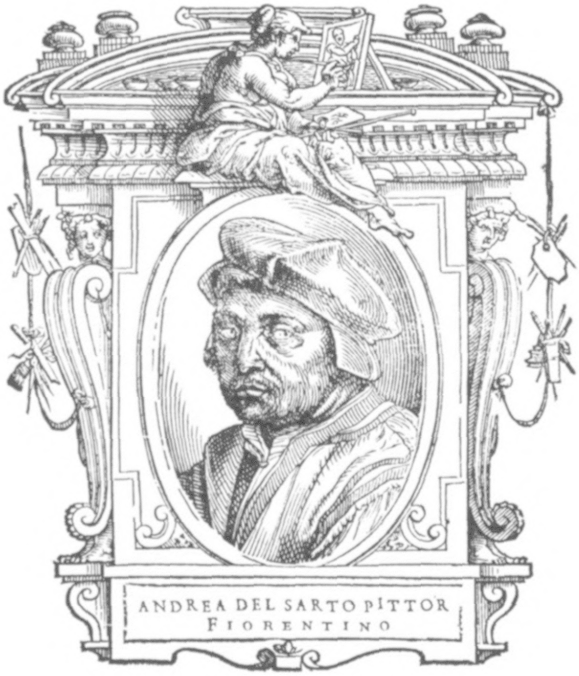


19. MADONNA AND CHILD WITH THE INFANT ST. JOHN. Coral Gables, Florida, University of Miami Art Gallery; from the Kress Collection



20. C. Mogalli, *St. Sebastian,* after a version of Sarto's lost work. Formerly Florence, Pitti


ANDREA DEL SARTO PITTOR
FIORENTINO

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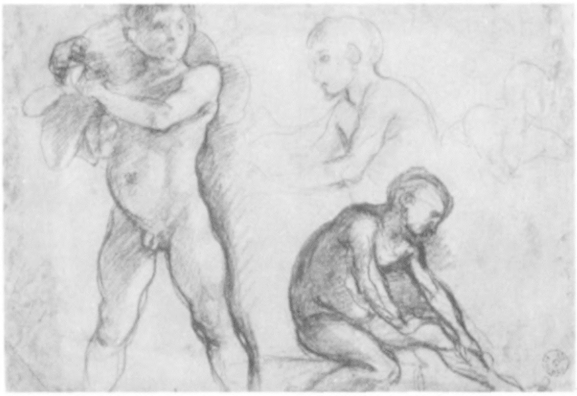

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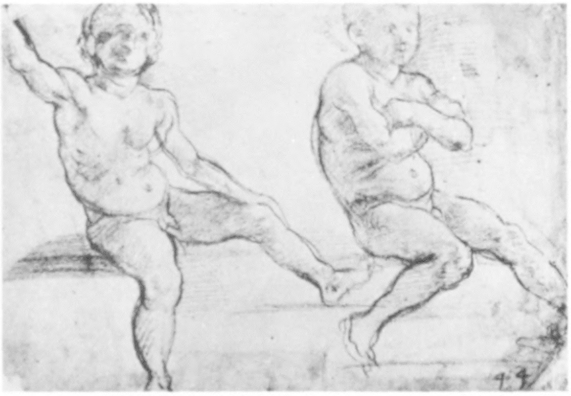

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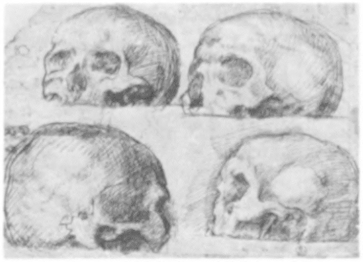

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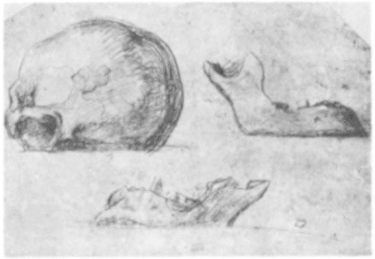

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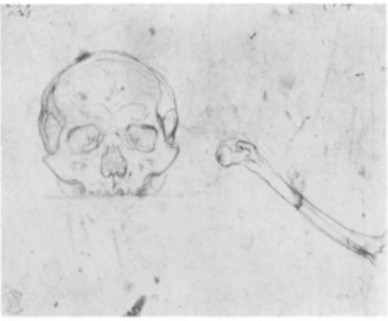
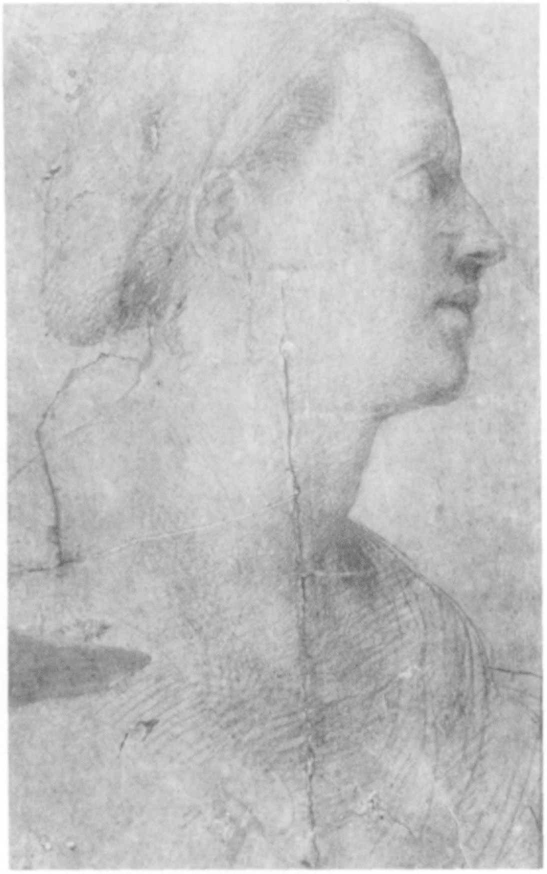


26. London, British Museum no. 5210–63v



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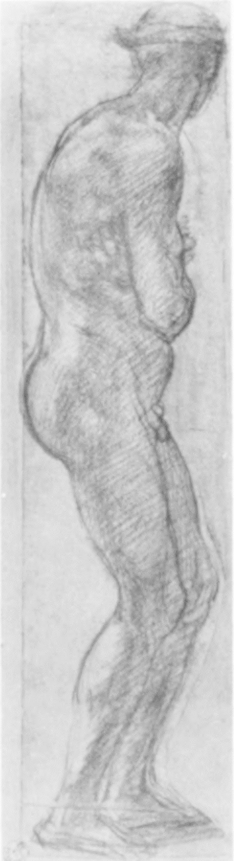

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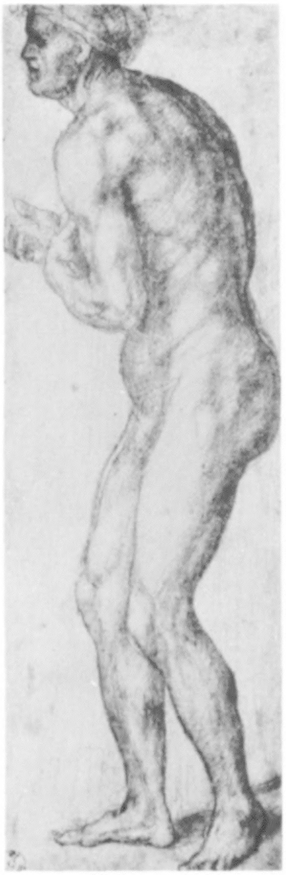

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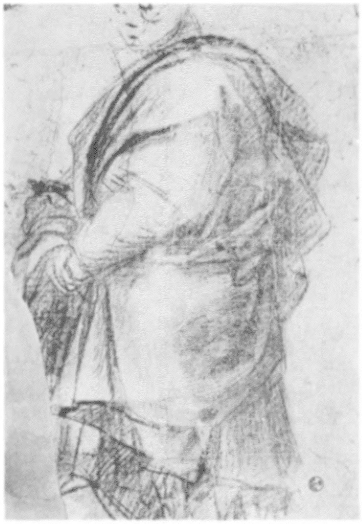
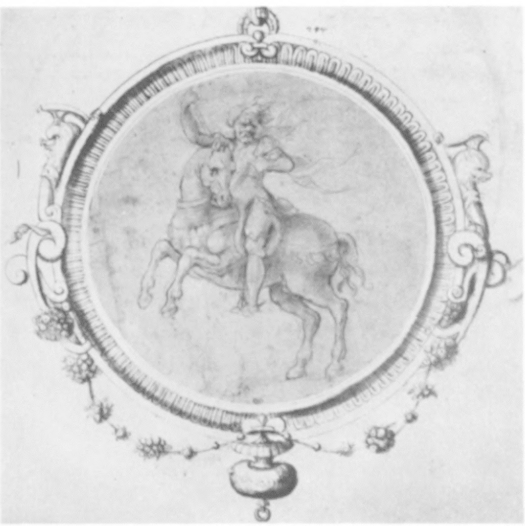
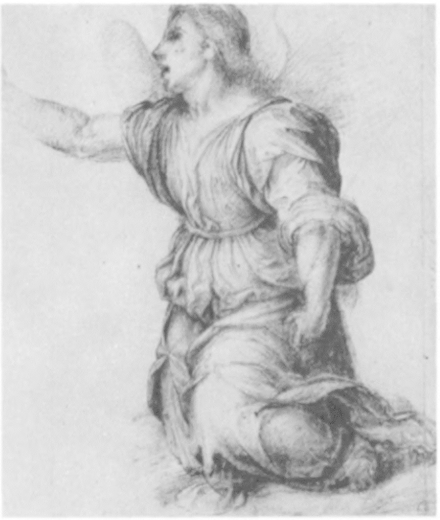


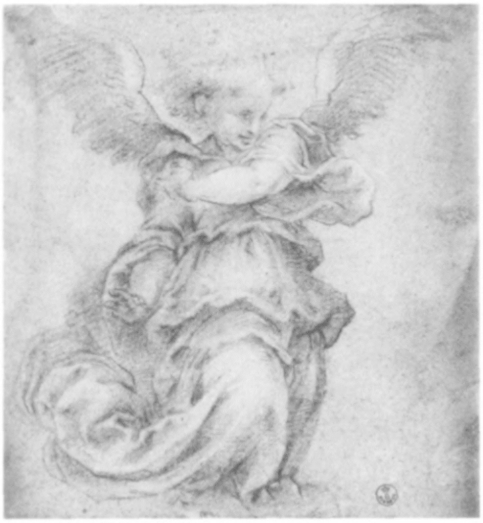
30. Uffizi no. 6435F



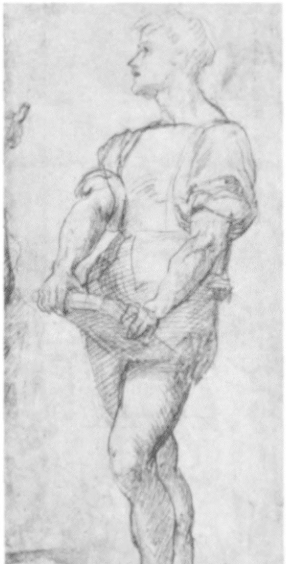
31. Paris, Louvre no. 1724v



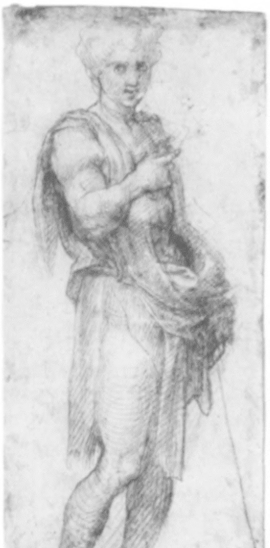
32. Florence, Uffizi no. 273F



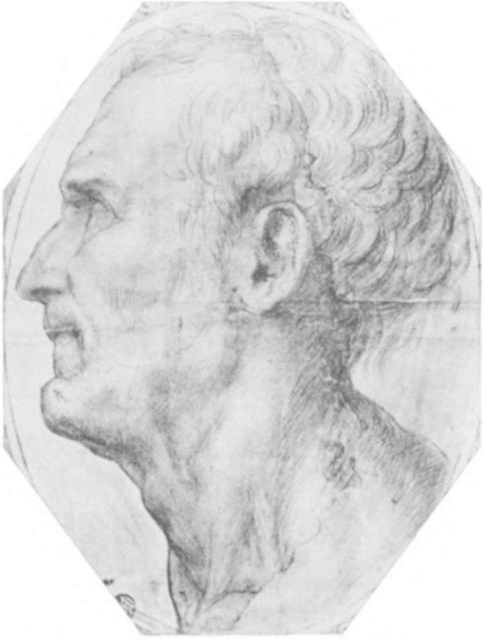
33. Uffizi no. 6466F (left half of sheet; copy)



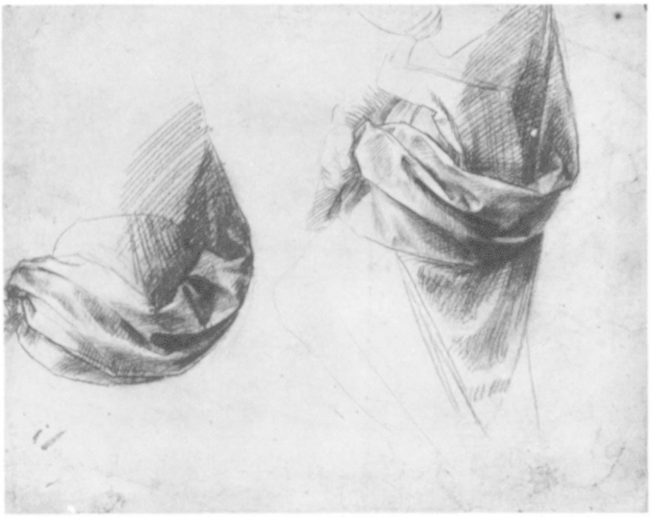
34. Berlin no. 5133

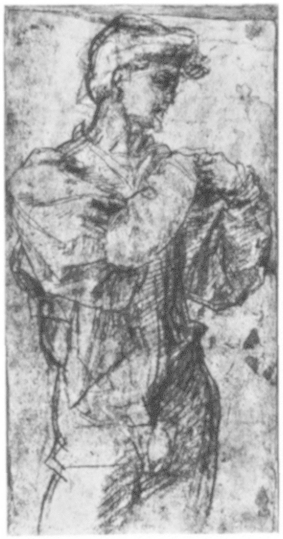


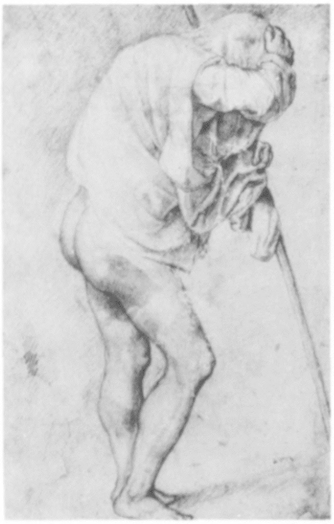
35. Florence, Uffizi no. 325F

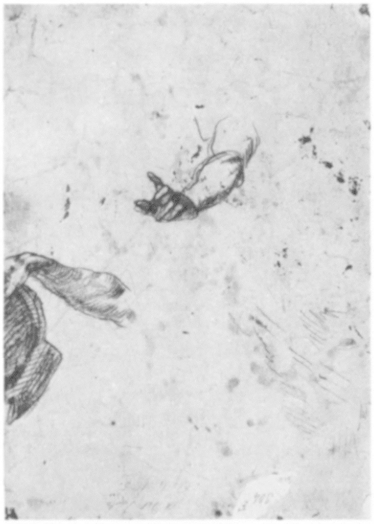


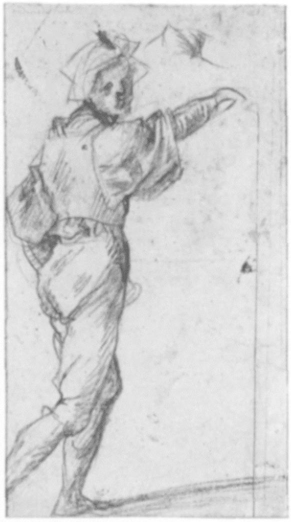
36. Paris, Louvre no. 1726 (lower drawing on mount)

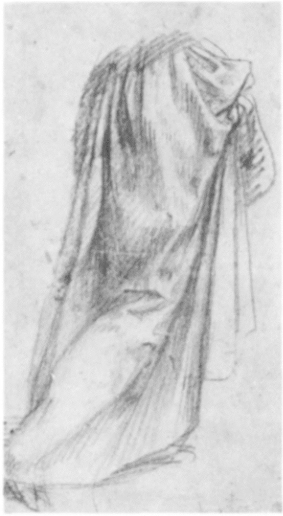

37. Florence, Uffizi no. 307Fv

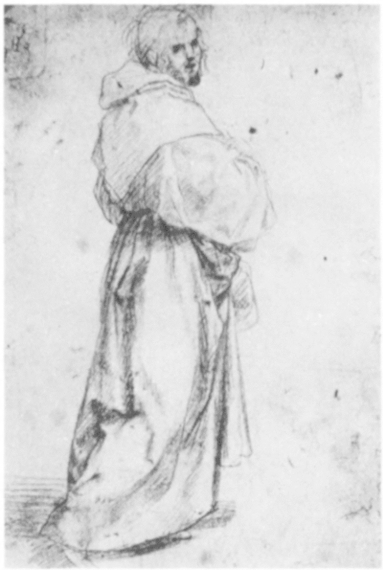

38. Uffizi no. 657E

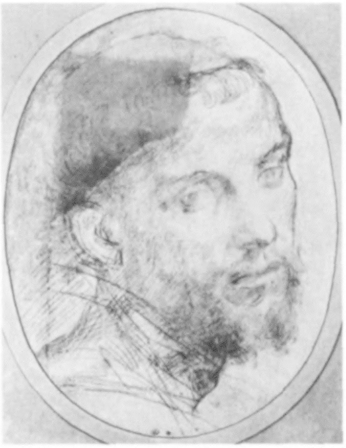

39. Uffizi no. 284F (copy)

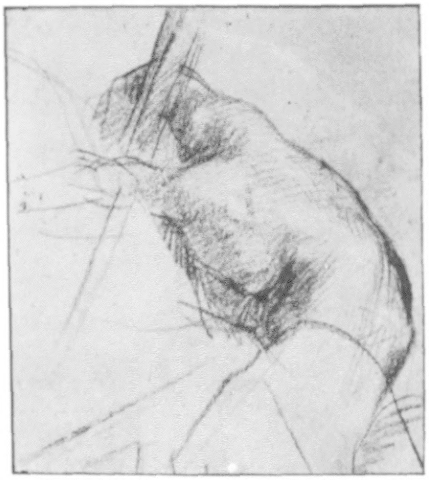

40. Uffizi no. 304Fv

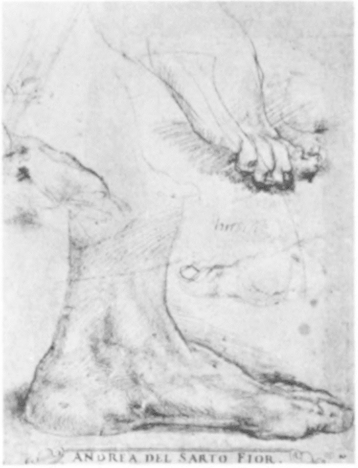

41. Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz no. Z2009r

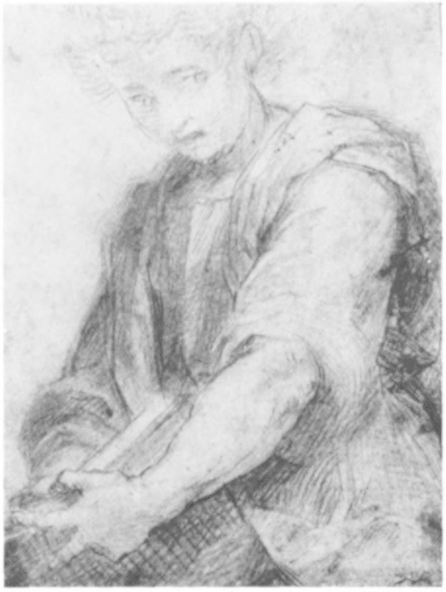

42. Wallraf-Richartz no. Z2009v

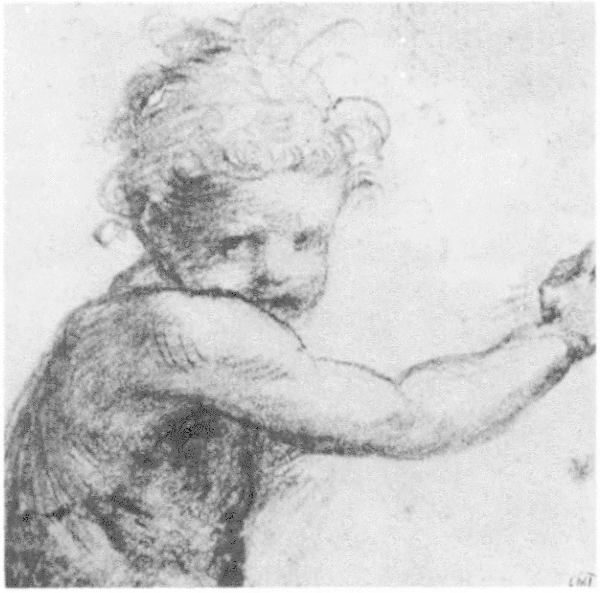

43. Düsseldorf, Akademie no. 17

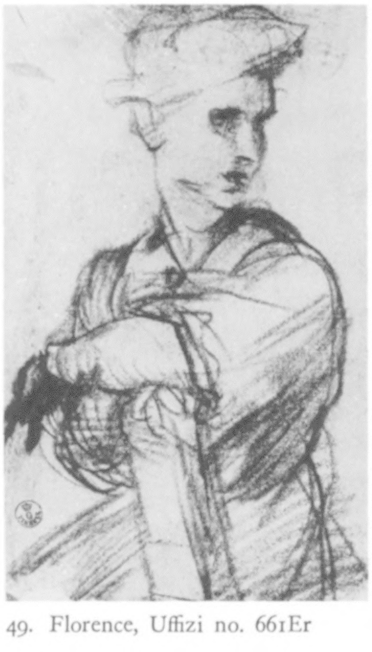

44. Paris, Louvre no. 1678r

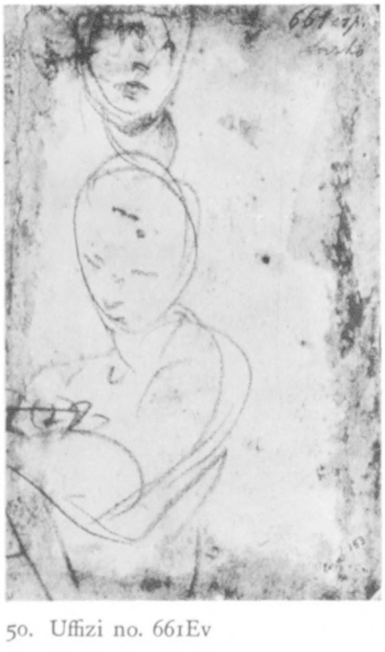

45. Louvre no. 1678v

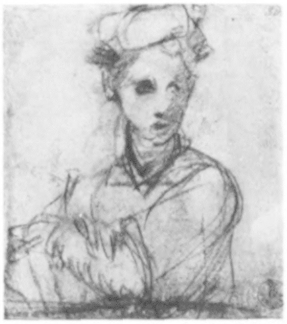

ANDREA DEL SARTO FIOR.
46. Louvre no. 1679

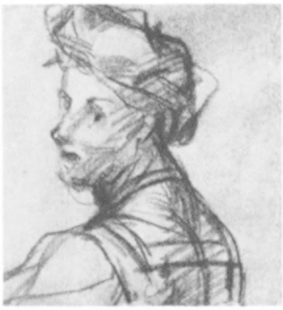

47. Louvre no. 1732

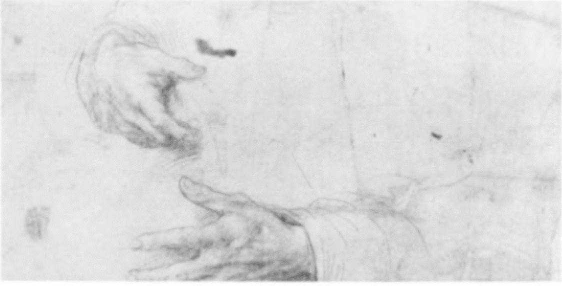

48. Louvre no. 5946


49. Florence, Uffizi no. 661Er

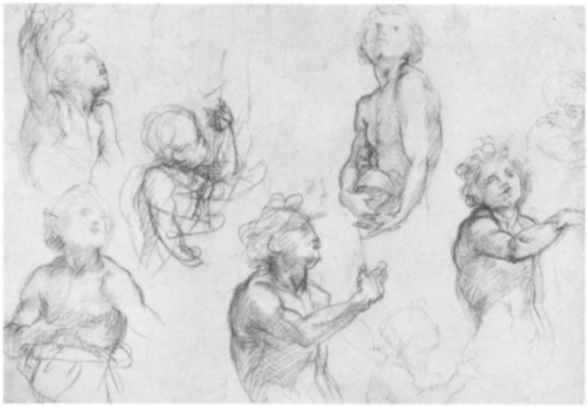

50. Uffizi no. 661Ev


51. Uffizi no. 301Fr

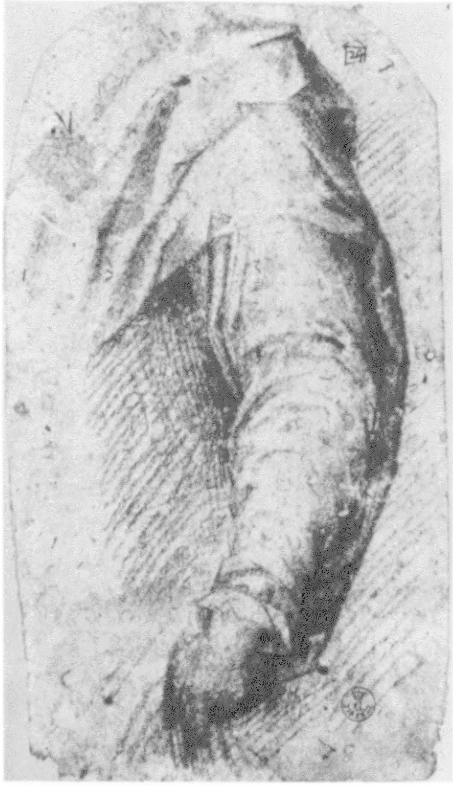

52. Uffizi no. 301Fv



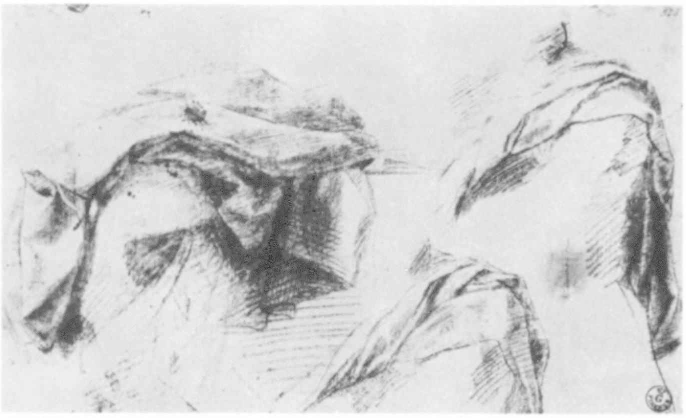
53. Melbourne, National Gallery



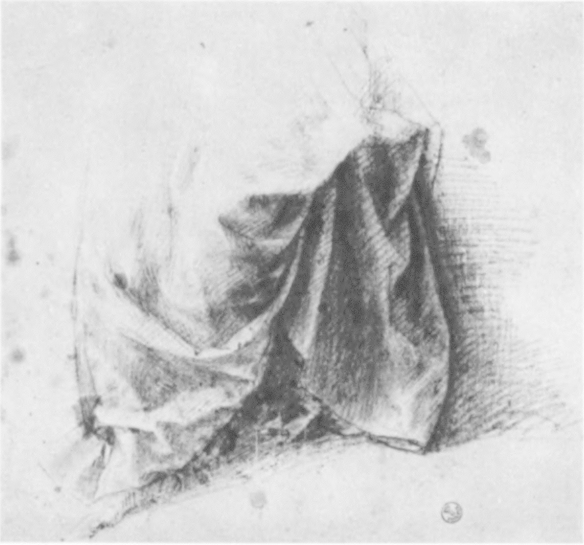
54. London, British Museum no. 1896-8-10-2v



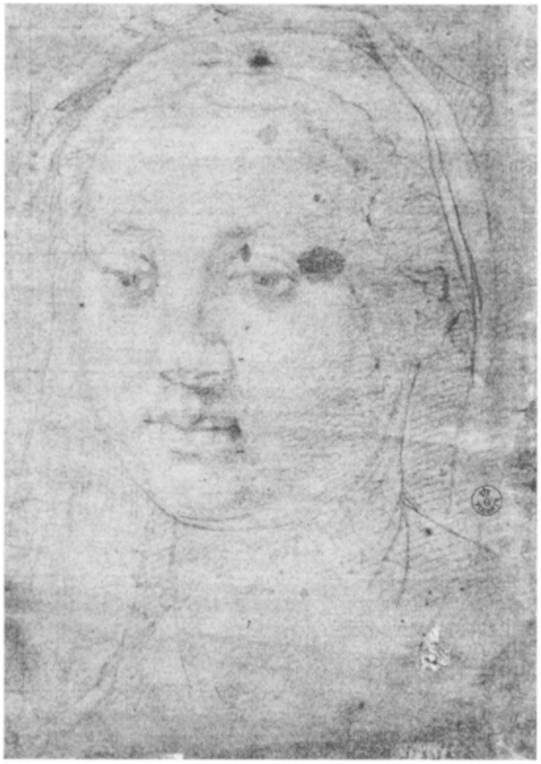
55. Florence, Uffizi no. 6432F (copy)



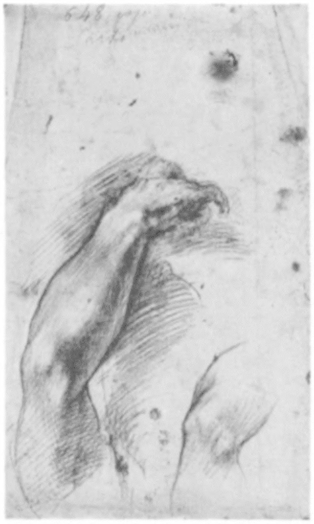
56. Uffizi no. 305F



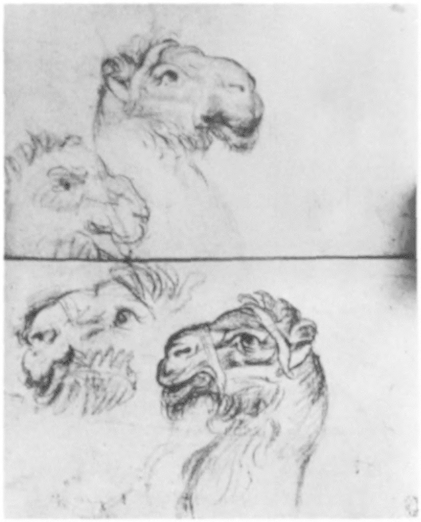
57. Uffizi no. 6455F



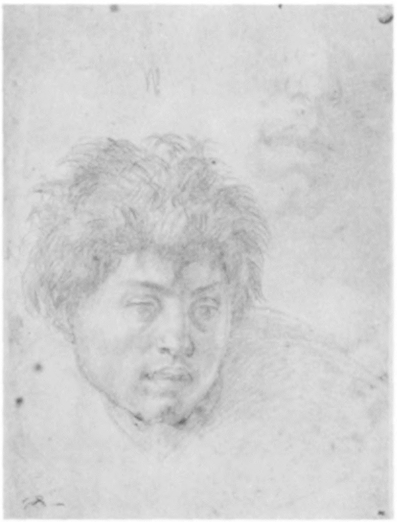
58. Uffizi no. 6464F (copy)



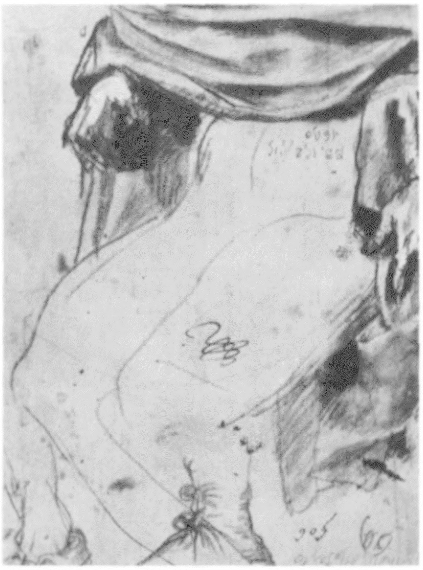
59. Uffizi no. 648Ev



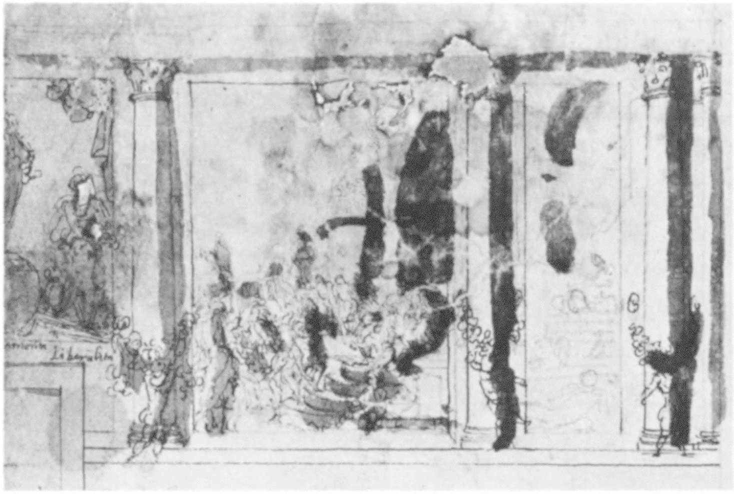
60. Maidenhead, Merton Collection



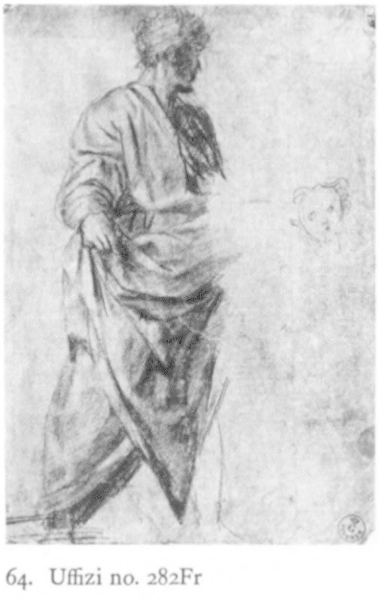
61. Paris, Louvre no. 1684v



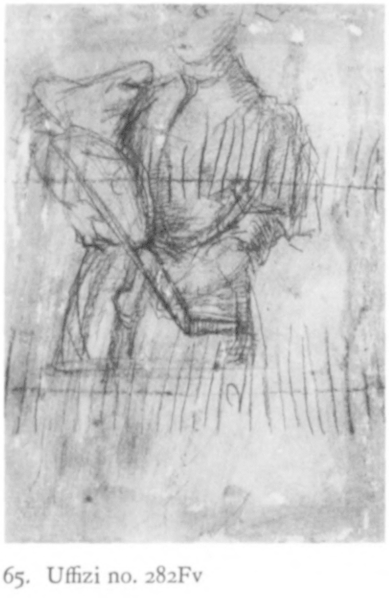
62. Louvre no. 1690v



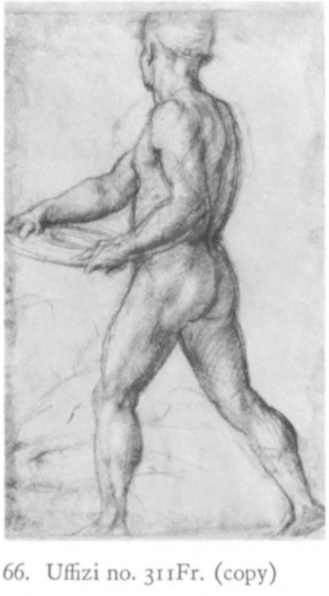
63. A. Allori. Florence, Uffizi no. 10 Orn. (detail)



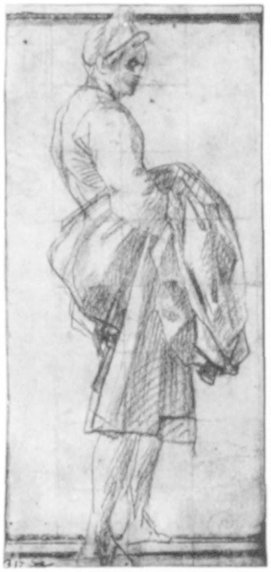
64. Uffizi no. 282Fr

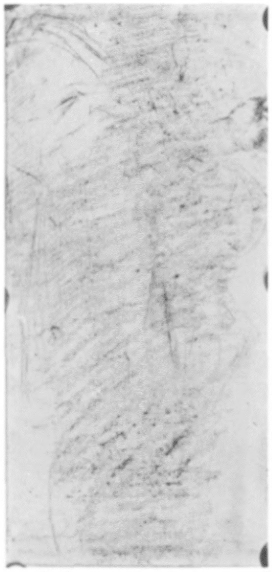


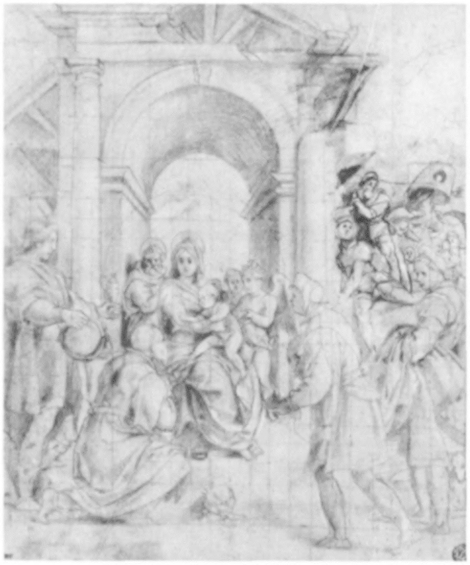
65. Uffizi no. 282Fv

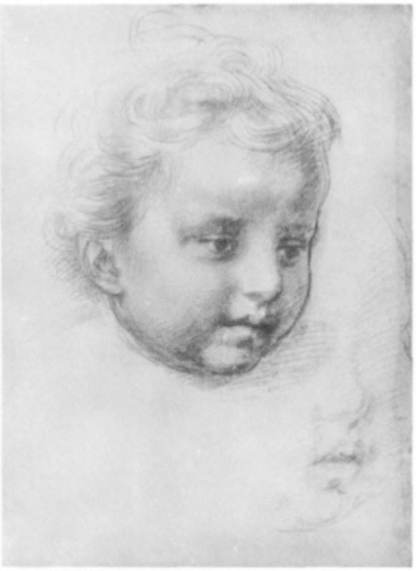


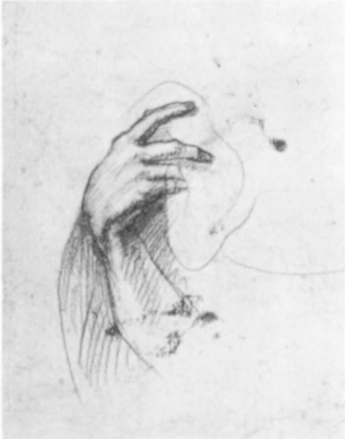
66. Uffizi no. 311Fr. (copy)

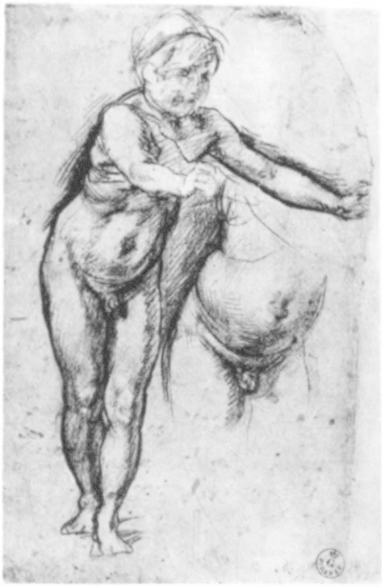

67. Darmstadt no. AE 1462r

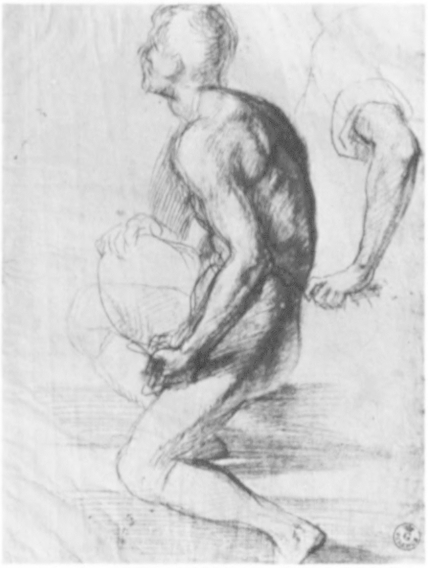

68. Darmstadt no. AE 1462v

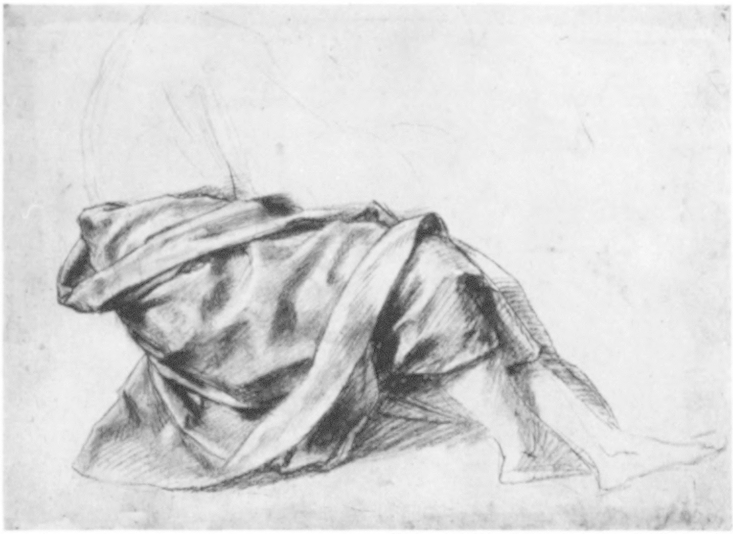

69. Paris, Louvre no. 1688 (copy)

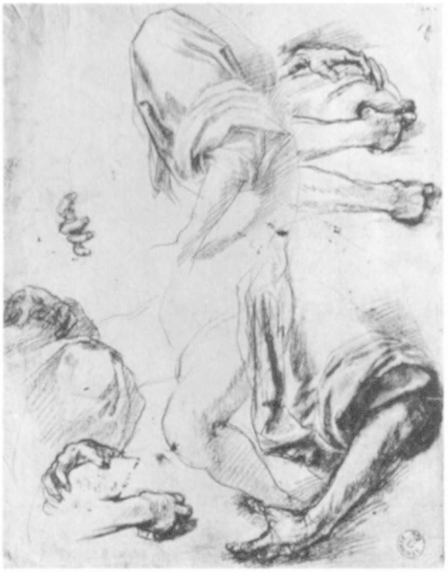

70. Florence, Uffizi no. 632Er


71. Uffizi no. 632Ev (detail)

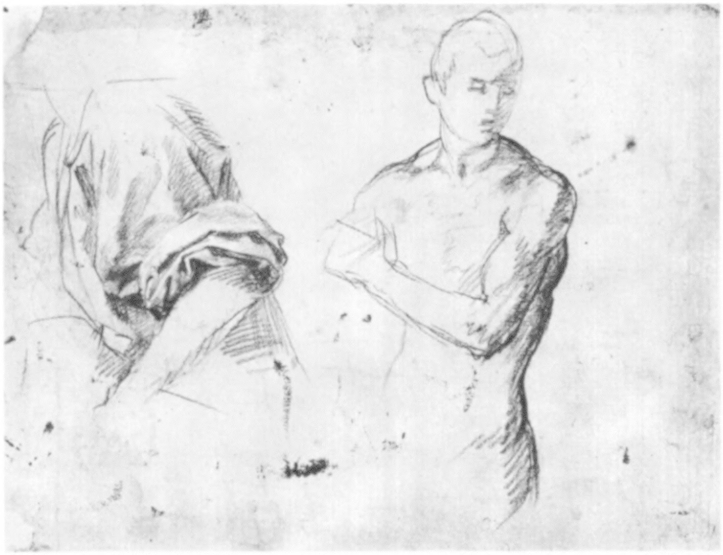

72. Uffizi no. 291F


73. Uffizi no. 318Fr

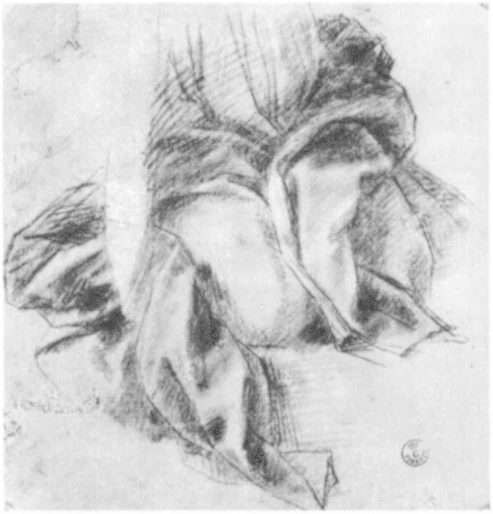

74. Uffizi no. 319Fv



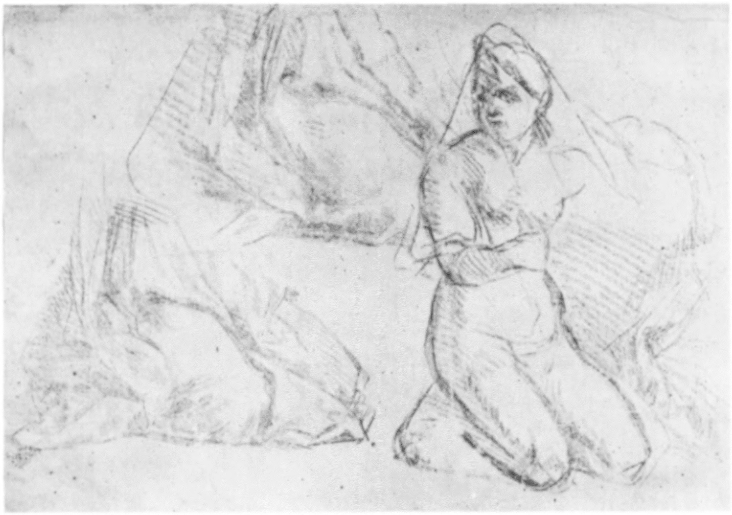
75. Uffizi no. 324Fr



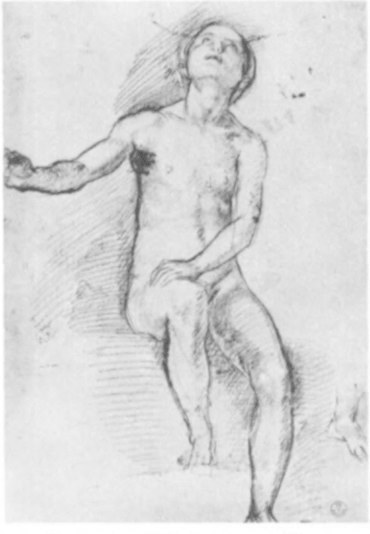
76. Uffizi no. 324Fv



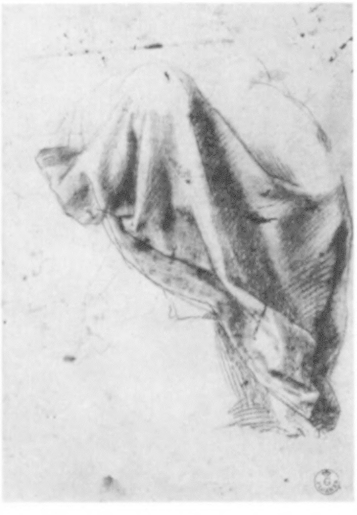
77. Uffizi no. 6454Fr



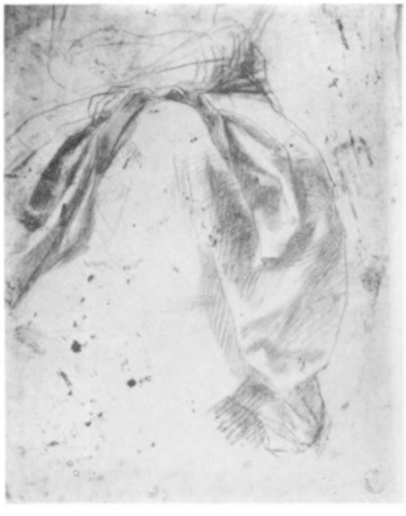
78. Rome, Gabinetto Nazionale no. 130494 (counterproof)



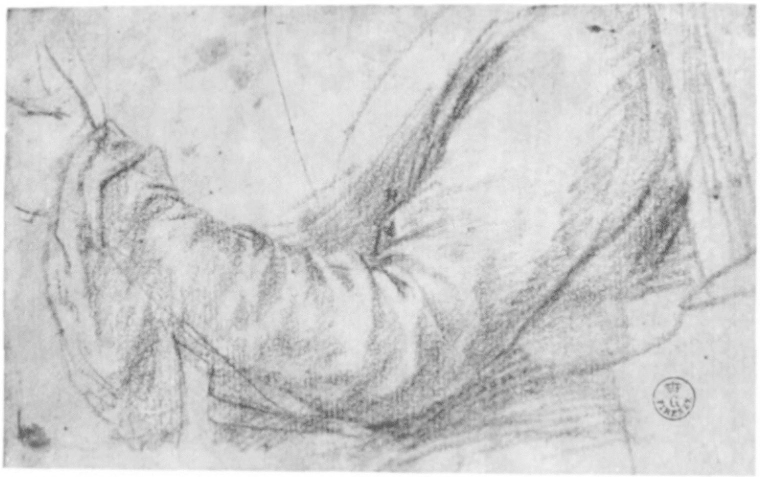
79. Florence, Uffizi no. 303F

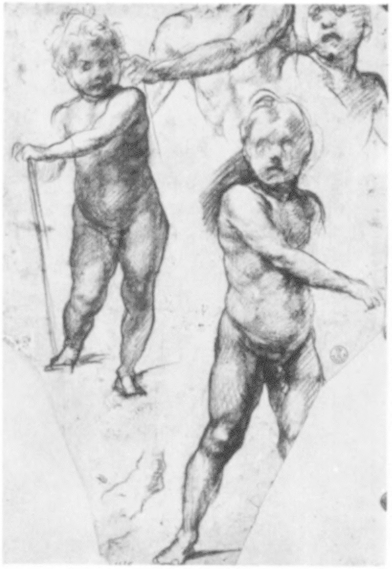


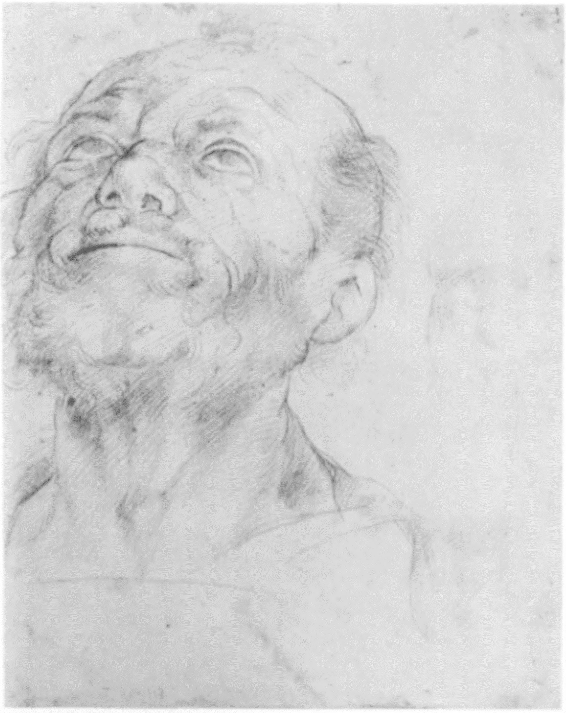
80. Uffizi no. 323Fr

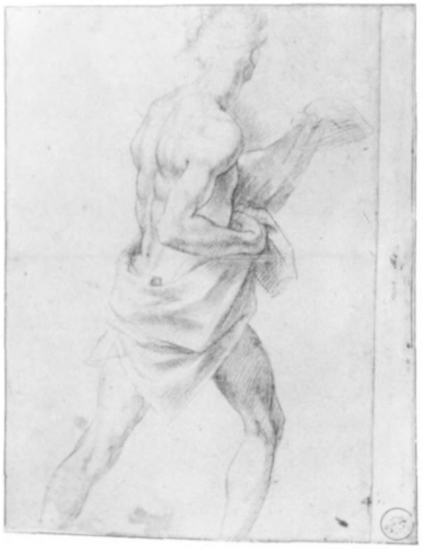


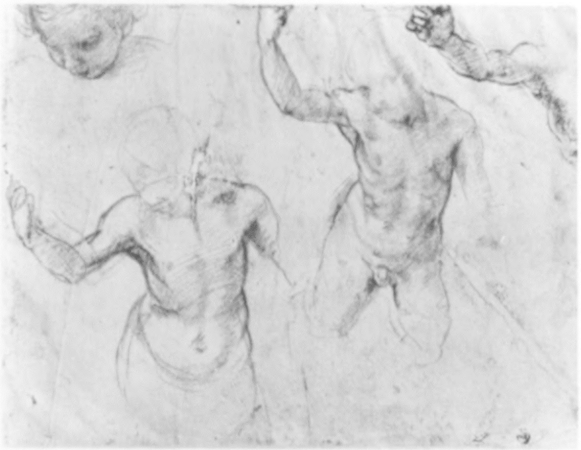
81. Uffizi no. 327Fr

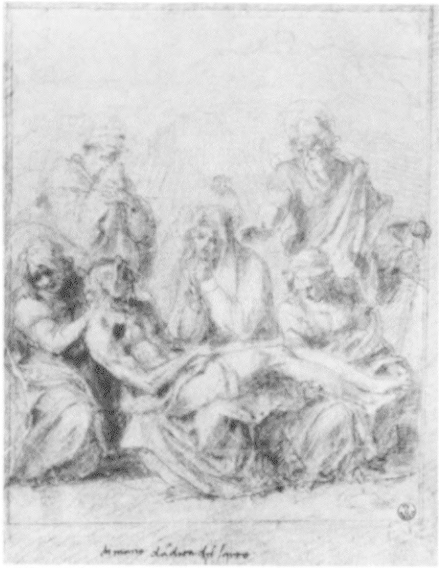

82. Uffizi no. 6431F

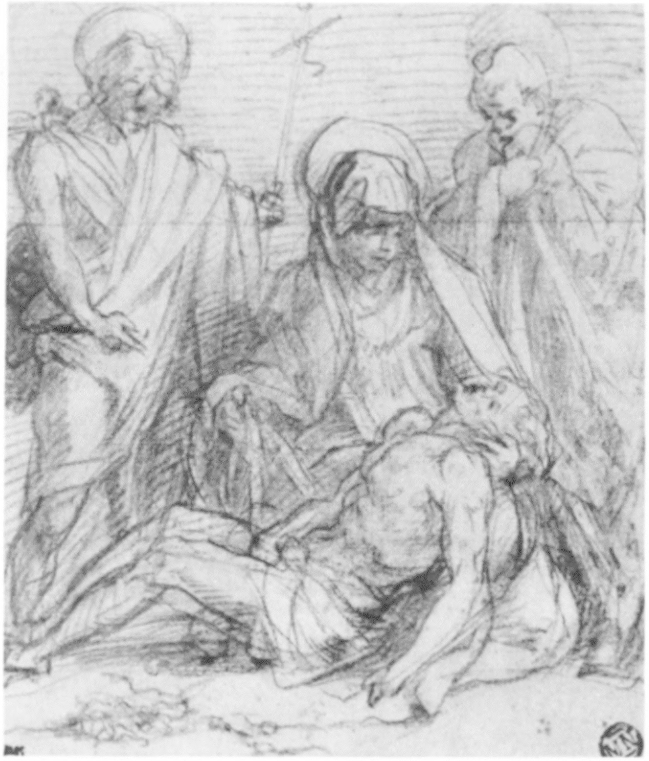

83. Uffizi no. 1486 Orn.


84. New York, art market, r. (copy?)

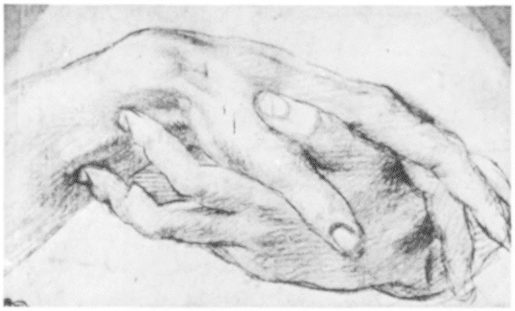

85. New York, art market, v. (copy?)


86. Paris, Lugt Collection no. J2537r

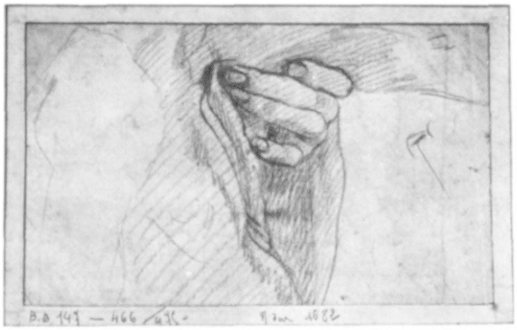

87. Florence, Uffizi no. 642E (copy)



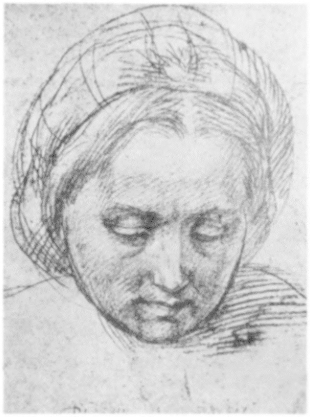
88. Paris, Louvre no. 1677



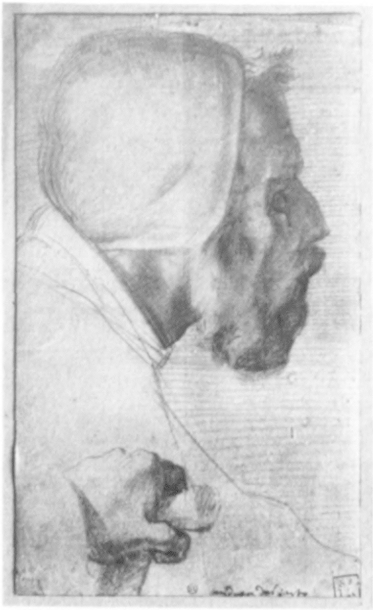
89. Louvre no. 1682/1r



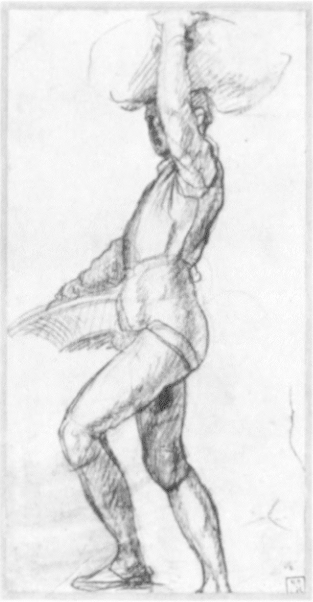
90. Louvre no. 1682/1v



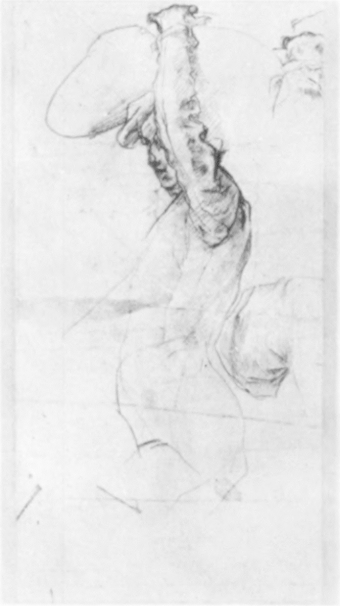
91. Vienna, Albertina R162



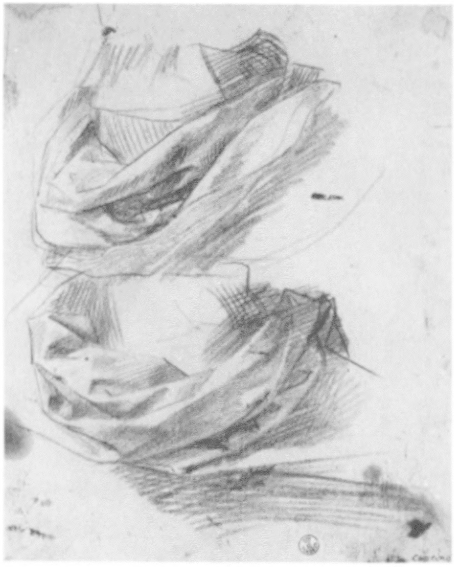
92. Dijon, no. 819



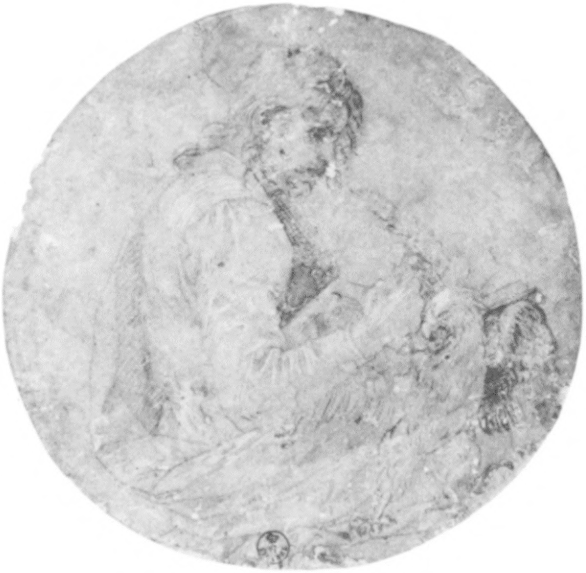
93. New York, Morgan Library no. I, 30



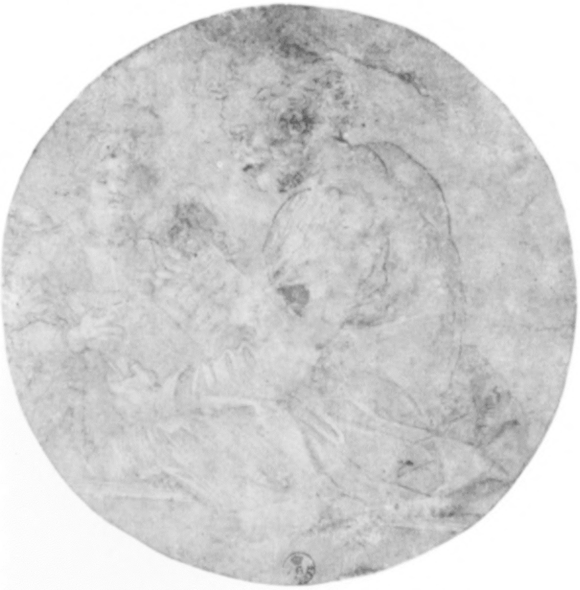
94. New York, Morgan Library no. IV, 14



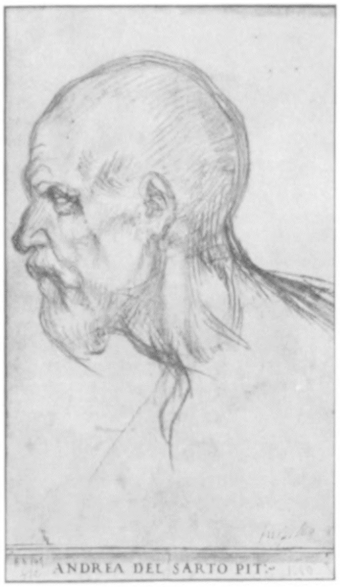
95. Florence, Uffizi no. 6448F



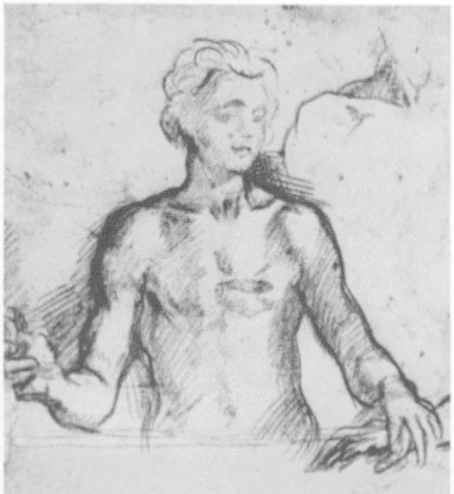
96. Uffizi no. 14421F (copy)



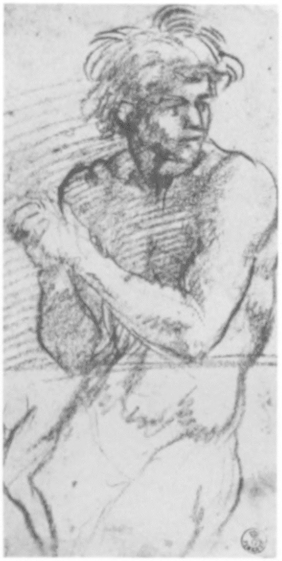
97. Uffizi no. 14422F (copy)


ANDREA DEL SARTO PIT:-

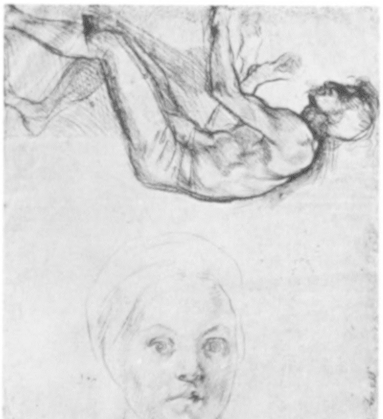
98. Paris, Louvre no. 1680v



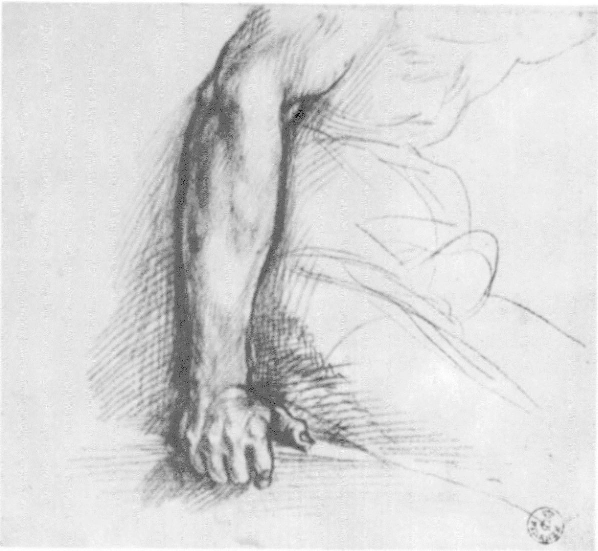
99. Florence, Uffizi no. 622E



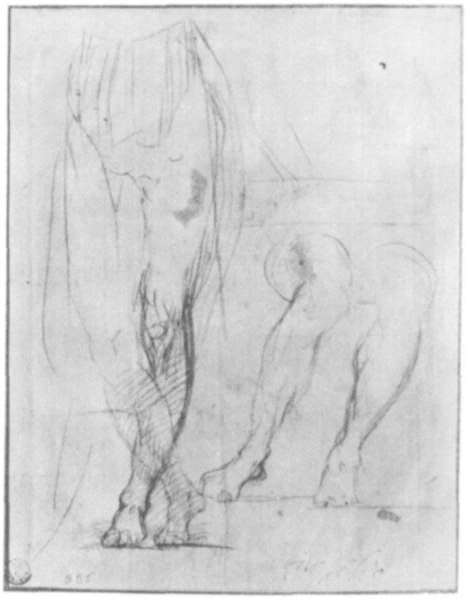
100. Uffizi no. 663Er



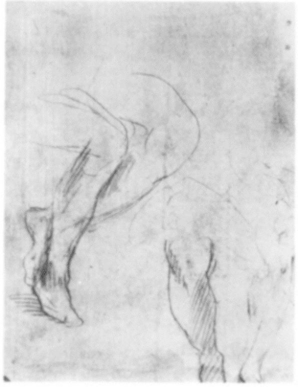
101. Uffizi no. 664Ev



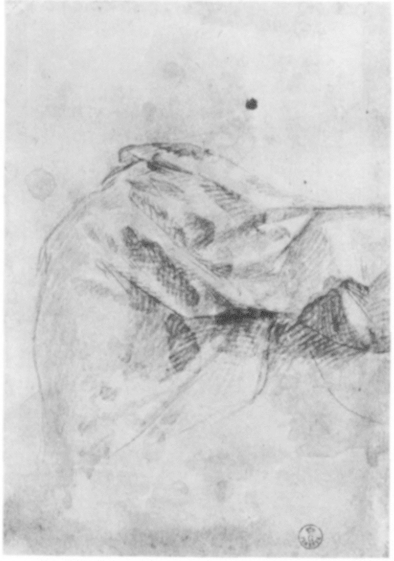
102. Uffizi no. 313F



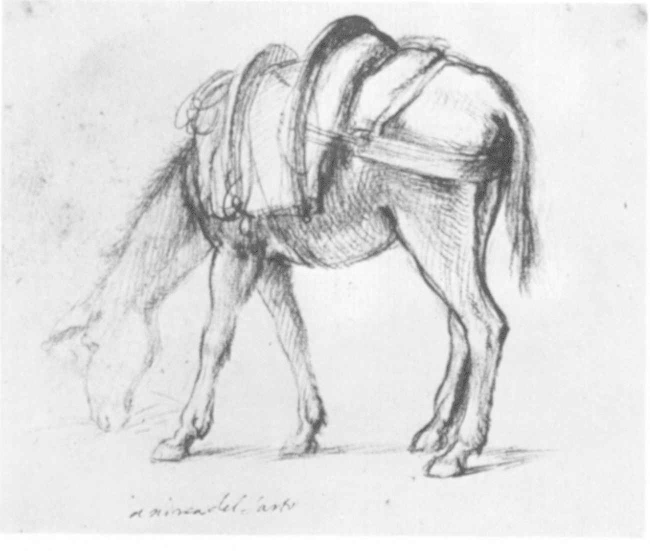
103. Uffizi no. 336Fr



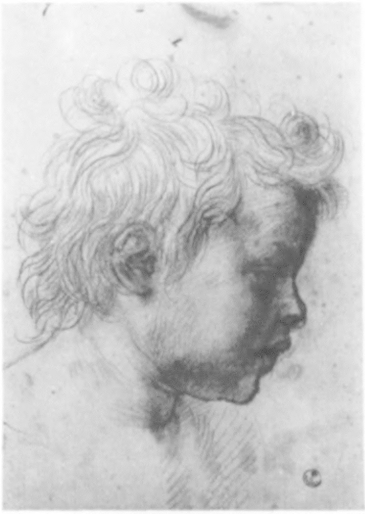
104. Uffizi no. 336Fv



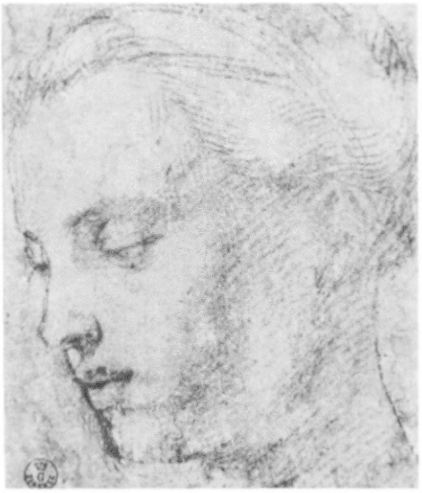
105. Uffizi no. 6424F



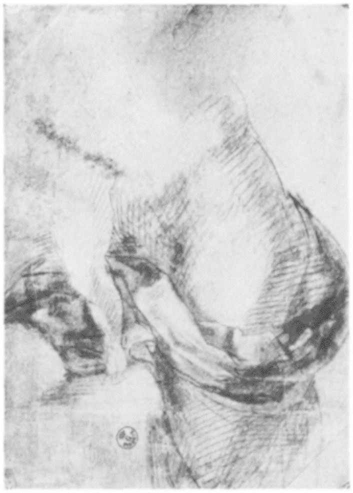
106. London, British Museum, Fawkener no. 5211–19



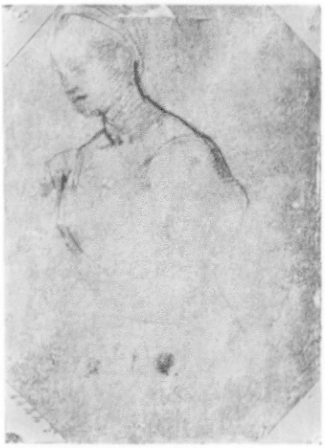
107. Florence, Uffizi no. 631Er



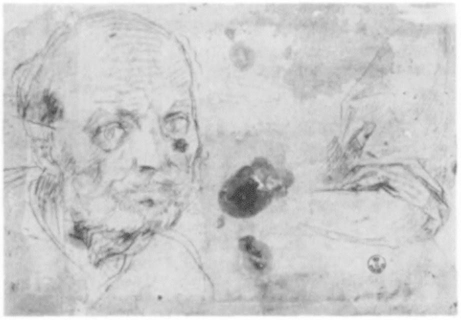
108. Uffizi no. 653E



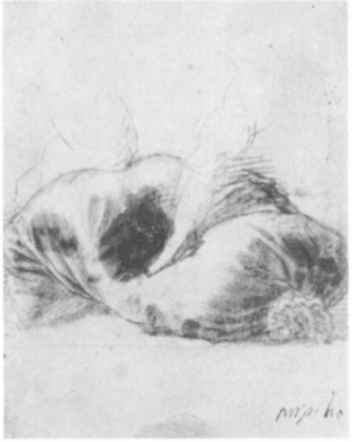
109. Uffizi no. 6444Fr



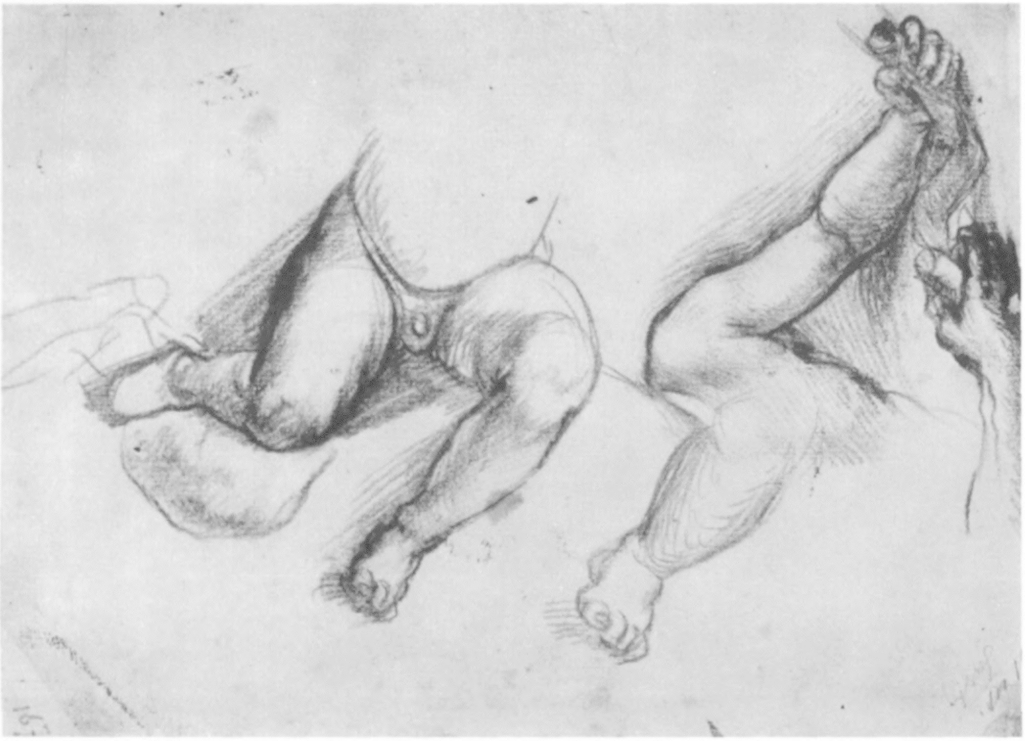
110. Uffizi no. 6444Fv



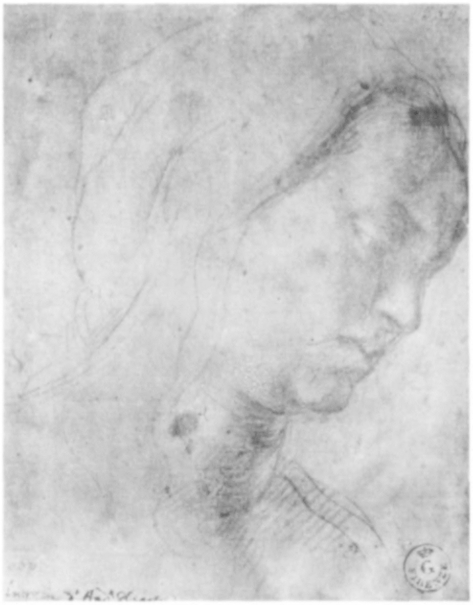
111. Uffizi no. 6445Fr



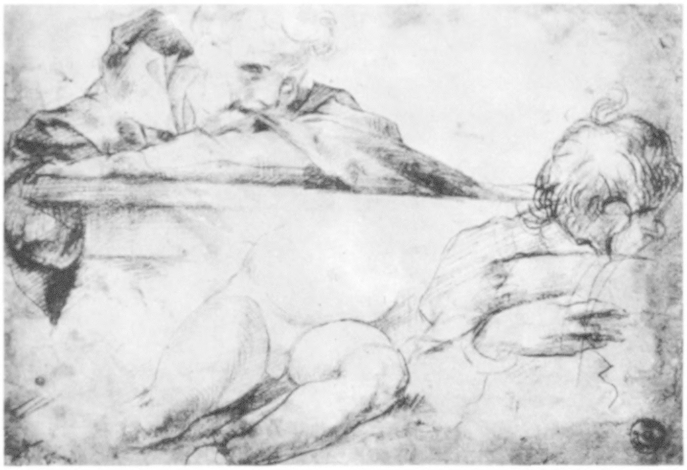
112. Uffizi no. 6445Fv



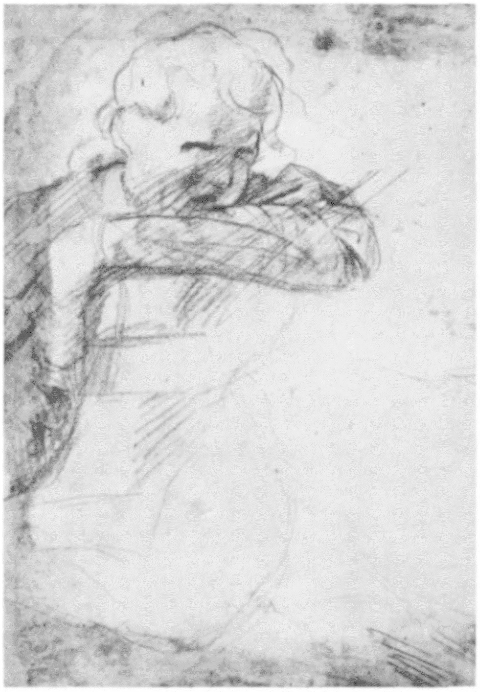
113. Uffizi no. 631Ev



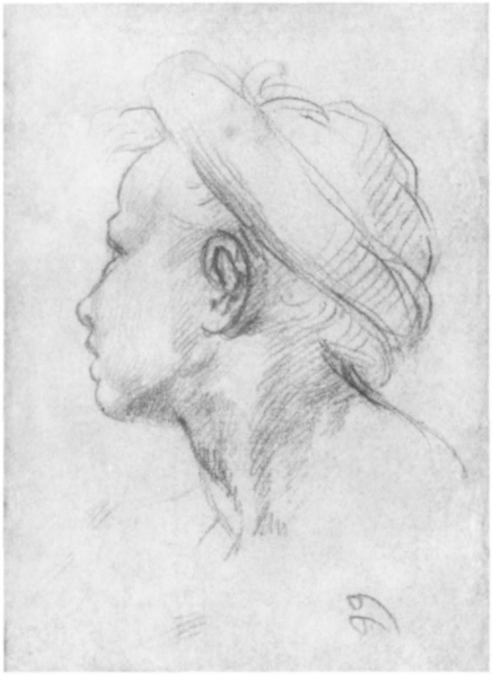
114. Uffizi no. 299F



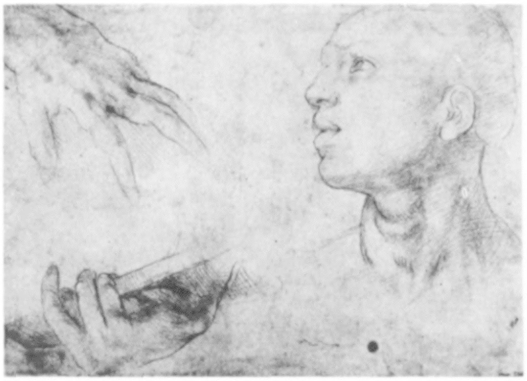
115. Uffizi no. 332Fr



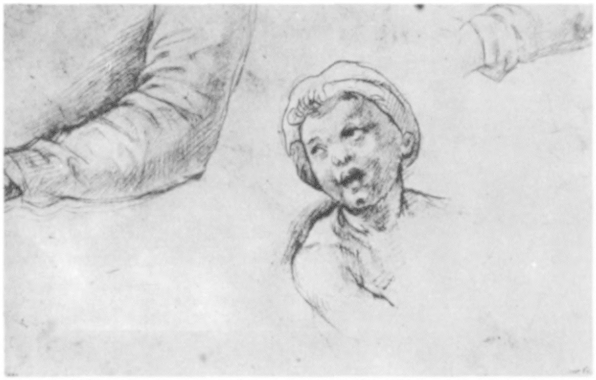
116. Uffizi no. 332Fv



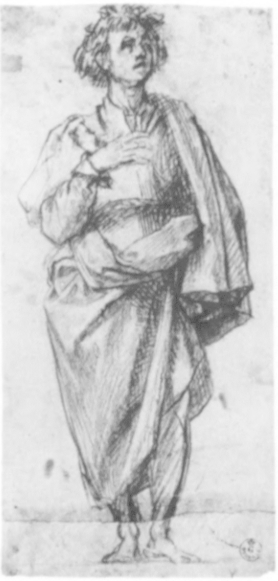
117. Uffizi no. 626Er



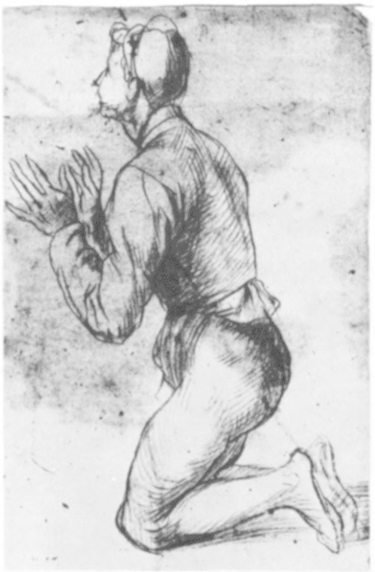
118. Lille, no. 11



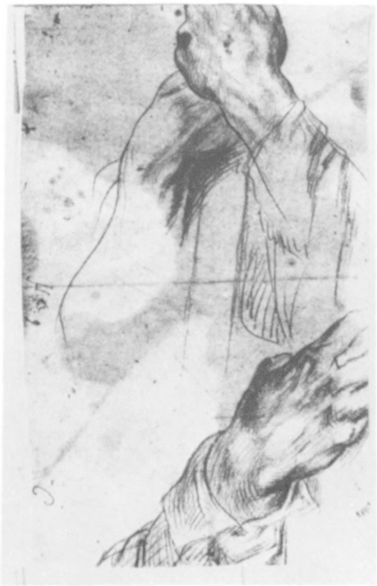
119. Lille, no. 11 bis



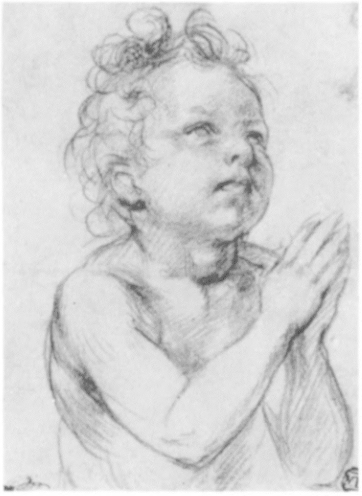
120. Florence, Uffizi no. 319Fr



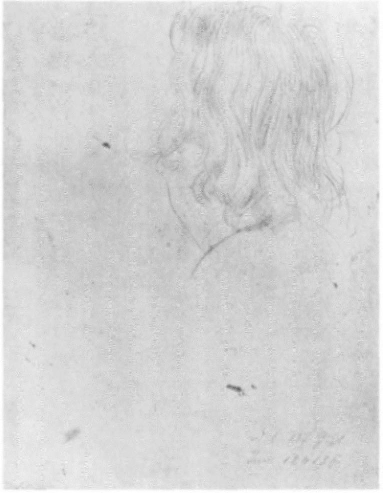
121. Munich, Graphische Sammlung no. 11123r



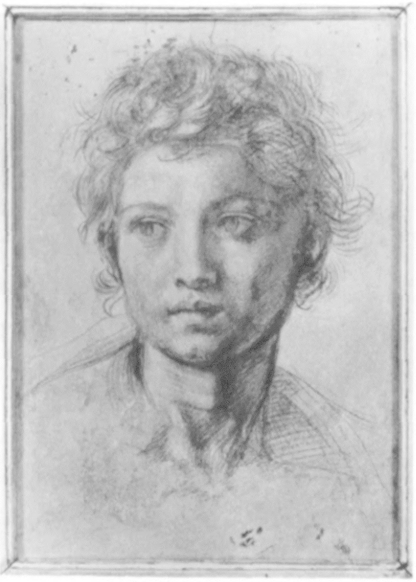
122. Graphische Sammlung no. 11123v



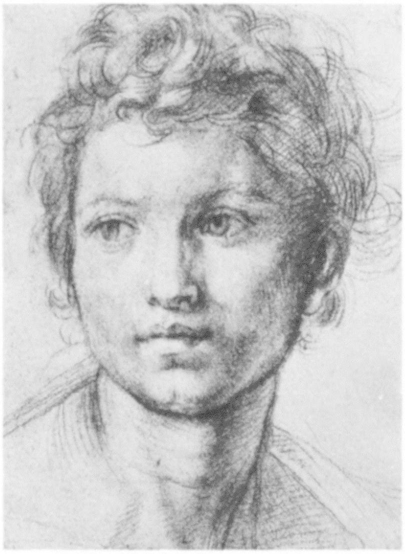
123. Paris, Louvre no. 1692r



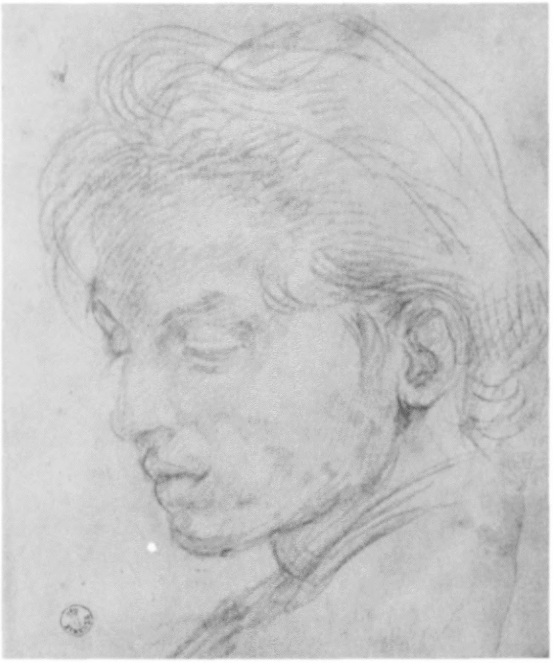
124. Rome, Gabinetto Nazionale no. 124156v



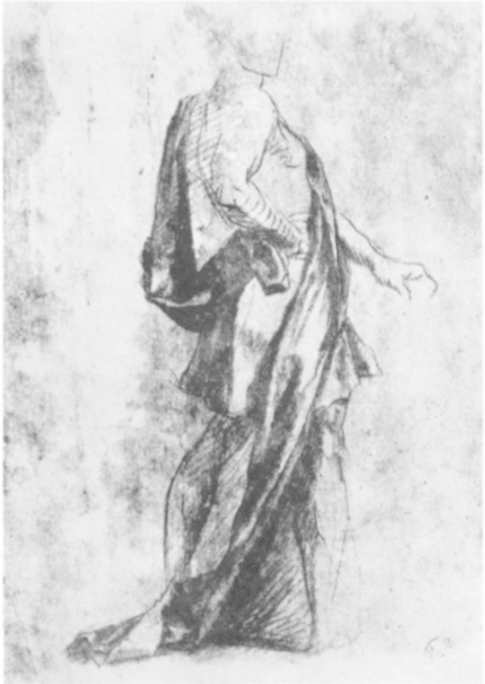
125. Luton Hoo, Drury-Lowe Collection



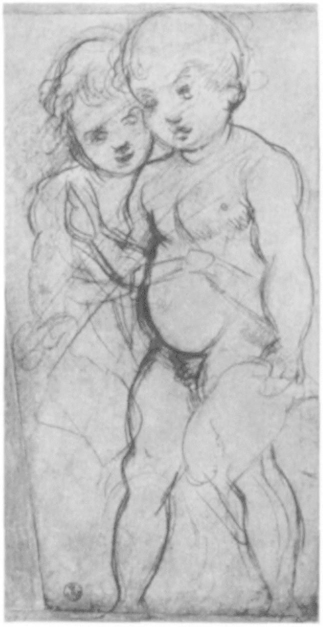
126. London, British Museum 1860–6–16–92 (copy)



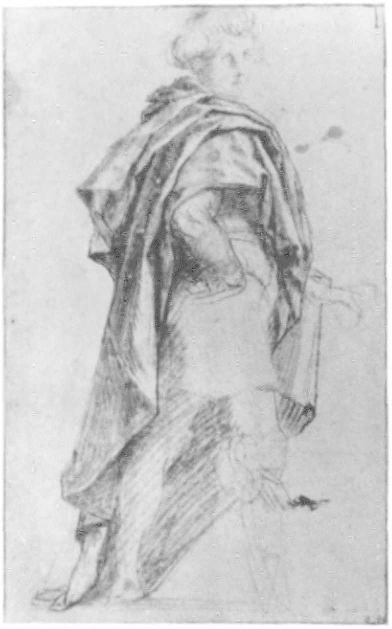
127. Florence, Uffizi no. 640Er



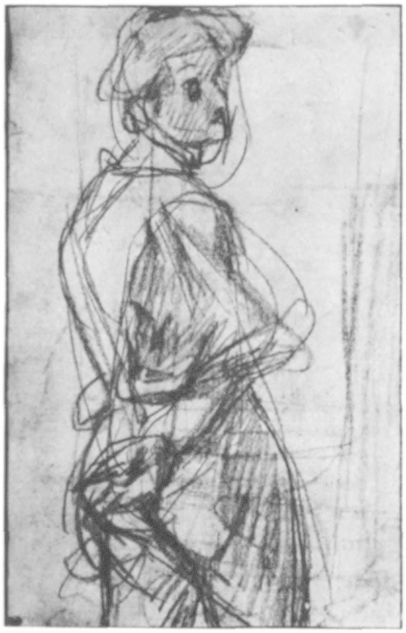
128. Uffizi no. 288F



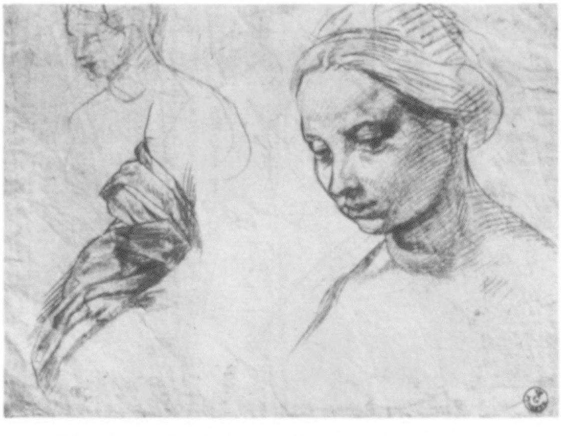
129. Uffizi no. 297Fr



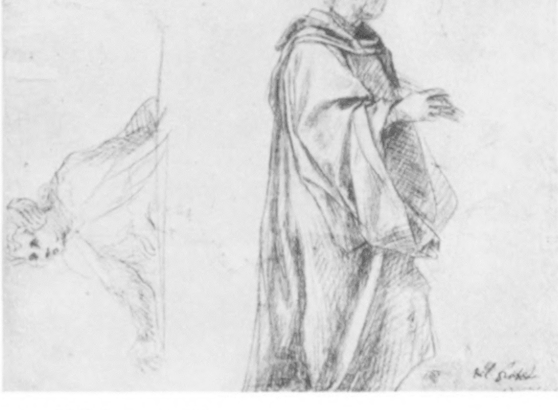
130. New York, Morgan Library no. I, 31



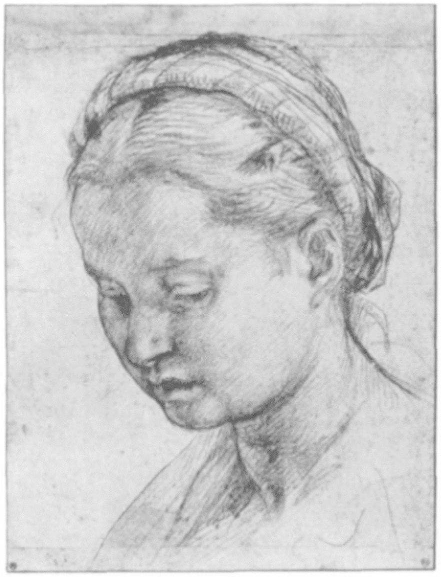
131. Paris, Louvre no. 232r



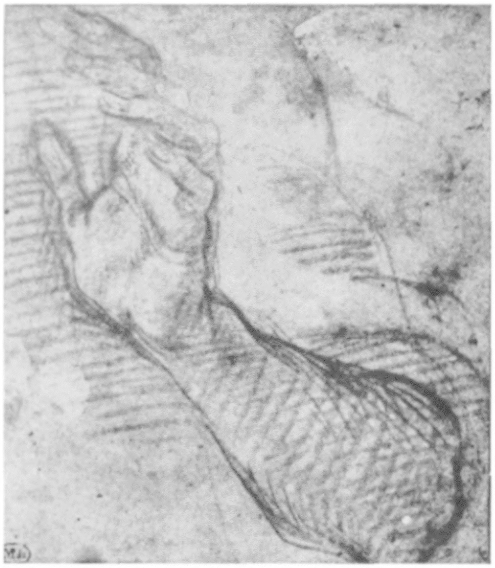
132. Florence, Uffizi no. 306Fr



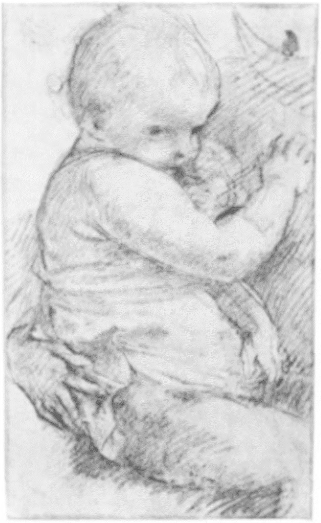
133. Uffizi no. 306Fv



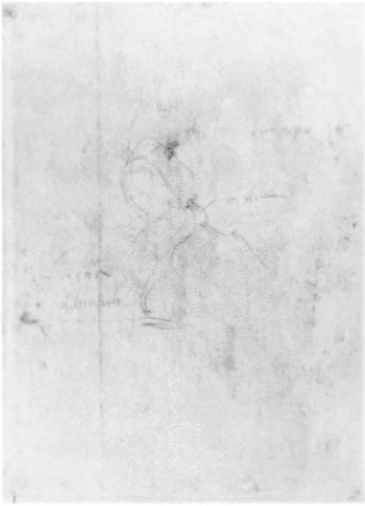
134. Paris, Ecole des Beaux-Arts no. 352



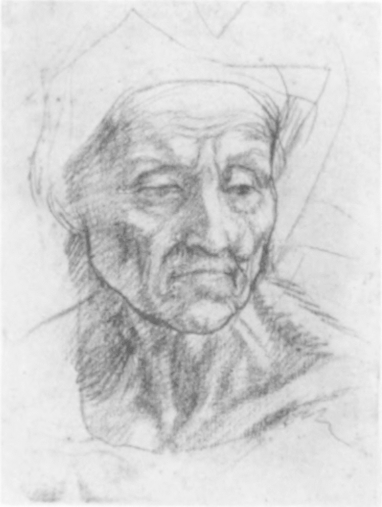
135. Paris, Louvre no. 11.006



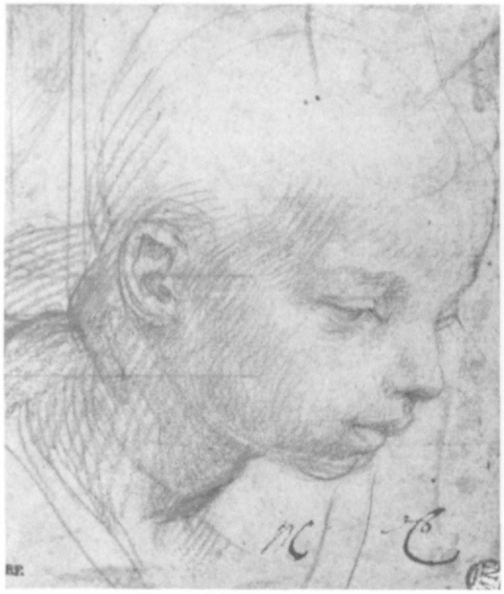
136. Paris, Lugt Collection no. J5253 (copy)



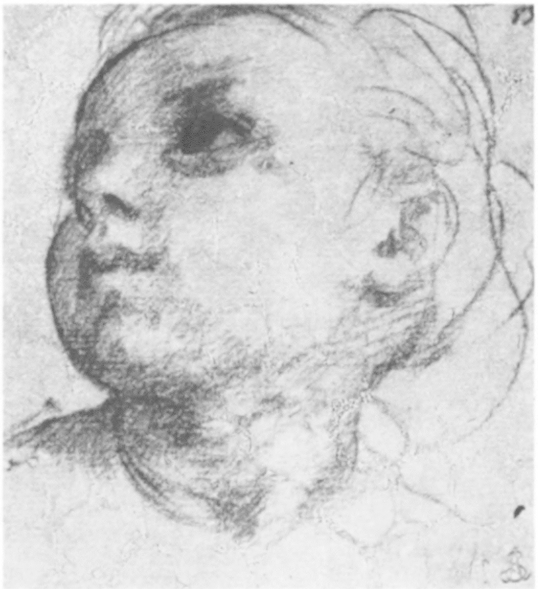
137. Paris, Ecole des Beaux-Arts no. 289v



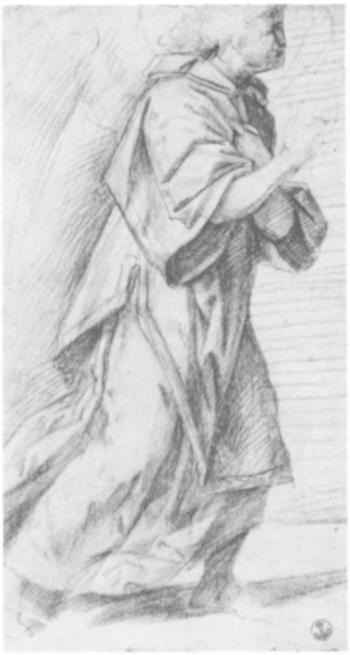
138. Oxford, Ashmolean no. 692



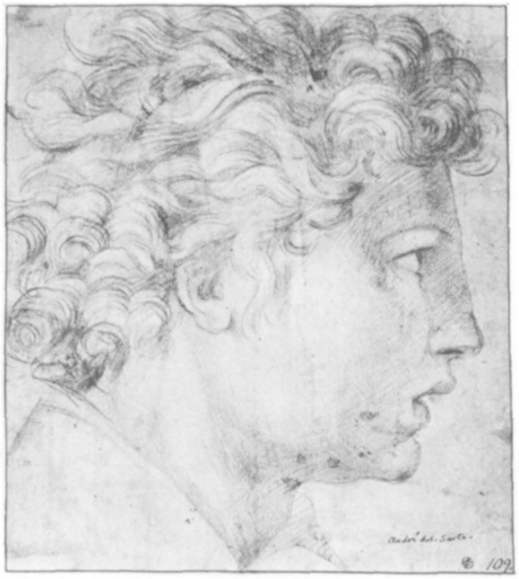
139. Paris, Louvre no. 10959



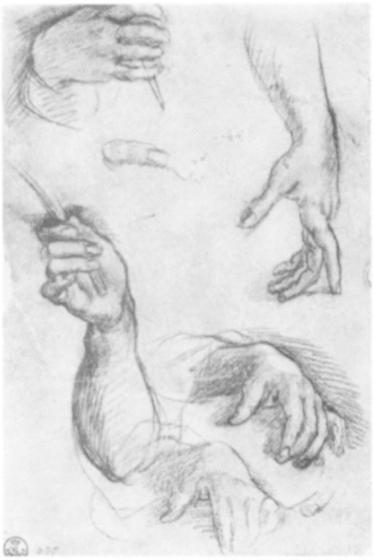
140. Vienna, Albertina no. R162B



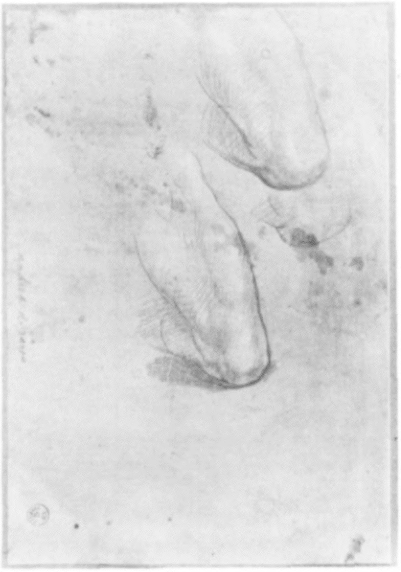
141. Florence, Uffizi no. 627Er


Andrea del Sarto
109

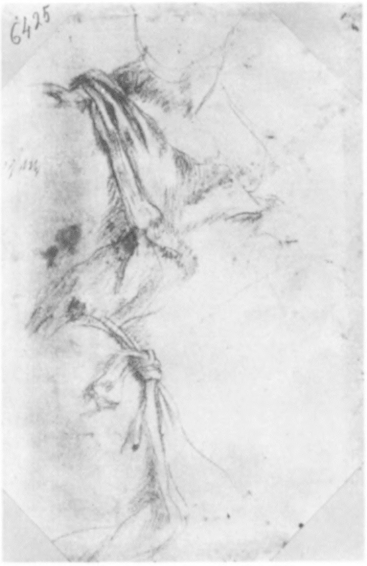
142. Stockholm no. 149 (copy)



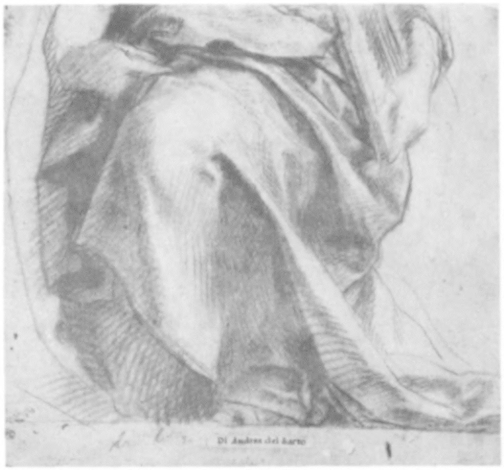
143. Florence, Uffizi no. 337F



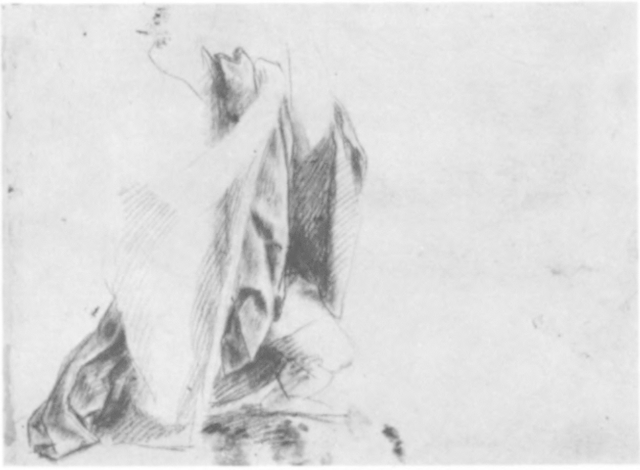
144. Uffizi no. 6425Fr



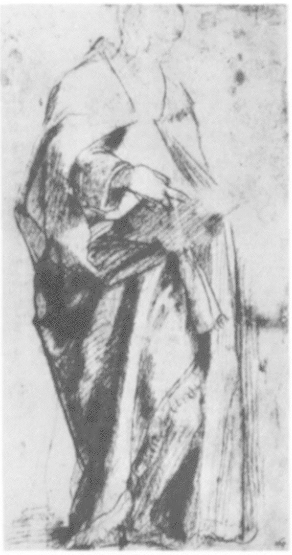
145. Uffizi no. 6425Fv


Di Andrea del Sarto

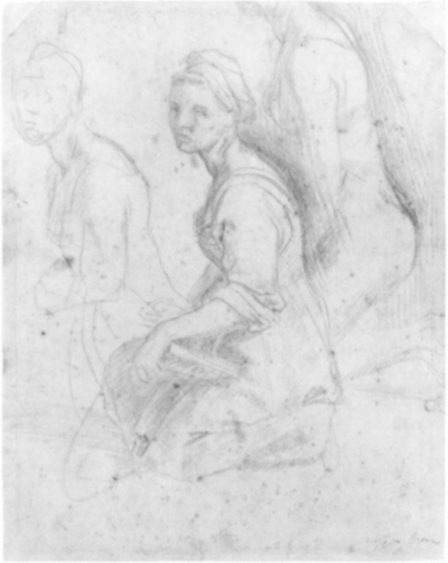
146. Paris, Louvre no. 1712



147. Florence, Uffizi no. 293Fv

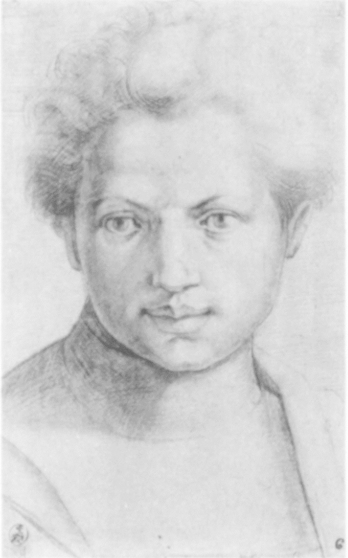


148. Munich, Graphische Sammlung no. 2207

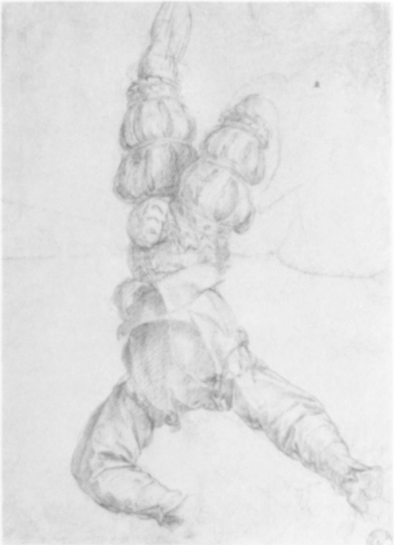


149. Naples no. 103227r

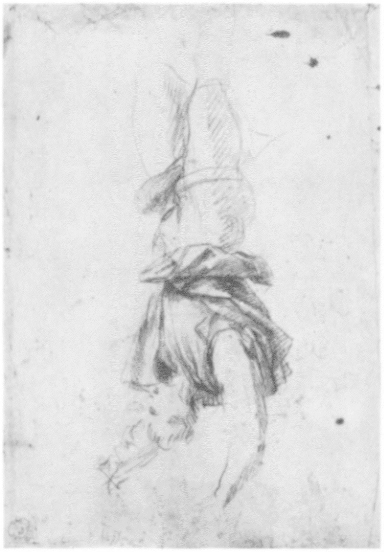
150. Naples no. 103227v



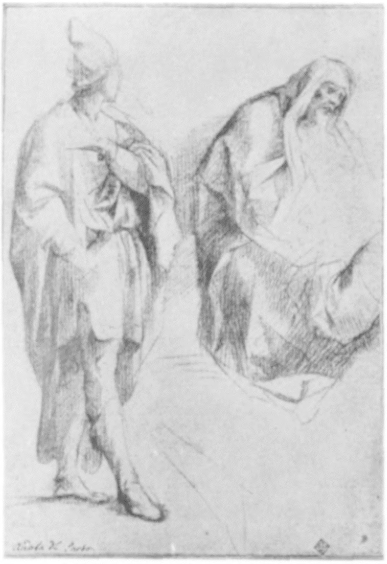
151. New York, Scholz Collection (copy)



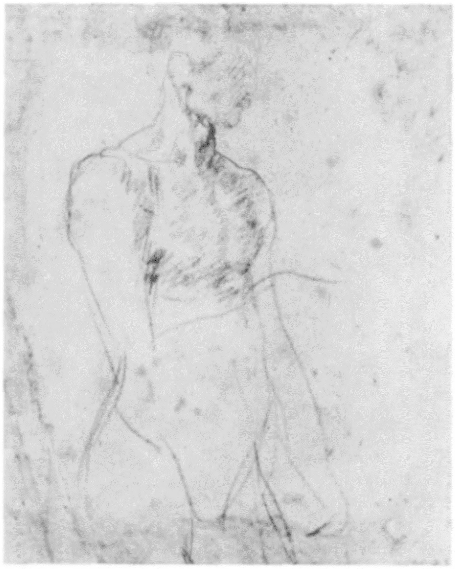
152. Florence, Uffizi no. 328F



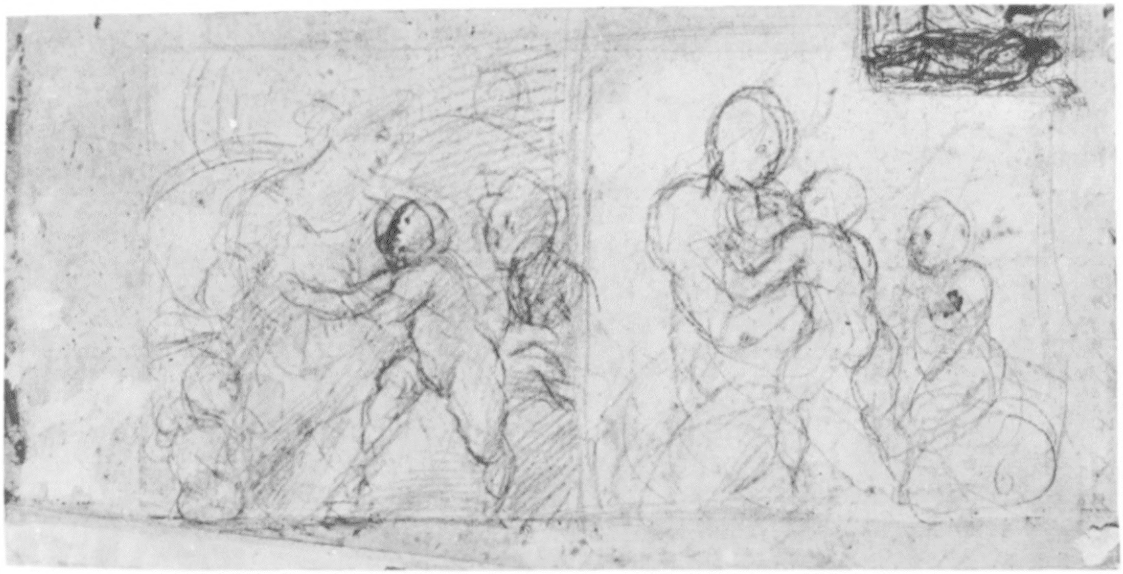
153. Uffizi no. 331Fv



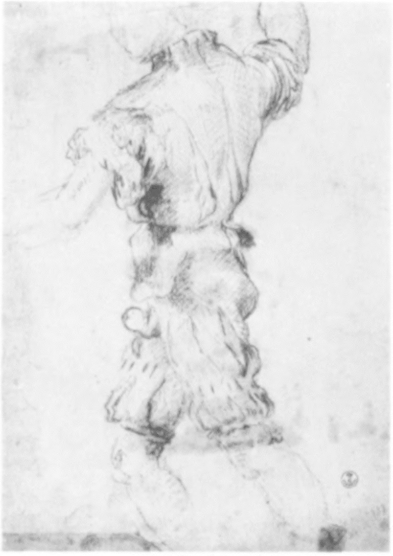
154. Cracow



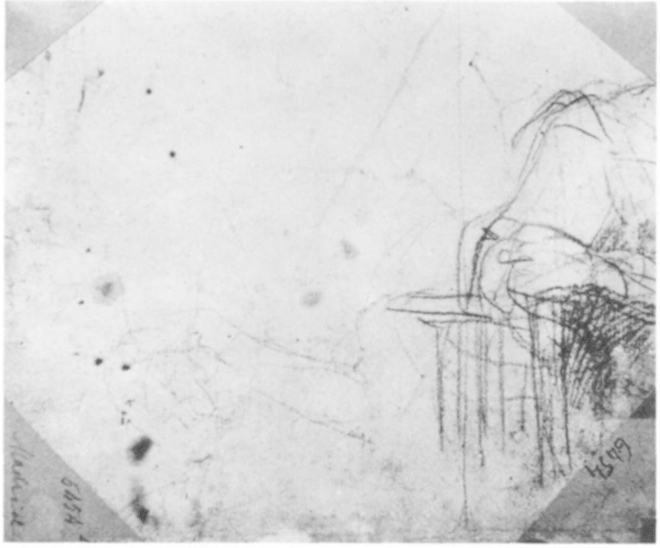
155. Florence, Uffizi no. 640Ev



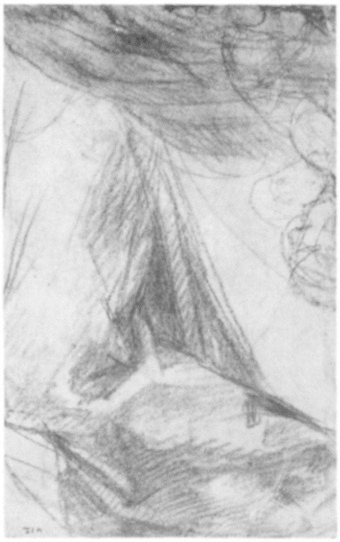
156. Uffizi no. 297Fv



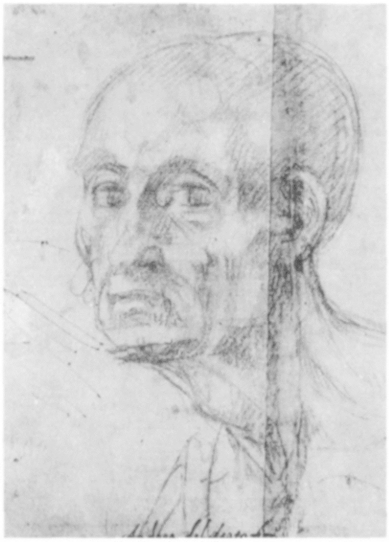
157. Uffizi no. 6433F



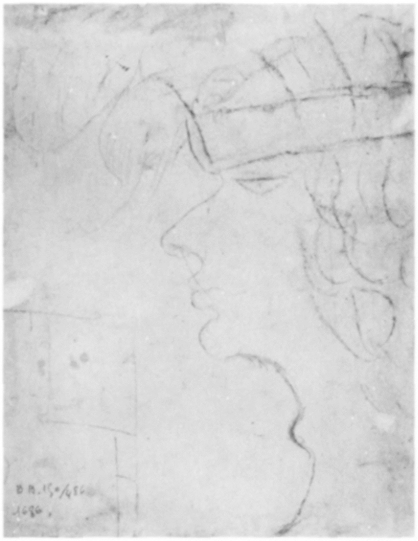
158. Uffizi no. 6454Fv



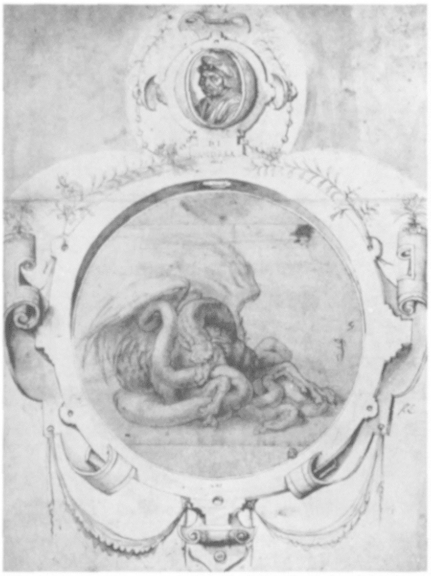
159. Paris, Louvre no. 232v



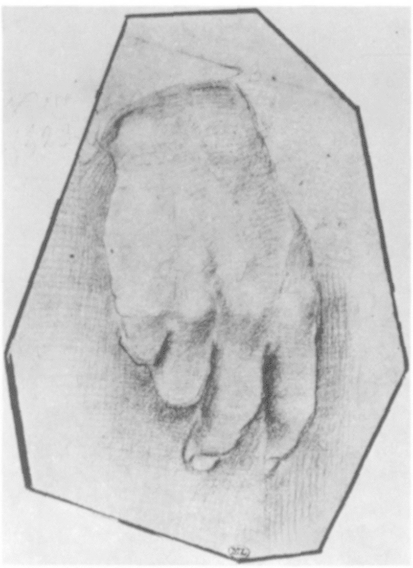
160. Louvre no. 1683r



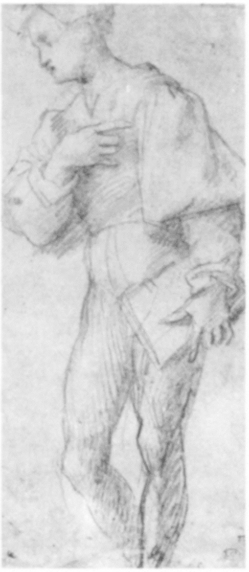
161. Louvre no. 1686v



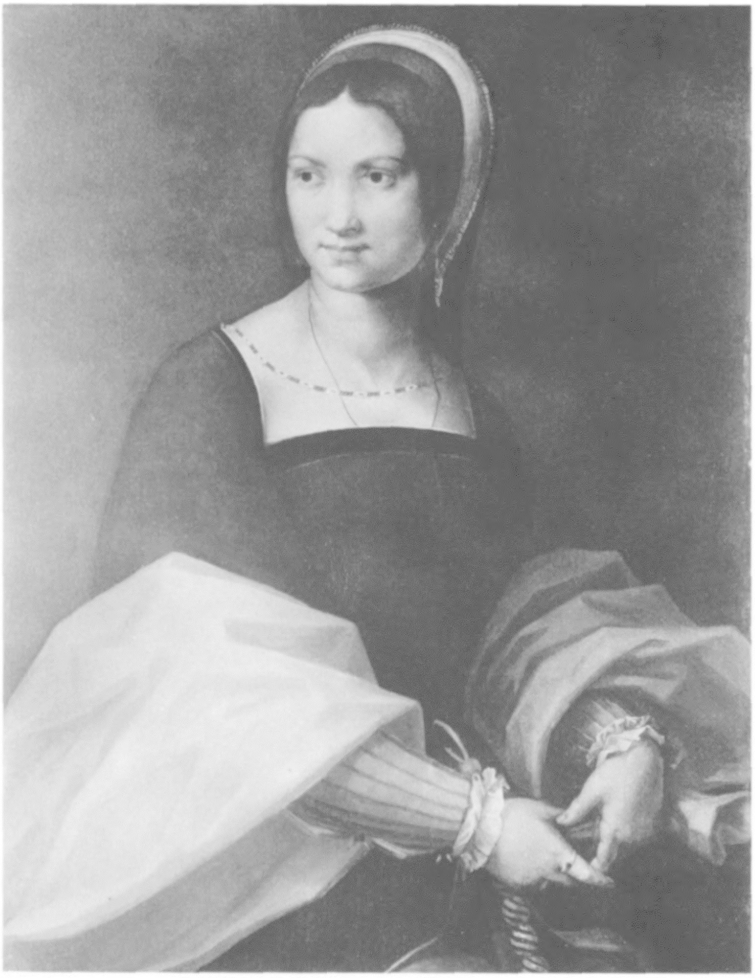
162. Louvre no. 1724r



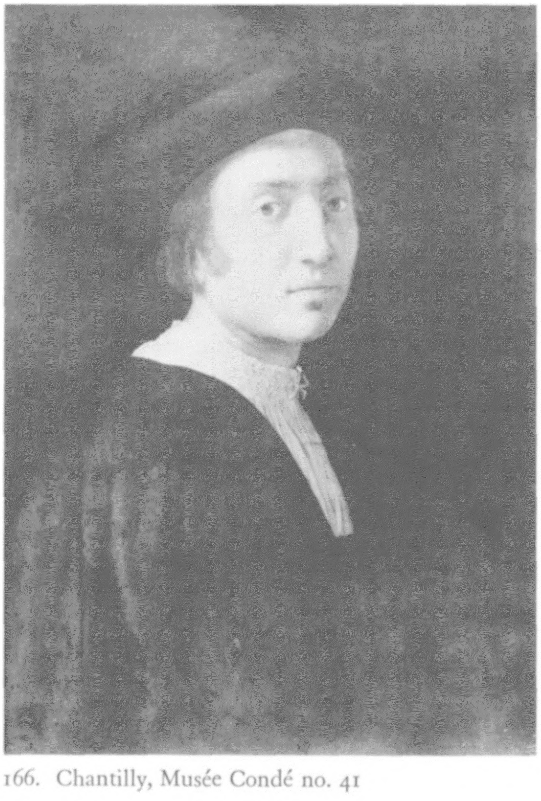
163. Louvre no. 1710



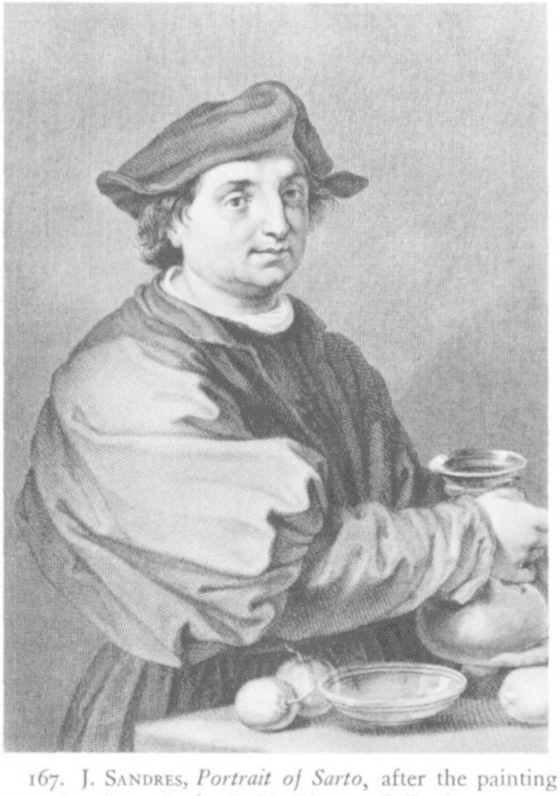
164. Louvre no. RF76



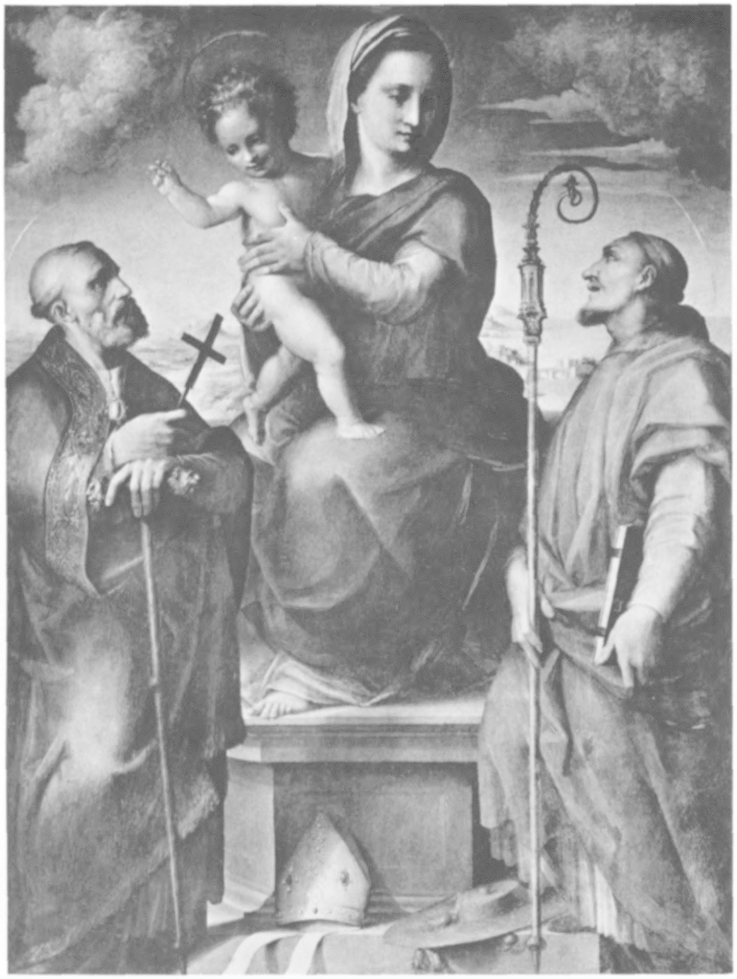
165. Cleveland, Museum of Art



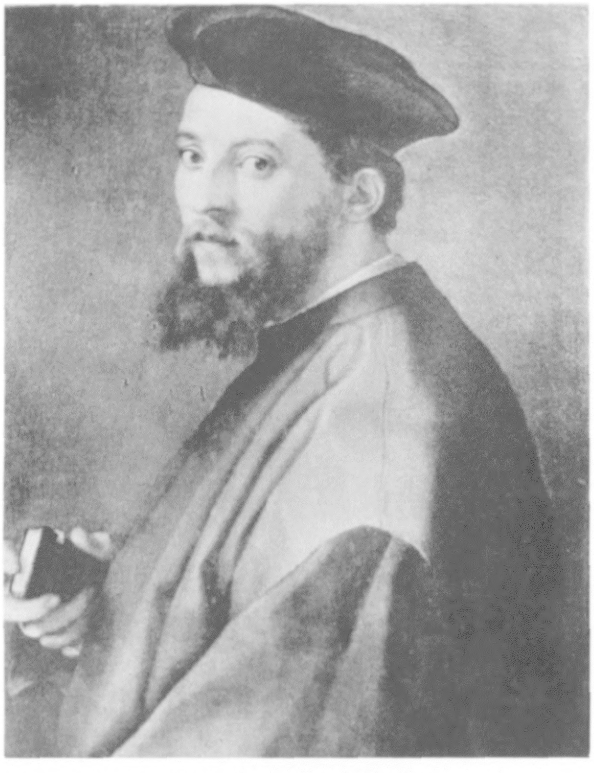
166. Chantilly, Musée Condé no. 41



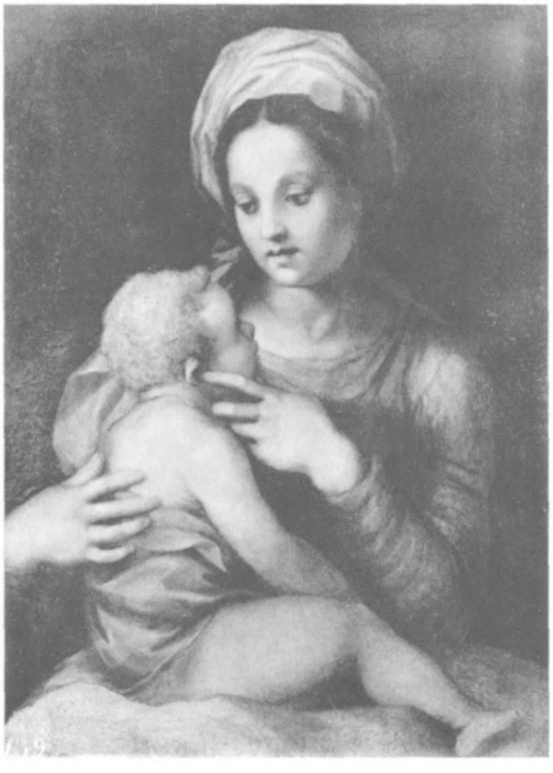
167. J. SANDRES, *Portrait of Sarto*, after the painting now Cornbury Park, O. V. Watney Collection



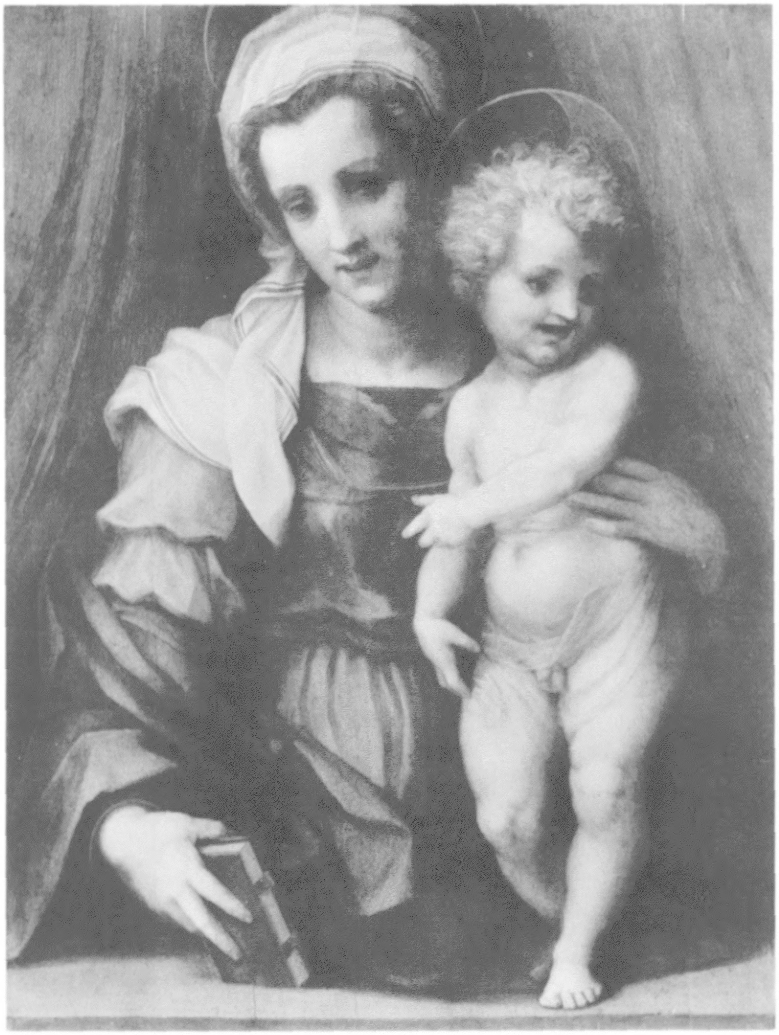
168. Florence, S. Salvi no. 8666



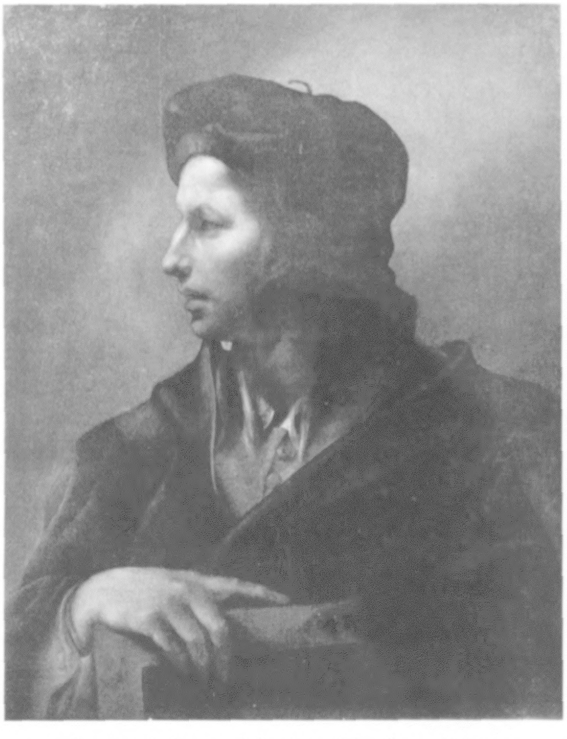
169. Sold New York, Rovensky Collection



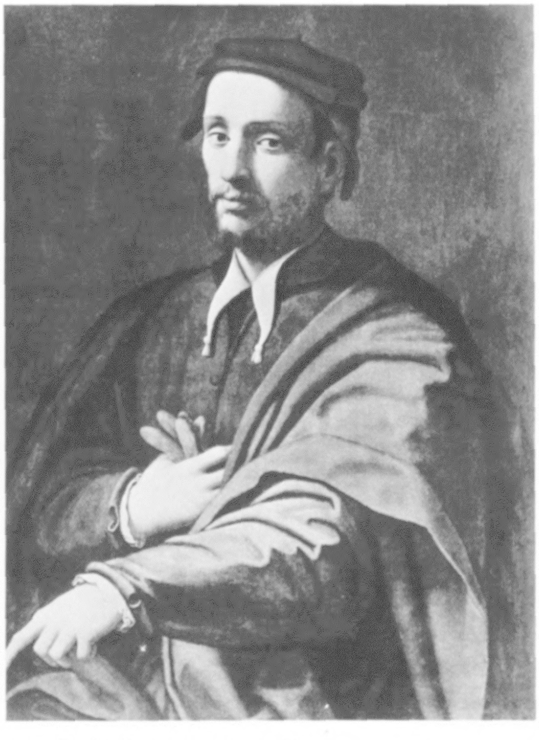
170. Hampton Court no. 139



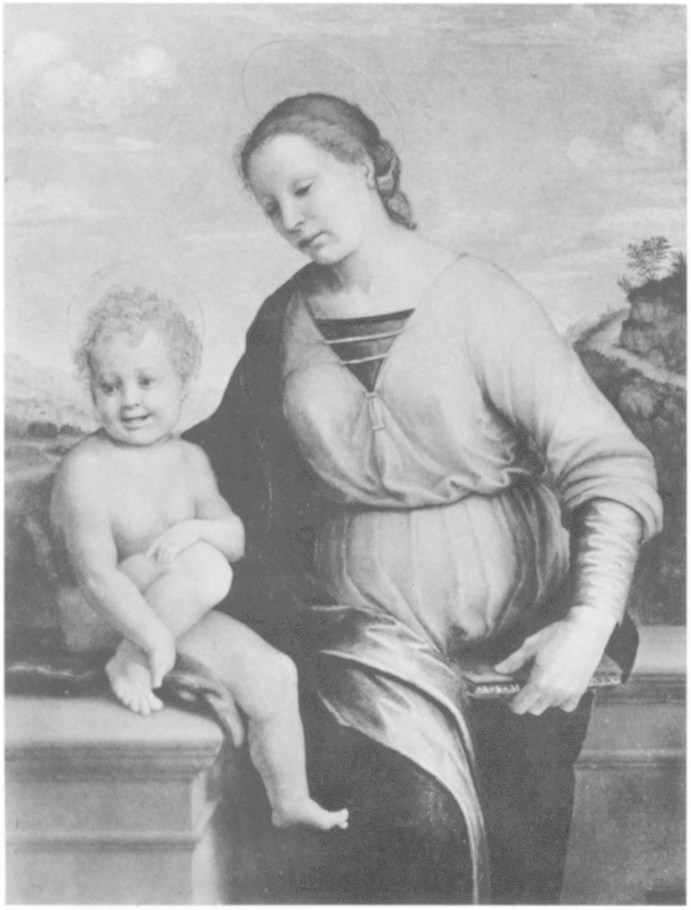
171. Ottawa, National Gallery



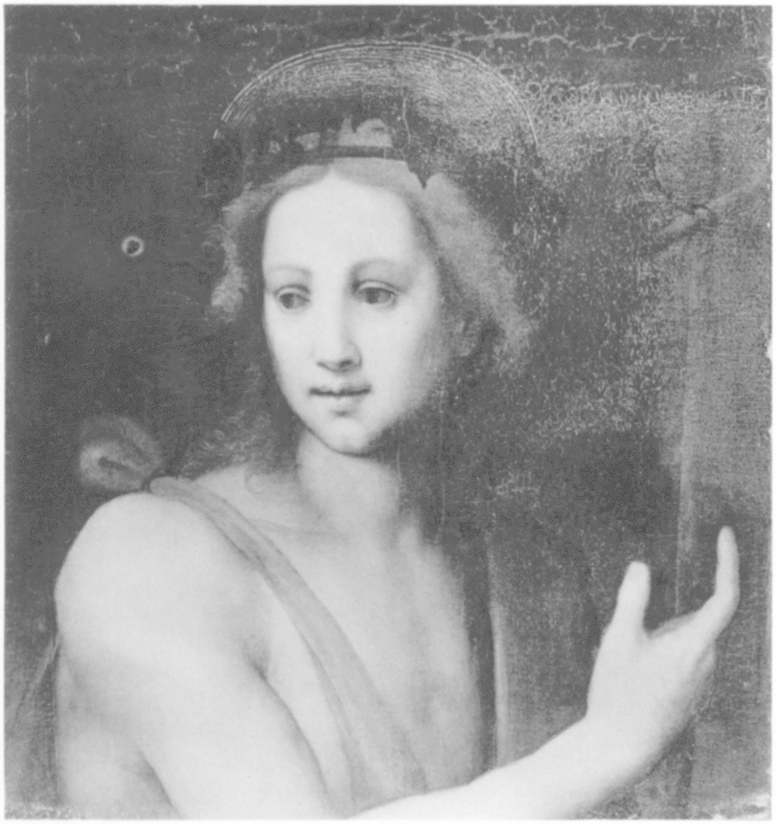
172. Muncie, Indiana, Ball State Teachers College



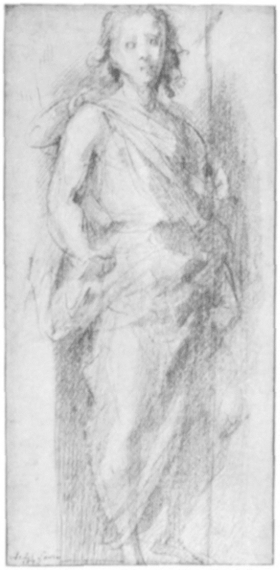
173. Paris, Louvre no. 1516A



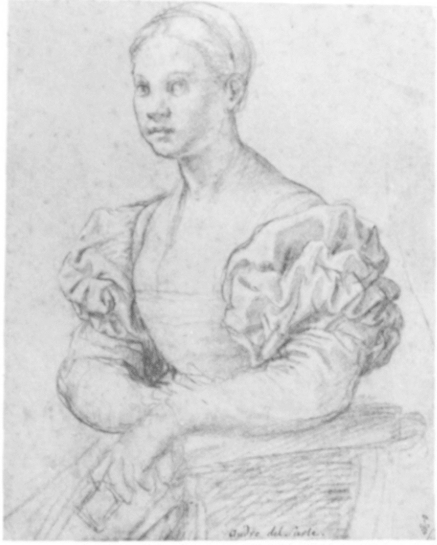
174. Rome, Galleria Nazionale no. 580



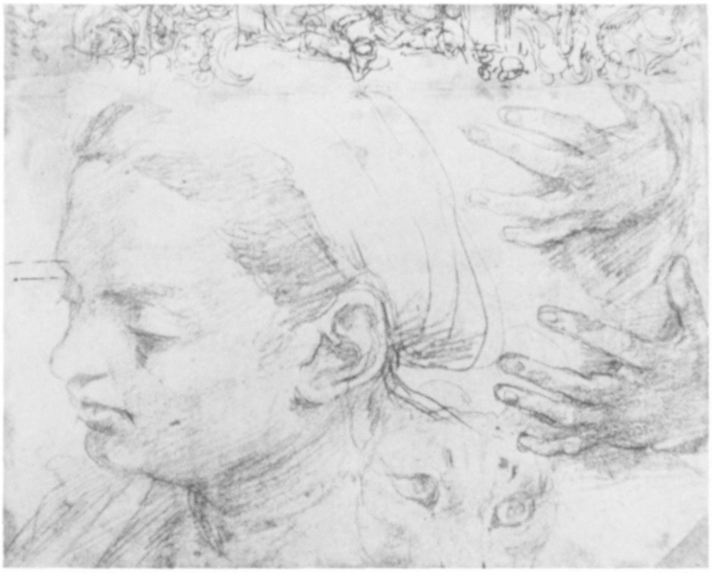
175. Sold London, Sir John Ramsden



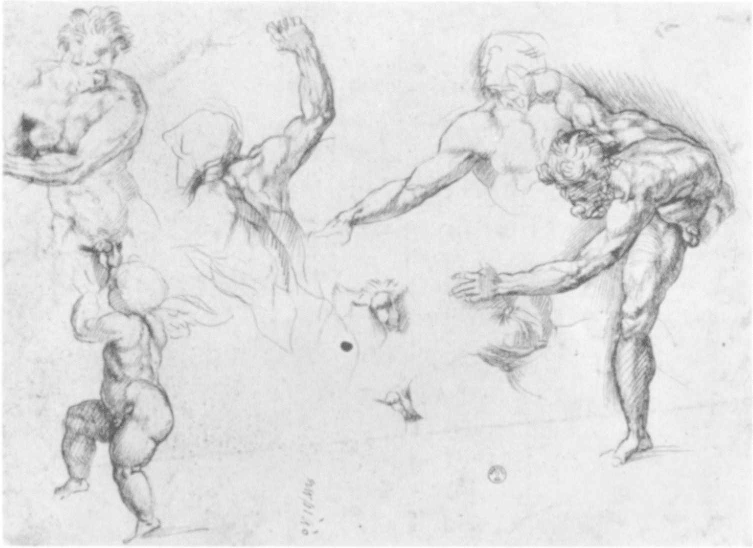
176. Berlin no. 5151r



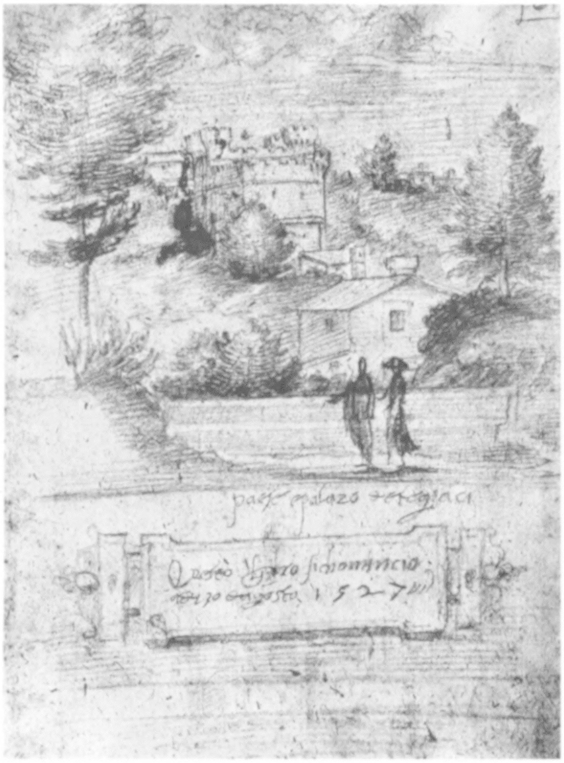
177. Chantilly, Musée Condé no. 102



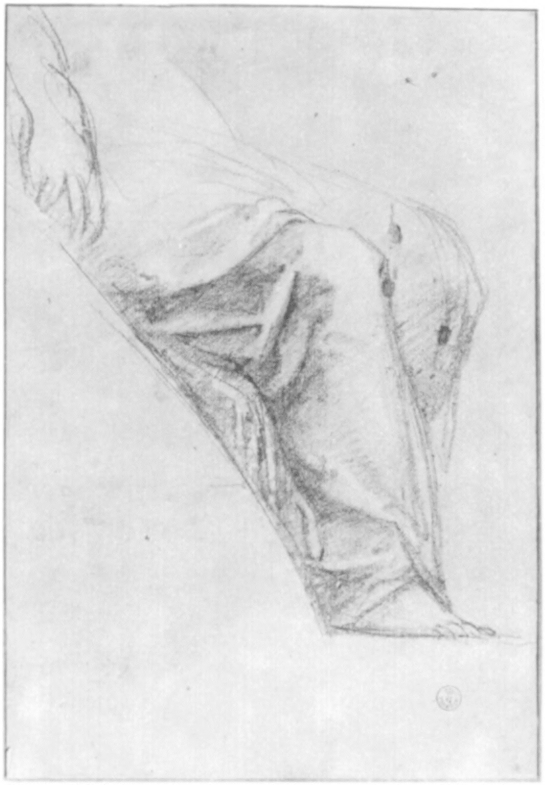
178. Florence, Uffizi no. 625E



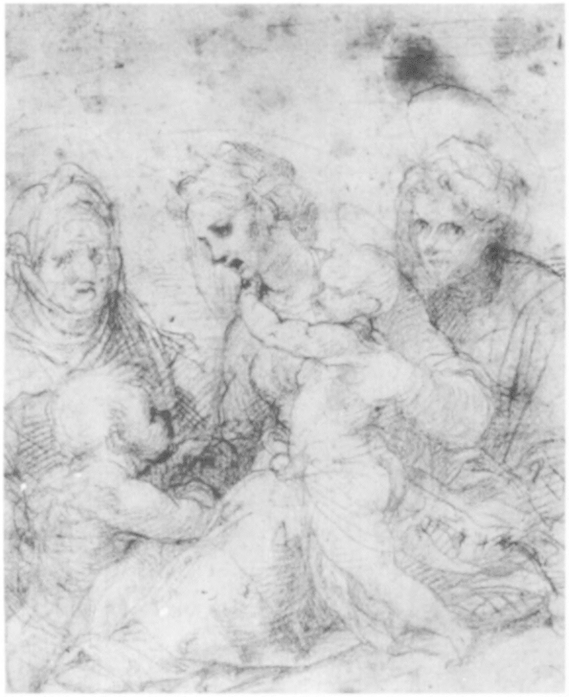
179. Uffizi no. 6458F



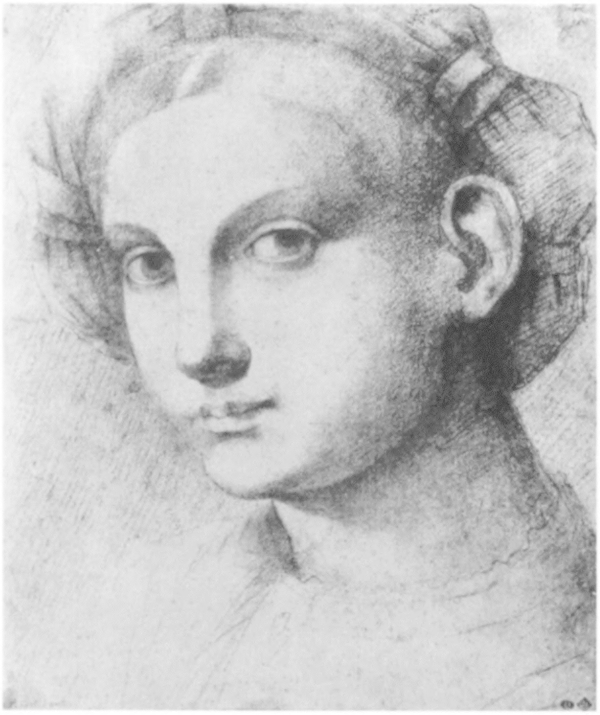
180. Uffizi no. 1314E



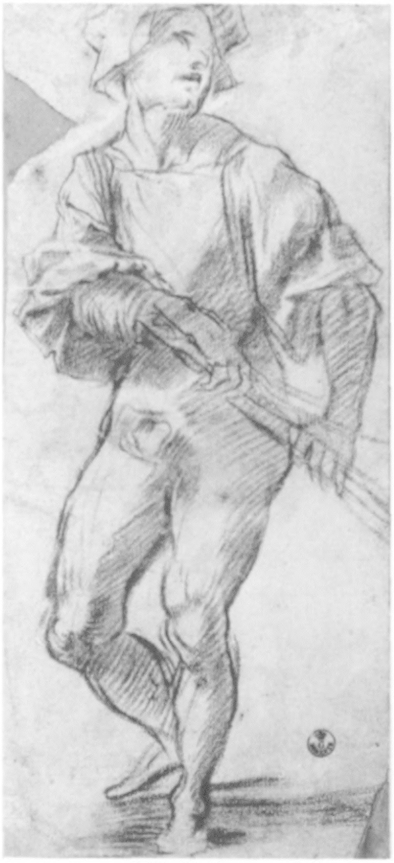
181. Uffizi no. 6453F



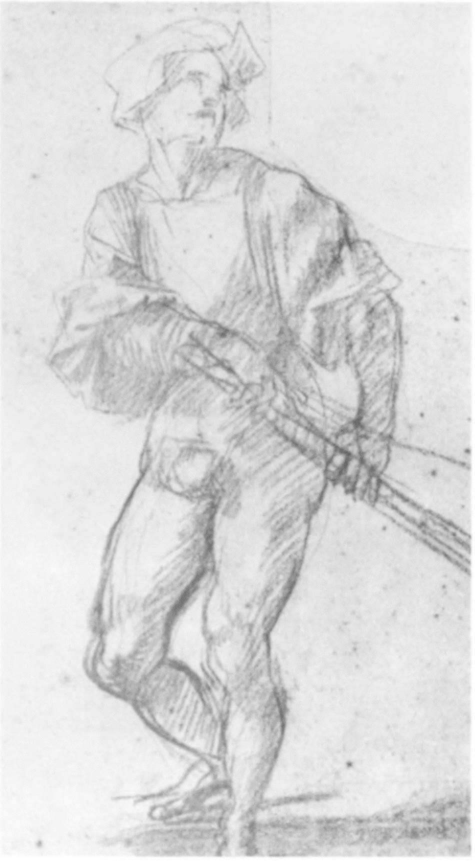
182. Lille no. 13



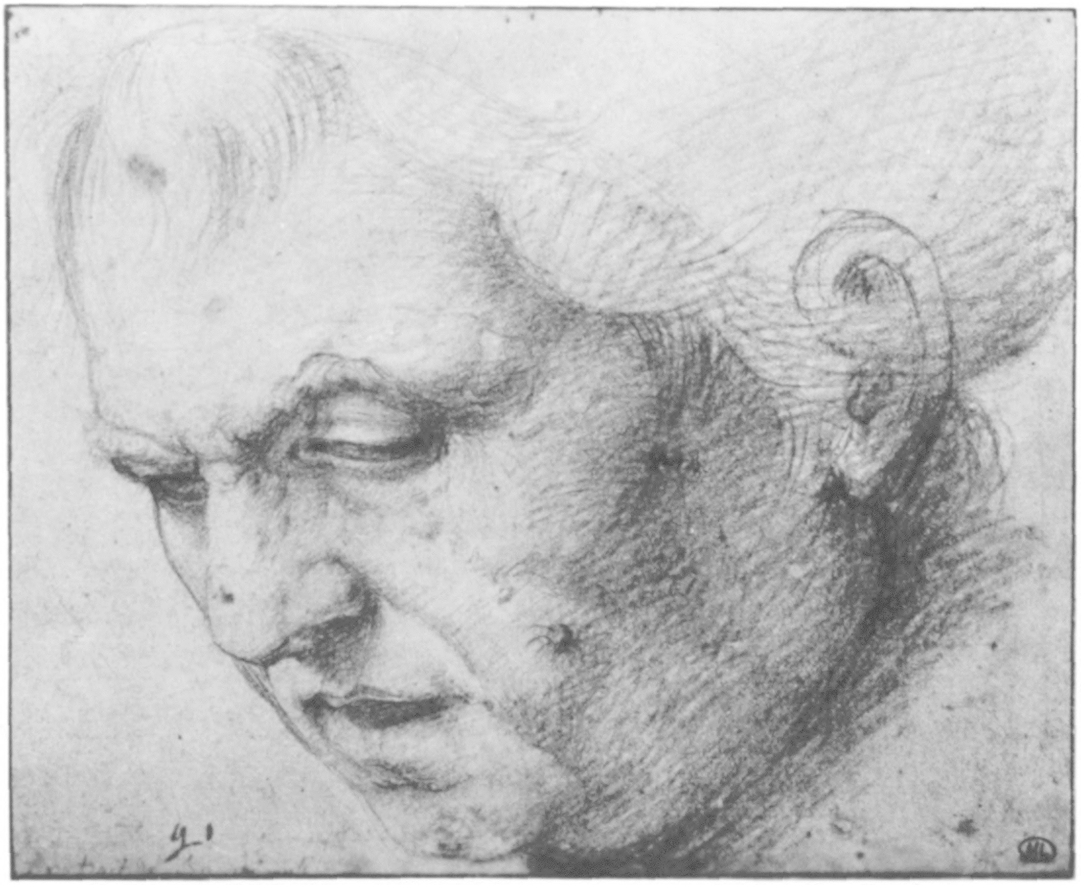
183. Paris, Ecole des Beaux-Arts no. 364



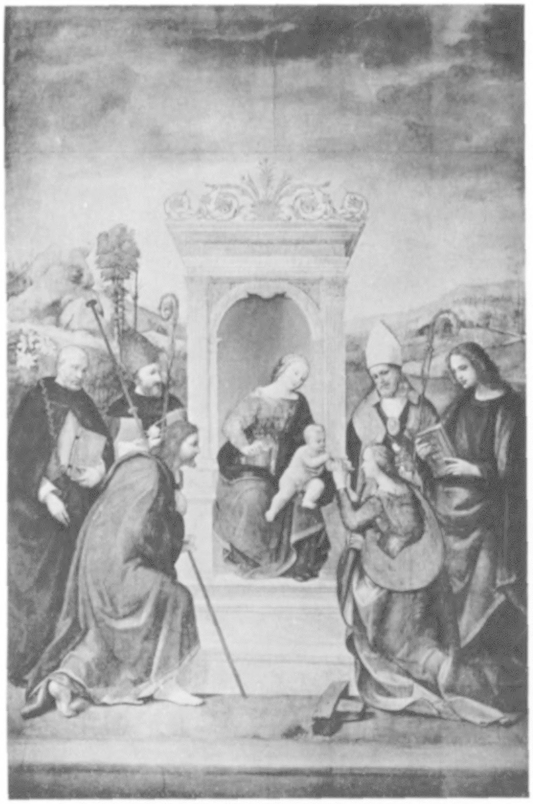
184. Florence, Uffizi no. 659E



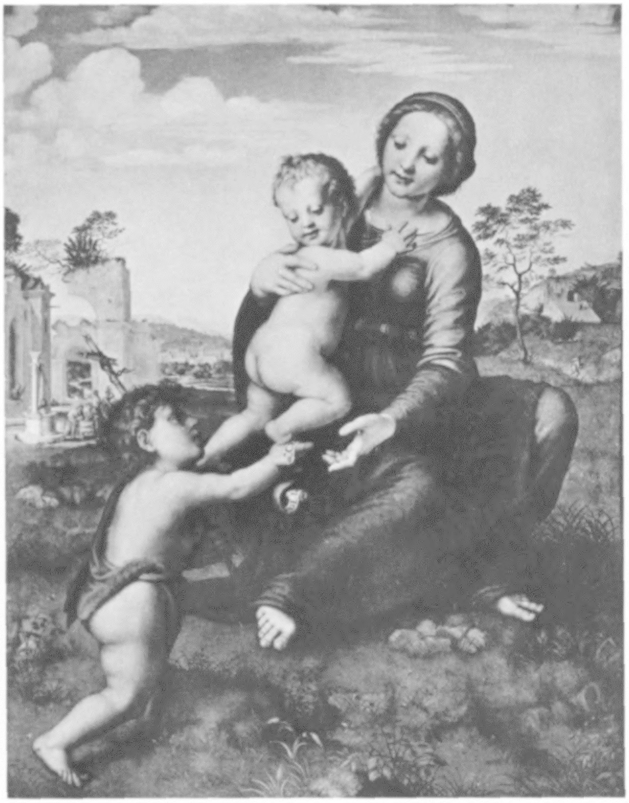
185. Paris, Ecole des Beaux-Arts no. 365 (copy)



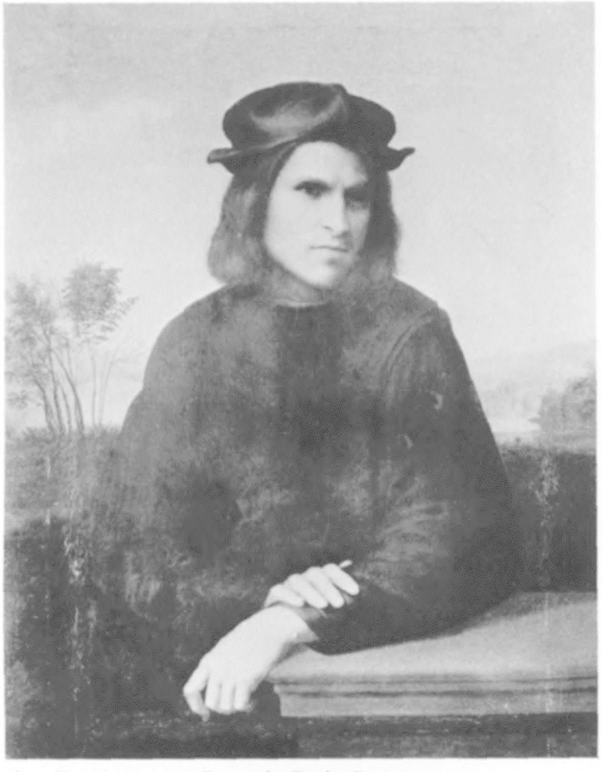
186. Paris, Louvre no. 212



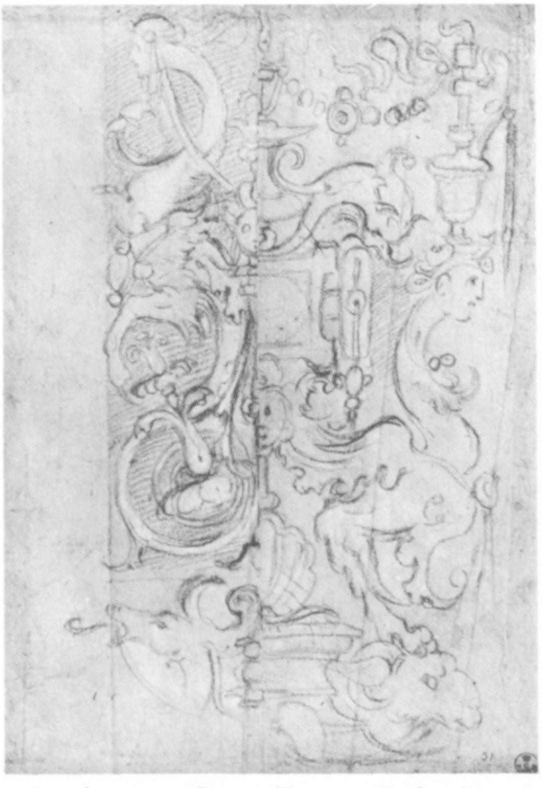
187. Ridolfo Ghirlandaio, *Marriage of St. Catherine*. Florence, La Quiete



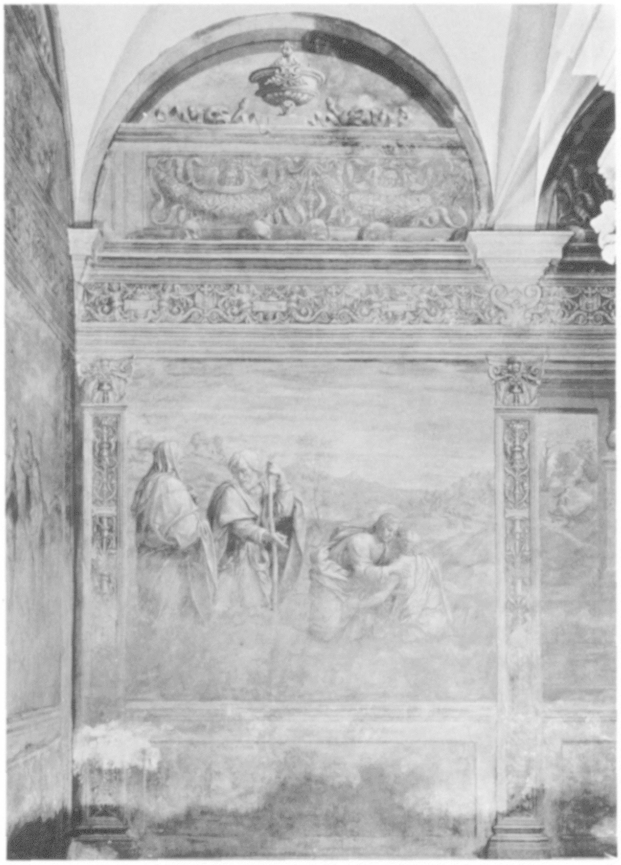
188. Franciabigio, *Madonna del Pozzo*. Florence, Academy



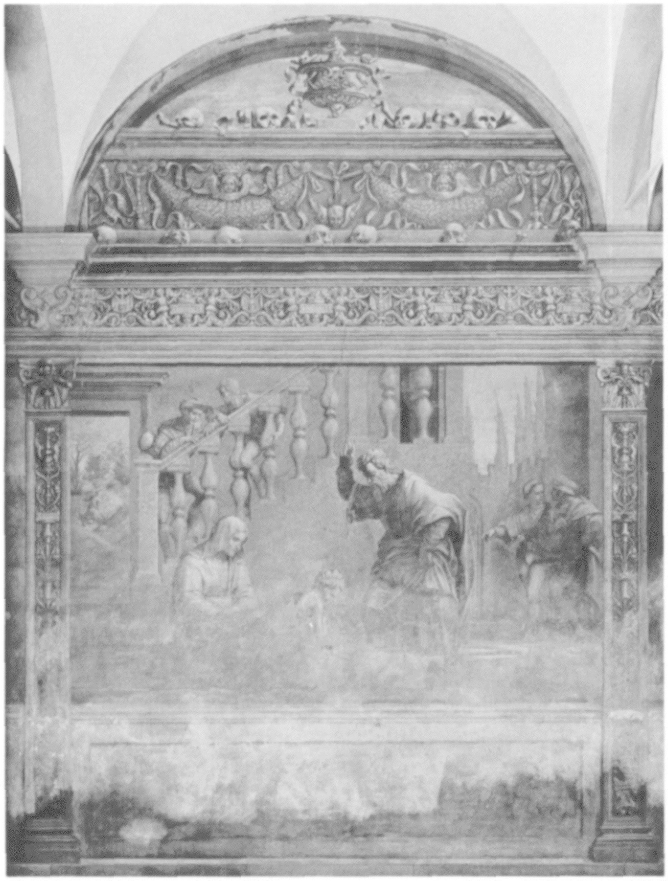
189. Franciabigio, *Portrait*. Paris, Louvre



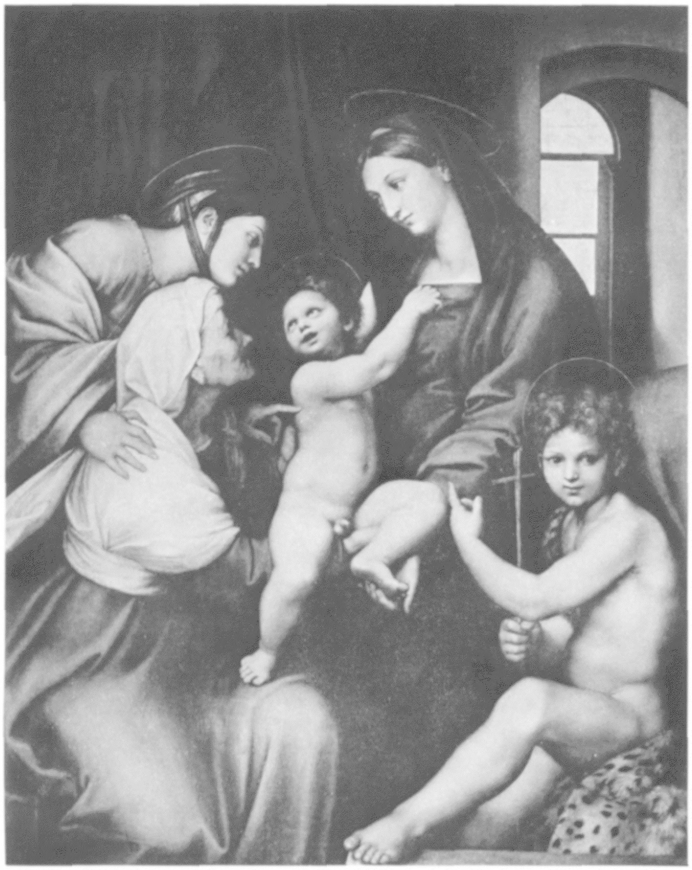
190. Andrea di Cosimo Feltrini, *Design for Grotesques*. Florence, Uffizi no. 1564F



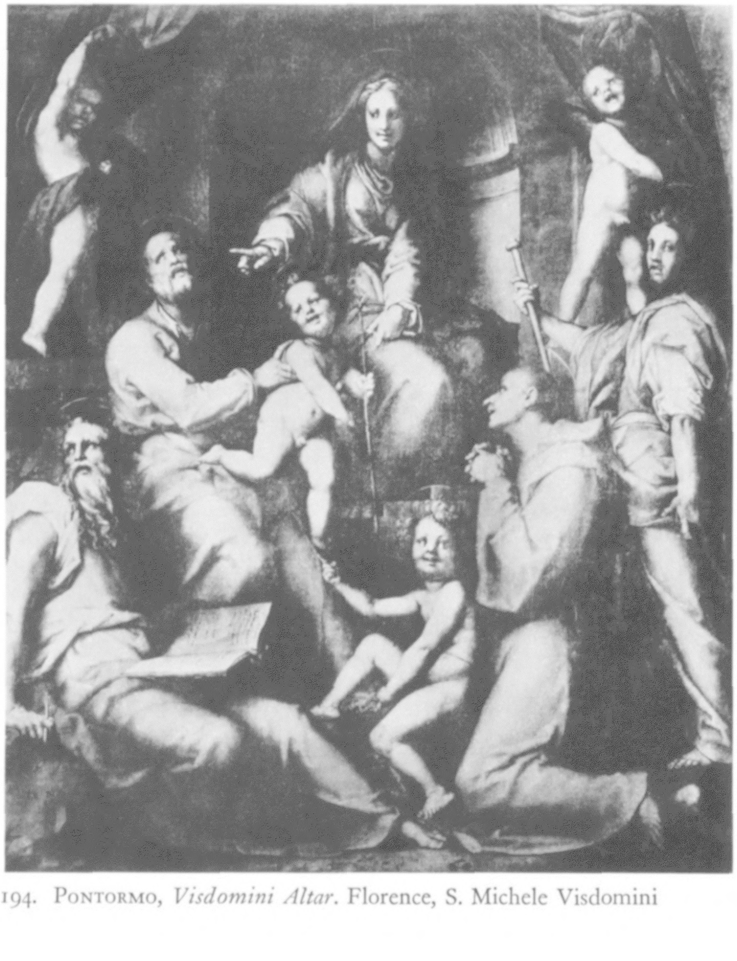
191. Franciabigio, *Meeting of Christ and St. John Baptist.* Florence, Chiostro dello Scalzo



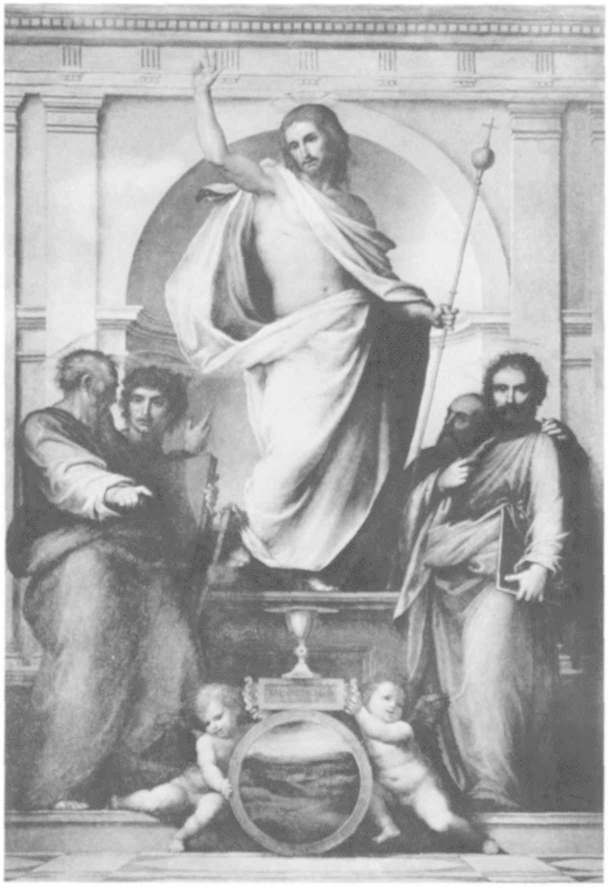
192. Franciabigio, *Blessing by Zachary.* Florence, Chiostro dello Scalzo



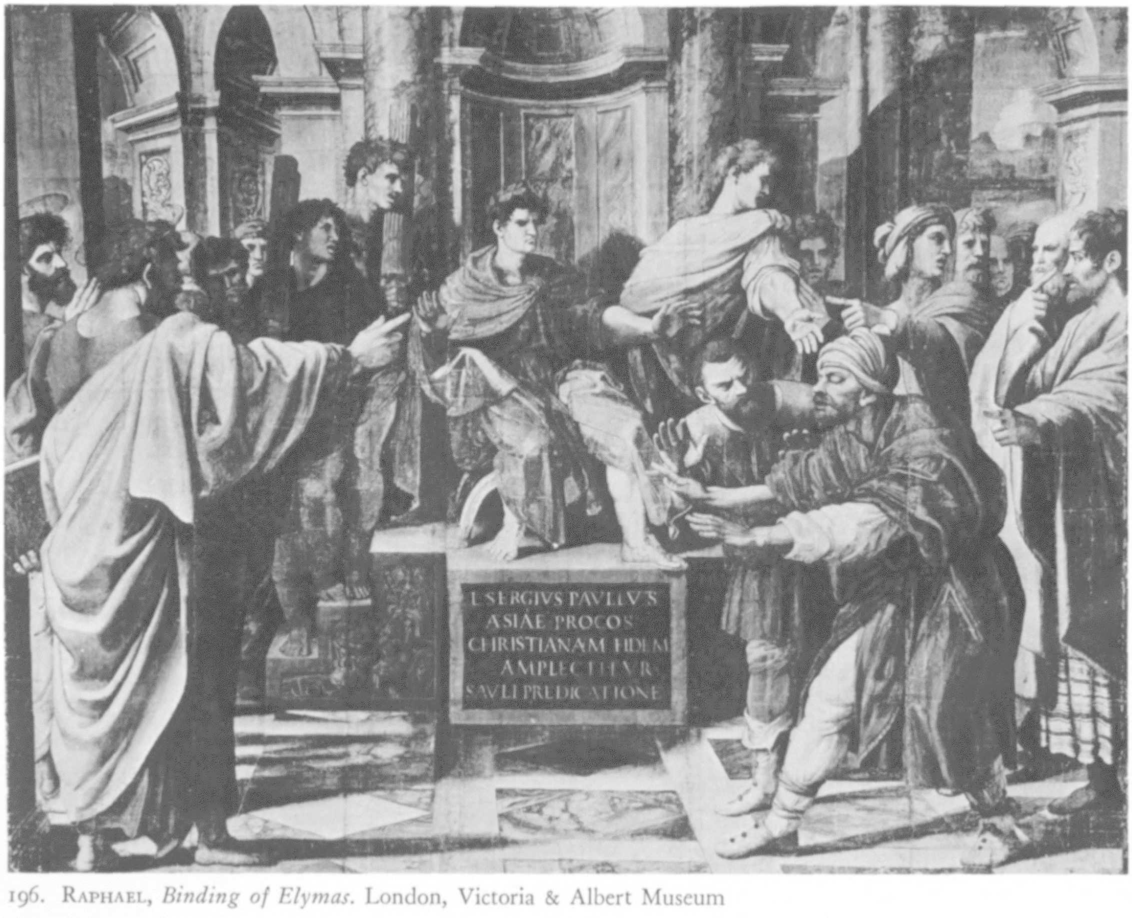
193. Raphael, *Madonna dell'Impannata*. Florence, Pitti



194. Pontormo, *Visdomini Altar*. Florence, S. Michele Visdomini



195. Fra Bartolommeo, *Salvator Mundi*. Florence, Pitti


L·SERGIVS PAVLLVS
ASIAE PROCOS
CHRISTIANAM FIDEM
AMPLECTITVR
SAVLI PREDICATIONE

196. Raphael, *Binding of Elymas*. London, Victoria & Albert Museum